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JANUARY :: 1956

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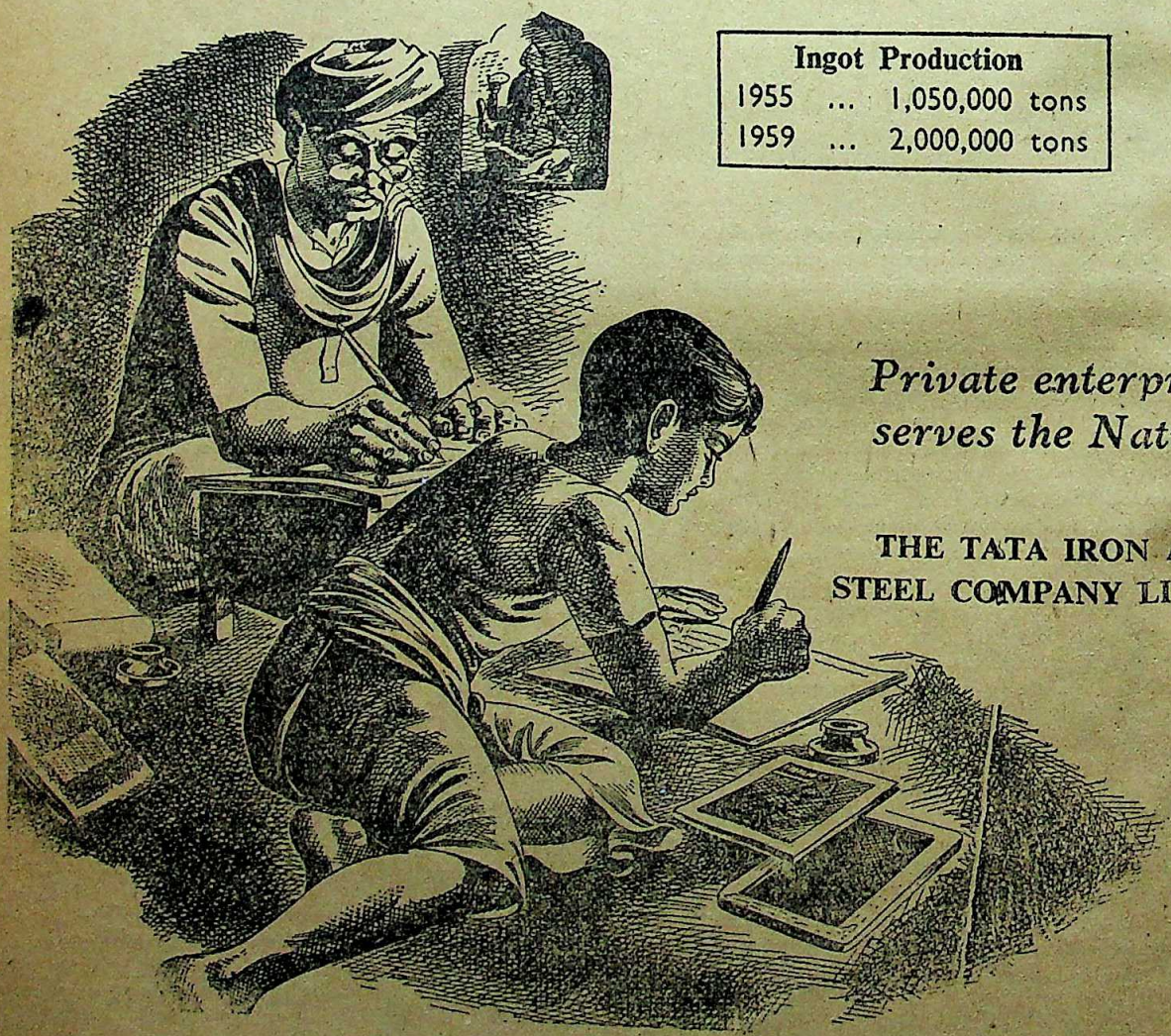

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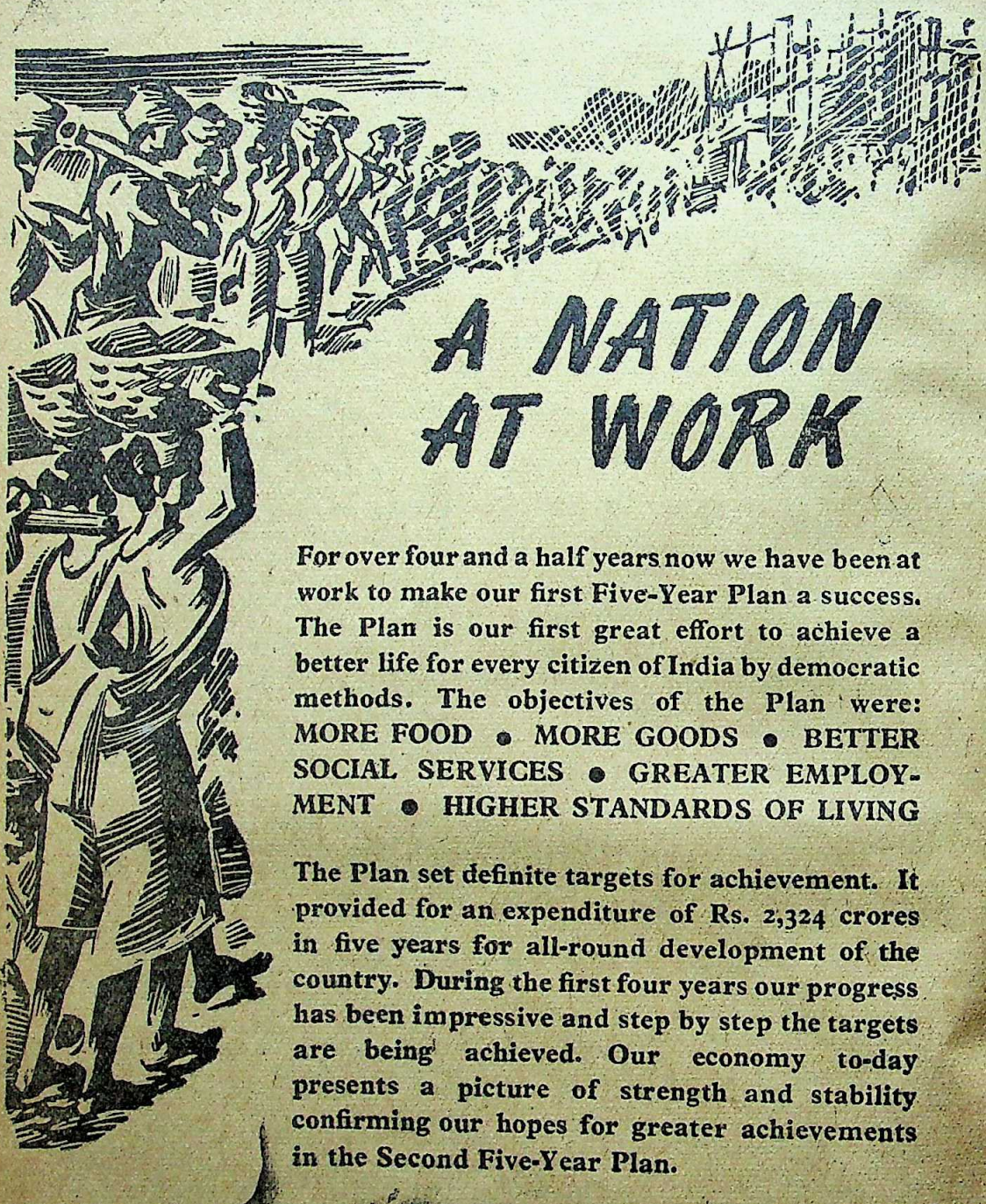

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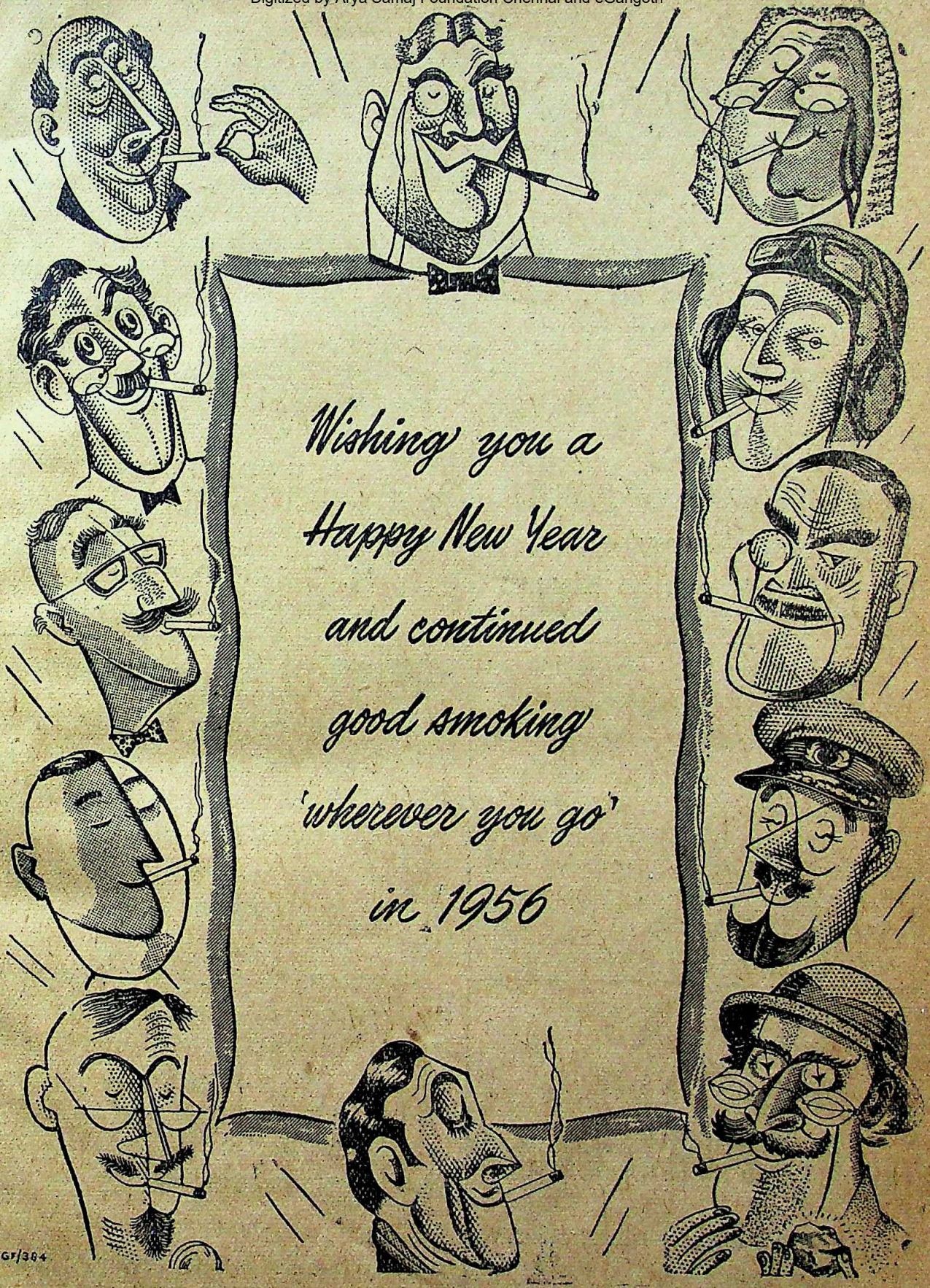

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VOL. LXXXXIX, No. 1 WHOLE No. 589

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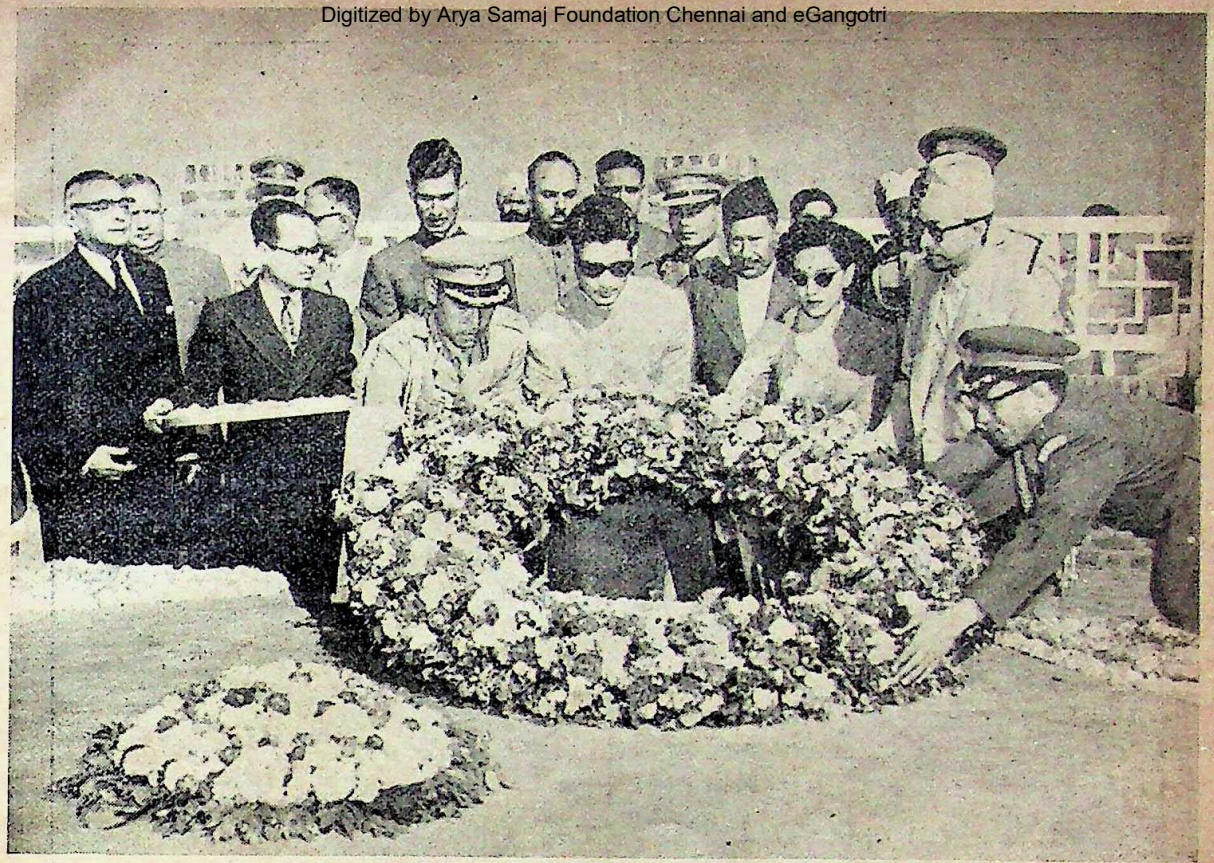

Their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal, who visited Rajghat, Delhi on November 7, are seen laying a floral wreath on the Samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State, presenting the address of welcome to Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev at Rajgarh in Srinagar

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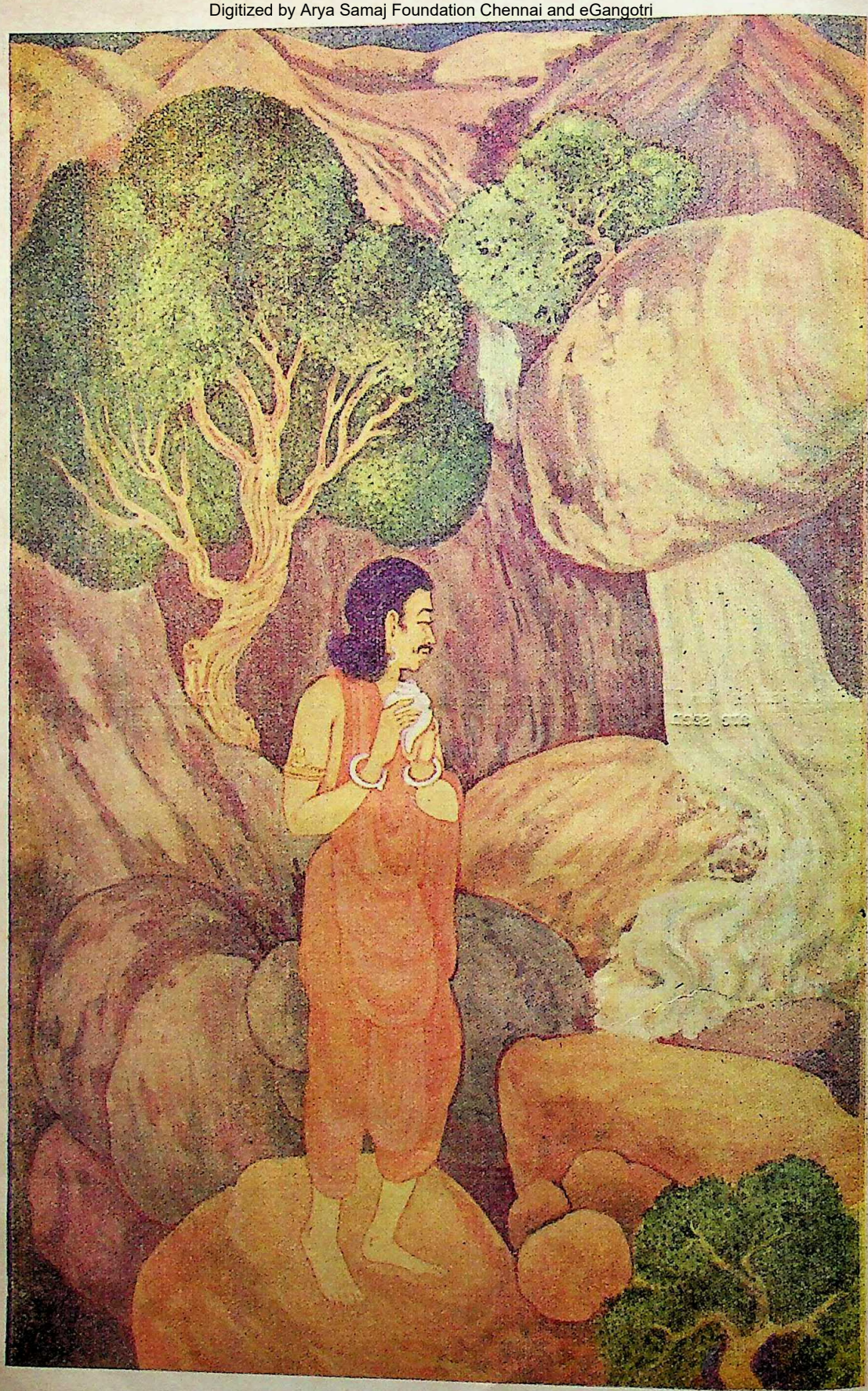

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY 1956

VOL. LXXXIX. No. 1 WHOLE No. 589

NOTES

The New Year

The Old Year has come to the end and we are now facing another year. He would indeed be a bold prophet who would venture to read the presages and declare the prospects of the New Year.

The world is in a calmer mood today than it was a twelve-month back, and, although the 'spirit of Geneva' proved to be evanescent, the two rival Blocs are now in a much more sober mood, ready to solve by negotiation and diplomacy the problems that were thought to be incapable of solution except by the stark process of war. But nevertheless the rivalry and jealousy are there, making the field very hard of going for the more peacefully inclined.

Colonialism is passing, but it is dying hard, causing endless misery to millions of people and blackening the records of those of the once mighty peoples of the West who still refuse to face the inevitable. In Africa, the Mediterranean, and South-East Asia, the seeds of war still remain in such areas.

It is not that the civilized world is unaware of the implications in the persistence of colonial methods and in the violent passions that rise out of racial strife and racial domination. It is only the question of material gain that clouds the issues, and it is doubtful indeed as to whether the coming year will bring us any nearer to the final solution.

At home we are still racing after the goal of material advancement regardless of the cost in moral values. Indeed, it is here that the darkest shadows obscure the future.

Indeed it is as if in "Ringing out the Old" we have progressively, every year, discarded more and more of the guiding tenets and basic principles that were enunciated during those years of trial when we were trying to attain freedom and to develop maturity as a nation. Gandhism has become a profession in the hands of the Super-Brahmins, and the Congress has veered from the path of Truth and Justice to such an extent that it no longer can lay claim to respect from any right-thinking man. Power, party-politics and corruption are the Trinity that are receiving daily worship from those who are in power, while the helmsman basks in the sunshine of world adulation!

Very recently our President seems to have become aware of this lamentable state of affairs, which led him to declare at the All-India Educational Conference that the country had come to worship Mammon in place of the gods of its fathers. We reproduce the news report below:

"New Delhi, December 28.—The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, said here today, that the steps taken to change the country's system of education to suit present-day life were 'not adequate.'

"The President, who was inaugurating the 30th All-India Educational Conference, said: As far

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as I know, we have not succeeded till now in this work of changing the education system to suit the needs of independent India. I would even say that we have failed to put in the efforts.

"The education system, in existence for 125 years, was started with a particular aim in view. But that aim no longer holds good now.

"In reforming the system, the most important stage was the field of primary education. After tackling this, they should go to the secondary and higher secondary stages. We have to dovetail the three parts into each other so that no difficulty may arise for a student from going from the first stage to the second and third."

"The President, who devoted the major part of his speech in condemning the "new cult of supremacy of money' in Indian society, said it had created a vicious circle. All those who desired any place in society had perforce to turn from intellectual pursuits and honest work to the gross pursuit of Mammon.

"The disease crept into the educational field also. The teacher, who occupied a high and honoured place in Indian life in the past despite his basic poverty, was today the worst sufferer of all. Today he was not held in respect and honour because he was poor. He had, therefore, not only to face the prospect of making money through extra work to be recognized by society but also to keep his head above the subsistence level."

We recognise in this statement the spirit of that humble follower and the beloved disciple of the Father of the Nation. It is late in the day, but we are still delighted to see that Shriman Rajendra Babu has not been completely stifled and metamorphosed into another Lotus Eater.

But why excorbiate the teacher and the professor ? Where, in what field, do we find the people clad in the pristine glory of the primal virtues ? Adulation and love of power have corrupted the few in power that are still above monetary considerations, and as for the rest, the less said the better. We face Moral Bankruptcy of a truth, and we do not know where this downhill progression will take us to, in 1956.

It will take us decades to get over the moral degradation the controls brought. And we are being faced with the mass corruption that would follow prohibition and controls on production.

We are all for the eradication of the evils of drink and the drug habit. But only a blind fool would accept at its face value the statement of the Prohibition Enquiry Committee that they received a "countrywide demand for prohibition at an early date." The very few persons they interviewed and the little they saw of the main problems, certainly do not warrant this statement. We have the history of prohibition and the working of the Volstead Act in the U.S.A. before us, and we cannot blink at either. Some other way must be worked out, step by step, by a more experienced and less smug group of investigators.

Let us turn back to the outside world. We have had a whole host of visitors from foreign lands. The world reaction to the visit of those from the U.S.S.R. has been so powerful, that we feel that we must put a survey of their visits in our editorials for record.

The reaction in the U.S. has been particularly violent and vicious in certain quarters, although there are signs now, that they are willing to accept our stand for neutrality. The following editorial taken from the *New York Times* for December 28, International Edition, shows that they are re-focussing and interpreting Pandit Nehru:

"Prime Minister Nehru has launched an attack on the Indian Communists which is of special interest because it extends to the philosophy of all Communists, including that of his erstwhile Soviet guests. Mr. Nehru, who regards himself as a democratic Socialist and still sees in socialism the wave of the future, denounces the Communists as being not the 'progressives' they profess to be but rather as being reactionaries of the worst type —an epithet which the Communists themselves apply to their arch enemies.

"Mr. Nehru further accuses the Communists of clinging to outmoded and outdated theories and doctrines that have no relation to the facts of today in any free society. He even challenges the patron saint of all Communists and most Socialists, Karl Marx, and declares that Marxist teachings were based on temporary conditions in Europe arising from the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century and without validity in the twentieth.

"Mr. Nehru has attacked—and jailed—Indian Communists as foreign-oriented, foreign-financed and foreign-mastered. But his present

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attack is on a far broader front that reaches beyond India. One might wish that he had based this attack not merely on doctrinal issues but also on the moral values involved.

"Whether Mr. Nehru himself, in his enthusiasm for a 'socialistic pattern of society' based on progressive nationalization of industry, is really the progressive he thinks he is, at a time when European socialism is abandoning nationalization as a panacea, is a moot point. But at least he has reaffirmed his allegiance to democracy, and if he calls for something really 'dynamic and revolutionary,' that something can only be the revolution of freedom. In such a revolution Asia and the whole free world would gladly welcome Mr. Nehru as a leader."

In another editorial, in its December 30 issue, the *New York Times* includes Goa in its retrospect of colonialism in 1955. We reproduce the first three paragraphs verbatim below:

"As one thinks of the world in the now ending year of 1955 and the great forces that swayed its major developments, colonialism—or some would say anti-colonialism—certainly played a major role. It is one of those basic themes that have to be identified and grappled with if one is to hear the new world symphony of 1956 with any true understanding.

"Vast movements of this type can, of course, only be put into the strait-jacket of a 365-day year by force. They naturally have a long background and will keep going well beyond 1956. As has often been pointed out, we are seeing the results of an emotionalism that burned deeply into the hearts of all peoples who in a material, social and political sense were retarded for some reason or other. We call this emotion nationalism. These people were awakened to their retrogression (and this is the cause of which nationalism is the result) by the impact of Western civilization and all it meant in a technical sense and in the exhilarating doctrine of liberty—especially individual liberty.

"So we have seen an extraordinary ferment that in 1955 took a variety of forms in a variety of countries—Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, the Sudan, the whole of Africa south of the Sahara, Malaya and Singapore, Cyprus and Goa. These and other localities have cropped up in the news incessantly in 1955 and will do so again in 1956. These peoples are on the move—and there is only one direction to go, given the irresistible impulse to freedom behind their movement and the powerful emotion of nationalism which is yet, in this post-war era, to meet a barrier capable of damning its force for more than a brief period."

But we still have to solve that problem in our own way and with our own resources.

Let us end this with hopes for the future and good wishes for all in the coming New Year. It we remain staunch and true to our principles then however much the travail of the journey we shall reach the end with good cheer. Let us then hope that in 1956 our leaders will awaken to realities. The President has already spoken, and that is a good omen.

U.S. and the Psychological War

It is not that all Americans are blind to the deeper aspects of the situation in South-East Asia as the following message indicates:

Asheville (North Carolina), December 23—Evangelist Billy Graham said here yesterday that "India hangs in the balance between Communism and freedom. If India goes to the Left, all of Asia will go with it, and if all of Asia goes, no power in this world will stop us from soon beginning to hear the tramp, tramp, tramp, of the hungry peoples of the world on the march."

"Mr. Graham, who leaves for a three-week tour of India on Jan. 15, added that the U.S.A. was losing the "psychological war.' He called the recent tour of India by Soviet leaders 'a mass brainwashing scheme, unprecedented in the history of the world'."

We have no doubt that Mr. Graham will see much in India during his short tour, which will convince him that it is not so easy to brain-wash 360 millions of a free people. Indeed, the Soviet leaders did not even attempt that impossible task.

Miss Martha Graham

We feel that we should put on record our deep appreciation of the visit of another guest from abroad, namely, the famous dancer from the U.S. Miss Martha Graham. There is neither space nor scope for a comprehensive critique of the exposition of the art of Miss Martha Graham and her artistes, in these editorials. But we have seldom seen, either here or in the West, such an inspiring—and intriguing—display of emotions and passions through the medium of the ballet.

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Large-Scale vs. *Small-Scale Industries*

Of late a controversy is going on whether small-scale industries will be a panacea for solving the growing unemployment problem in this country. In the Central Cabinet difference of opinion prevails over the issue. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, the Union Commerce Minister, favours the development of large-scale industries, while Mr. Nanda, the Planning Minister, supports the development of small-scale industries even at the cost of large-scale industries. The recently published report of the Karve Committee on small scale and cottage industries has recommended crying a halt to the progress of certain large scale industries.

India is an underdeveloped country and our economic planning is being directed to make up the arrears of work in the field of industrial development which lay untapped during the British rule. Planning presupposes making rapid strides within a definite time with co-ordinated resources. Economic planning aims at achieving the best results in the shortest possible time. Further, planning is linked up with providing employment, in other words, planned employment with planned production—that is economic planning. It is not merely employment, nor merely production—it is productive employment. What is production? Of course, it is not merely engagement of labour. Those who have a craze for cottage industry in India misunderstand engagement of labour for production. Economic production involves engagement of labour, but it is not all and every kind of labour, it is socially useful labour.

The socially useful labour is to be determined not in terms of national standards, but in terms of international standards—simply because we are not living in a closed economy. The modern age is the age of technical superiority, it is the age of large scale production. Without technical development, no country in the modern world can hope to achieve economic prosperity. The USA, the USSR and India are the three countries in the world which have ample natural resources and are rich in man power. These three countries are almost self-supporting in their natural resources and as such they are destined to be great, provided their potential resources are turned into realities. The USA has achieved this in her own way, that is why she is a great power. The USSR has also done wonders in a period of nearly twenty years and now she is not merely a great power, she is a close rival to the USA in economic and scientific developments and in political power. In 1920, Russia was an agricultural and industrially backward country but today her industrial development remains surpassed by none. Russia bears a close analogy to Indian conditions. From a backward agricultural economy, the USSR has leaped into a condition of great industrial development. India is also an agricultural and industrially backward country and she now strives to achieve industrial greatness. India must therefore follow Russian technique in the field of industrial development.

During the budget discussion at the recently held session of the Supreme Soviet, there was demand for further speeding up technical progress. It may be recalled that Five-Year Plans in the USSR are directed towards developing large scale industries. One of the main causes of Malenkov's resignation from premiership was that he favoured the development of smaller industries for the production of consumption goods. In other words, the economic planning in Soviet Russia is synonymous with large scale production and technical progress.

In India it is deplorable that the authorities have no clear-cut idea as to which object the planning should be directed at. Sometimes they call it as providing employment, sometimes as increased production, sometimes as raising national income and sometimes as spending money for spending's sake. Too many cooks spoil the broth and too many thinkers spoil the Plan. When it is everybody's idea, it is nobody's idea and when it is everybody's responsibility, it is nobody's responsibility. Moreover, economic planning should be pitted against the background of larger political outlook and international canvas. India must not only be economically developed, she must also be politically great. With that end in view economic planning should be directed and followed.

To be a great political power, a country must have the pre-requisite of large-scale industrial devlopment based on technical progress. For the the last two thousand years India was the country of cottage industry and agricultural economy, but she wallowed in poverty and dirt and ignorance. India in the past was a great and rich country inhabited by the poor, mainly because she lacked technical progress and knowledge. While the

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industrial development of the western world was striding on steam wheels, India was trudging on bullock cart. The result has been that notwithstanding her potential greatness, India remains a backward country. It is the technical progress, the progress of large scale industry which is essential for raising India to the height of great power. Without the development of large scale industry, India cannot desire to be economically and politically great.

We are certainly not against small scale and cottage industries. They also have a part to play in the economic development of India—but not as rivals to large scale industries. The role of the small and cottage industry in this country should be merely complementary to the growth of large industries and thereby it will supplement the productive enterprises of the country. It is reactionary, anti-national and conservative to say that henceforth only the small scale and cottage industries should be developed and the productive potentialities of large industries should be pegged at the present level. To do so will be suicidal for our national economy. The scope of these two kinds of industries is distinctly different—the large scale industry forming the base, the small scale industries forming the superstructure and filling up the gap. In the end they are complementary—not rivals.

We are, therefore, not opposed to small and cottage industries. They have a distinct role to play in India's economic development, but they will play a subsidiary role, not a substantive. We are amazed at the Karve Committee's conservative attitude which calls for severe reprimand when it goes to recommend that all the increased demand for cloth during the second Plan period should be met by expansion of handloom production. This will involve limiting production by mills and powerlooms to the level already reached, namely, 5,000 million yards (assuming an export target of 1,000 million yards) and 200 million yards respectively in order that handloom production may increase from an estimated 1,550 million yards in 1955-56 to 3,200 million yards by 1960-61.

The cotton mill industry is the largest organised industry in India with a paid up capital of Rs. 113 crores, representing 15 per cent of total paid-up capital of all joint stock enterprises. Its annual output is worth Rs. 335 crores, being 35 per cent of the total industrial output estimated at Rs. 980 crores. On an average, the industry consumes annually nearly 38 lakh bales of Indian cotton, besides some 7½ lakh bales of imported cotton. The value of all cottons, Indian and foreign, consumed by the industry per year is estimated at Rs. 200 crores, of which Indian cotton accounts for over Rs. 150 crores. The cotton textile industry is a large consumer of fuel, electricity and lubricants, valued at Rs. 11 crores.

Besides, the cotton textile industry supports a number of ancillary industries producing dyes and chemicals, mill stores, sizing and packing materials. The value of such goods consumed by it is estimated at Rs. 26 crores a year. The industry pays more than Rs. 40 crores per year by taxes and levies to the Union and State Governments. It provides employment to nearly 7½ lakhs of workers. The annual wages and salaries bill of the industry aggregates nearly Rs. 80 crores. The industry is also the mainstay of the handloom industry which gets all its yarn supplies from the mills. The cotton mill industry provides employment to the vast army of men and women engaged in cotton, yarn and cloth trades and in the transport services. In the export trade of India, the export of mill-made cotton manufactures occupies third place, coming next to the export of tea and jute manufactures. In 1954-55, the total value of exports of cotton manufactures stood at Rs. 66.40 crores.

There is immense scope for expansion of internal consumption of mill-made cotton textiles. The average per capita annual consumption of cotton textiles is only 12 yards in India as against 70 yards in western countries. That means, we are at present under-clothed in comparison with western consumption of textiles. The Indian cotton mills are restricted in their production of dhuties, there being a cut of 40 per cent in dhuti production and this step was taken by the authorities in order to give encouragement to the production of handloom-made dhuties. But ultimately it has benefited the millowners who reap a higher margin on dhuties against limited supply.

Under the First Five-Year Plan, the target for cotton mill textiles was 1,640 million lbs. of yarn and 5,000 million yards of cloth by 1955-56. The 1954 production was 1,572 million lbs of yarn and 5,025 million yards of cloth. In fixing the target for the Second Five-Year Plan,

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the bias is in favour of handloom cloth, which is proposed to be raised to the production level of 3,200 million yards, while mill-made cloth is assigned a modest target of 5,500 million yards per annum, that is, an increase of only 500 million yards during the coming five years.

The Union Commerce and Industry Minister is in favour of establishing a few more cotton mills in order to maintain the export market on an increasing volume of supply and also for the purpose of supplying yarns to the handloom industry. But the protagonists of the cottage industry are very eager to put forward the claim of Ambar Charkha for the development of which a pilot scheme is going to be launched. We have no objection to the widespread use of Ambar Charkha, but it should not be directed to play a rival role against the cotton mills. The other day the Prime Minister of India pointed out the difficulty in making organisational set-up for the thousands of Ambar Charkha which will lie scattered over millions of homes. It is yet to be seen how far the standard of yarn will be maintained by so many hands and what will be the organisational set-up in collecting yarns regularly.

In our craze for cottage industry we should not foreget the strategic importance of large scale industry. It is needless to point out that the second world war, though fought physically in the European battlefields, was fought primarily in the American factories. So a modern war is a war of factories. If India has to play a leading role in Asia, undoubtedly she must be a country primarily of large scale industries with advancement in technical knowledge. It is a wonder that 17 crores of people in the USA with their technical superiority not only supply the needs of their domestic markets, but they dominate the world trade to the extent of nearly 60 per cent. That is an amazing feat of achievement no doubt. Those who talk of unemployment with the expansion of large scale industries think in terms of static conditions with an unplanned economy. More and more industries of diverse kinds are to be established to provide employment. In a planned economy, it is the duty of the State to set up new industries to provide employment in an increasing scale,—a Sindri or a Chittaranjan is not enough either to meet the country's needs nor to provide employment. Why should not the State undertake upon itself the task of setting up hundreds of new textile mills, sugar mills, machine tool factories and the like? That is the proper method of solving unemployment. The production will create its own supply both in the internal and external markets.

Sugar Production

In 1955 India had a record production of sugar amounting to 15.86 lakh tons as against 10.86 lakh tons in the preceding year. At the end of the present sugar season, there will be a carry-over of nearly 5 lakh tons. For some years past the sugar industry in India has been playing a none too creditable part. Ever since the attainment of independence, it has been reaping a rich harvest of profits taking advantage of the rising demand in the face of the constant or falling internal production. The Tarff Board in 1949 recommended withdrawal of protection from the sugar industry because of its anti-social attitude and activities. The sugar situation in the country became so precarious with persistently falling output that the Government of India was finally compelled to import sugar from abroad. This evidently had a corrective influence on the domestic production and hence we have the record production. So long the Government and the Sugar industry have been preaching statistics that the internal need of the country for sugar stands somewhere near 18 to 20 lakh tons per year. The import of sugar in 1953-54 was 7.63 lakh tons. In 1955, the import, which forms part of old commitments, is about 6 lakh tons. The internal consumption, therefore, at present is to the extent of nearly 16 lakh tons and this quantity can be had from domestic production. But the authorities should be on the guard, because if they altogether stop imports, the industry may play false to the country as was the case in 1954 when the production fell by nearly 4 lakh tons.

The target for sugar production in the second Five-Year Plan has been fixed at 22.50 lakh tons per year on the basis of anticipated increase in consumption due to increase in population and improvement in national income. The installed capacity of the mills has to be increased by another 5 lakh tons to achieve this target. In order to have increased production, the Government have increased the production capacity by 5.50 lakh tons by grant of licences for 35 new sugar factories and also for substantial expansion of 38 existing units. The new factories are

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expected to give an additional production of 3.30 lakh tons. Out of this newly licensed capacity, nearly 1 lakh tons will be available in 1955-56 season.

The yield of sugarcane in the current season was 554.6 lakh tons and the area under cultivation 39.32 lakh acres. Corresponding figures for the previous year were 446.4 lakh tons and 34.98 lakh acres. The target for cane production in the Second Five-Year Plan has been tentatively fixed at 770 lakh tons as against the target of 610 lakh tons fixed in the First Five-Year Plan. Construction of roads in the factory areas, minor irrigation works, supply of improved seeds, intensive manuring of crop, plant protection, training of technical personnel and compost drive are some of the measures which are contemplated for development of sugarcane production during the Second Five-Year Plan. A provision of Rs. 5 crores is being made for financial assistance to States from the Centre for implementing this scheme of intensive development of the area unded sugarcane.

In 1953 there were 170 sugar factories in this country employing 92,000 workers. Under the expansion scheme, both the number of factories and the volume of employment have increased. Next to Cuba, India is the largest sugarcane producing country in the world. Yet the expansion of the industry began only after 1932 when it received protection. In 1932 there were 31 factories employing 33,900 workers. U. P. and Bihar account for 68 per cent of the factories and nearly 75 per cent of the labour force employed in the industry. The other important States are Bombay, Andhra and Madhya Bharat.

Goa Before The International Court

The Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Cunha told a Press Conference in Lisbon on December 22, 1955, that Portugal on that day moved law action at the Hague International Court of Justice against India for occupying the Portuguese territories of Dadra and Nagar Haveli in India since July 21, 1954. Legal action at the International Court is only possible now that Portugal has become a member of the United Nations, thanks of course to the intervention in the matter of "package deal" by the Indian Prime Minister. In other words, it is only through the initiative of India that Russia agreed to withdraw her veto in the Security Council and in consequence Portugal along with 15 other countries has become a member of the United Nations. Now she is repaying the debt by bringing this colonial issue before the International Court. Portugal is taking action against India for the occupation of these territories by Indian bands. She also complained of the Indian Government's alleged refusal to allow Portuguese forces or unarmed officials to cross Indian territory to reach the territories in dispute so that they could make contact with the Portuguese population and restore Portuguese sovereignty.

Portugal has asked the International Court (a) to recognise and declare that Portugal has right of access from her territory of Damoa (by the sea) to her enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli and from the latter to Damao and that this right includes the right of transit of people and goods without restrictions ; (b) to recognise and declare that India has prevented and continues preventing the practice of Portuguese rights mentioned above, thus offending Portugal's sovereignty and violating her international obligations ; (c) to determine that India cease immediately this situation, giving Portugal facilities for the practice of her right of access.

The present International Court of Justice is the successor to the Permanent Court of International Justice which was part of the League of Nations. The International Court consists of fifteen judges, elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council each acting independently of the other. The jurisdiction of the Court, like that of its predecessor, comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in the Charter of the United Nations or in treaties and conventions in force.

The jurisdiction of the Court, under Article 36, is of two kinds : general, based upon the Statute, and special, derived from treaties and conventions to which particular states are parties. This general jurisdiction is supplemented by an optional compulsory jurisdiction which covers four classes of legal disputes concerning (i) the interpretation of a treaty, (ii) questions of international law, (iii) the existence of facts involving a breach of an international obligation, and (iv) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

Under the former Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, this compulsory

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jurisdiction was accepted by Britain on behalf of India. The same has also been continued automatically under the present Statute. In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court. Recently Portugal has accepted this compulsory jurisdiction. Now the question is whether a colonial issue can be a subject-matter of dispute before the Court and whether a State can be made a party before the Court without its consent. Thirdly, whether the Court has jurisdiction over the territorial sovereignty of a State.

This is the first time that the International Court is called upon to give its opinion on an issue of colonialism. In the present case, the issue is not so much the right of Portugal as that of a Portuguese colony of access across an independent territory, to a subsidiary colony entirely surrounded by independent territory, that is, India. The right of domination over a colony cannot be claimed as a matter of international law nor can it be a justiciable right under international law. That would be a dangerous precedent undermining the very basis on which the United Nations rests. If every big State tries to establish its right over a colony through the machinery of the International Court of Justice, that would herald the end of the United Nations. That would result in war as was the case with the first and second world wars.

Portugal invokes Article 94 of the United Nations which lays down that each member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party. It must, however, be remembered that the jurisdiction of the International Court rests of course on the consent of the parties, that is, of member States. The consent can be either general, referring to a certain class or category of future disputes, or special, contemplating one or more concrete existing disputes.

The Court recognises State sovereignty as the basis of international relations. According to the definition which it has approved, international law governs relations between independent States and is an emanation of their own free will. Conversely, it has held that the principle of the independence of States is a fundamental principle of international law; and it has defined this independence as the continued existence of a State, within its present frontiers, as a separate State with sole right of decision in the sense that its sovereign will is not subordinated to will of any outside Power or Powers.

The Court accepts the principle of the territoriality of State sovereignty. It has laid down that a State has jurisdiction over all persons and things, national or foreign, within its territory. So it is quite out of the question that the International Court can ask India to grant Portugal the right of passage through the Indian territories to reach her enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

Soviet Leaders' Indian Tour

Shri Nikolai Alexandrovitch Bulganin, and Shri Nikita Sergievitch Khruschev, Members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, came on a State visit to India on November 18 at the invitation of the Government of India. The Soviet leaders toured different parts of India from November 18 to November 30 and then went to Burma where they were the guests of the Government of Burma from December 1 to December 7. Then they resumed their Indian tour which came to an end with their departure for Afghanisthan on December 14. At the conclusion of their visit to India and Burma the Soviet leaders signed two separate joint statements with the Prime Minister of India and Burma.

Welcoming the Soviet guests on their arrival on November 18, Prime Minister Nehru expressed the hope that just as his earlier visit to the Soviet Union had helped in bringing India and the Soviet Union closer to each other the visit of the Russian leaders would also strengthen the bonds of friendship and co-operation. "I trust that your stay here will be pleasant and fruitful to both of our countries and help the great cause of peace and co-operation between nations," Shri Nehru added.

Greeting the people of India Shri Bulganin said in a short speech at the Palam aerodrome. "We are getting down to the ancient land of India with joyful emotion of the deepest feeling of respect and feeling which the Soviet people have towards talented and hardworking people of India, creator of great original culture.

"The heroic struggle of peace-loving Indian people for re-establishing independence of their Motherland has always been responded with understanding and warm sympathy of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The establishing

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of the Sovereign Indian Republic was met by the Soviet people with feelings of great satisfaction and joy.

"There is a deep belief among our people in creative strength of Indian people which are playing the growing role in the international sphere and in strengthening the universal security and peace. The Soviet Government fully understand and appreciate the efforts of the Indian Government to secure peace and to reach progress of their country's economy.

"The Soviet and Indian people have many common tasks. India and Soviet Union are putting forward huge efforts for maintenance and strengthening peace and stand for the settlement of disputable international questions by peaceful means and by negotiations, and considerable results have been already reached in this field.

"Mutual efforts of India and the USSR aimed at broadening of their friendly relations are an important contribution to the cause of lessening of the international tension.

"We would like to use our visit to India for direct acquaintance with Indian people, its customs and traditions, with the results of its efforts to develop the economy and national industry.

"We do hope that our meetings with the Indian people and the widening of the contacts with the statesmen will bring the fruitful results for the cause of the further development of the mutual understanding and friendship of our countries.

"May I express to you our sincere thanks for warm and heartfelt welcome.

"Long live the friendship of the people of India and the Soviet Union."

The Soviet leaders were accorded a civic reception by the citizens of Delhi on November 19 at a meeting presided over by Premier Nehru. The address of welcome by the citizens of Delhi said: "Your Excellencies' visit at the present juncture in world history on the invitation of our Government and the Indian people, is of deep significance. It confirms and enhances the growing friendship between India and the Soviet Union. We are convinced that this friendship is not only good for our respective countries but will help in advancing the cause of world peace and co-operation which we have so much at heart. Our friendship is not aimed against any country or people. The objective that India has sought to keep before her and to serve is to have friendly relations with every country, even though there might be differences of opinion in regard to policies. We venture to think that this policy has been of some service to the cause of peace and understanding."

"The people of India have deeply appreciated the many steps which your Excellencies' Government has taken to further the cause of peace and to relieve the tensions and fears that unfortunately envelop the world. Already, there has been an improvement in the world situation though many very difficult problems still await solution. But it is recognised by all thinking people today that war is no solution and indeed is in itself a confession of defeat, which may well bring ruin to present-day civilisation. We know that the Russian people are devoted to peace and their endeavours have been to build up their own great country so as to ensure their well-being and advancement. We have watched with great interest and high appreciation the success of these constructive efforts which have brought the Soviet Union in the forefront in science and the applications of science.

"Our two countries differ in some ways in their political and social systems. Yet, there is much in common between us and the objectives we have, and there is a great field of co-operation. We are happy that this co-operation is growing in the fields of science, technology and trade."

In reply, Shri Bulganin referred to the traditional friendship between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union and said: "At present the Soviet Union and the Republic of India are building their relations on stable and reliable foundations—on the principles of mutual respect toward territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other on any pretext, whether of an economic, political or ideological nature, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and also on the basis of peaceful co-existence.

"First proclaimed by India and the Chinese People's Republic, these five principles, which you call *Panchashila*, have now received the approval of all peace-loving people and are fruitfully implemented in practice by a number of States."

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Shri Bulganin thereto referred to Indo-Soviet co-operation in the international field. He said: "What is common to the people of the Soviet Union and India—is that they are both peace-loving and hardworking peoples; to both peoples the ideas of racialism and colonialism are foreign. They actively stand for preserving and strengthening peace, for friendship and co-operation between all countries, for national sovereignty and international security."

He also referred to the favourable factors for the growth of Indo-Soviet economic co-operation.

From Delhi the honourable guests went to Agra. After their visit to the Tajmahal and the Agra Fort the honoured guests were entertained to a lunch by Shri K. M. Munshi, Governor of Uttar Pradesh, who also presented the guests with gifts. Pointing to a model of Tajmahal among the gifts Shri Khruschev said: "This wonderful present bears witness to the greatness of the country and the craftsmanship of the Indian people. It is priceless. We are your friends not only in pleasant weather when sun shines pleasantly. We are your friends in any kind of weather. And if there is ever a gale or a draught harmful to the health of the Indian people, remember us and we will never forget you."

While addressing the Indian Parliament on November 21, Shri Bulganin stressed the common objectives of Soviet and Indian foreign policies and said: "In the long run we are striving for the same objectives: to lessen international tension, to preserve and to strengthen peace, to prevent war, and to save mankind from its horrors, to guarantee the undisturbed work and joys of peaceful life for the peoples throughout the world. What could be more noble than that?"

"We also have much in common in settling the tasks put forth by the internal life of our countries. When our people won the October Revolution they set before themselves an aim to achieve economic and cultural change in our Motherland, to convert our country into an industrial and socialist State. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the Soviet people have successfully implemented this historic task.

"You are following your own road. You also have the objective of converting your Motherland, which has for ever overthrown colonial domination, into an advanced state with a developed national economy and high enough standard of living. It is with complete understanding and sincere sympathy that the Soviet people regard your efforts directed to the achievement of these objectives.

"In our opinion at present there are all the possibilities for further expanding of Soviet-Indian co-operation in the fields of economy and culture as well as in the field of scientific and technical research.

"We are prepared to share with you our economic and scientific experience. This corresponds to the wishes and aspirations of our peoples."

Shri Khruschev also made a speech before the Parliament on the same day. He said: "India's achievement of State sovereignty and national independence is a fact of great historical significance. The Soviet people note with feelings of profound satisfaction and joy that the road of free and independent development is opened up before the peoples of India. Developing their independent state they will be able to achieve well-being and the cultural and economic progress of their country. The implementation of these great tasks is within the abilities of the Indian people.

"The Soviet people fully understand the aspirations of the Indian people to maintain stable and lasting peace for these tasks could be fulfilled only under conditions of peace.

"It is proved by the course of social development itself that in order to become really independent and to secure the well-being of the people every country must have its own developed economy which does not depend on foreign capital. The historical experience shows that colonizers' methods to suppress an underdeveloped country may have a variety of forms. They are trying to hinder by all possible means the development of national industries in these countries, fearing that the establishing of their own national industries, the creation of their own intelligentsia, raising the people's standard of living would strengthen the formerly dependent country and help it to move along the path of independent development.

"We welcome clairvoyance of the leaders of India who realize this, who see where the dangerous threat to India's independence might

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come from and who are waging a struggle against such threats."

Refuting the allegations of Soviet interference in the internal affairs of other countries, Shri Khruschev said that the Soviet people considered the way shown by Lenin as the best one and had achieved great successes in their development marching along the chosen path of socialism. "But we have never compelled anybody and are not compelling to accept our ideas of the reconstruction of society." It was one of Lenin's teaching that the people of each country had the right to live in any way they like without interference in their affairs by the other States.

Shri Khruschev said that the reasons why such slanderous propaganda was being carried against the Soviet Union was that the reactionaries "want the peoples to know less truth of our country because the truth about the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is fatal for the reactionary forces, for colonizers, for those who would like to perpetuate the suppression of one people by another to perpetuate the exploitation of one human being by another."

Shri Khruschev recounted the constructive efforts of the Soviet people and of the conspiracy of the enemies of the Soviet people to crush them by setting "upon our country a wild dog—Hitlerite fascism" and the subsequent effotrts of the Soviet people to heal the war wounds. He said: "I speak all this not because I wish to enforce upon you the Soviet way of development, but in order to give you a more complete understanding of the difficult way that our people have been following. This is a noble way, and by having taken it our peoples have attained great achievements and victories. During these years we have gained great experience. And if you would like to use in some degree our experience in any of the fields of economy or culture, we shall selflessly and willingly, as friends do, share it with you and shall give you every possible assistance."

Shri Khurschev then referred to the threat of atomic bomb meted out to the Soviet Union immediately after the conclusion of the Second World War and said that it could not, however, be effective as the Soviet scientists also were not far behind in getting to the secrets of the atom bomb.

On November 22, the two honoured guests together with the persons accompanying them visited Bhakra-Nangal, Punjab State. In reply to a reception there Shri Khruschev said: "We have different political outlooks. You have your own outlook and your own philosophy and we have ours. There is no need just now for clarification as to on what questions we differ. It is important to state that we agree on the basic question—that is on the question of war and peace. These questions cannot but agitate people. Every honest person cannot but desire peace and fight for it. We seek friends in the struggle for peace, independence, among all whether great or small States, irrespective of their political views, of race and religious faith. What is important is that we want to strengthen peace but as far as the question of what sort of State structure any one has got is concerned, that is the internal affair of each country. And as for views, that is the affair of each person. That is why we ourselves do not interfere and ask others not to interfere in each other's internal affairs."

Expressing full support for the principles of peaceful co-existence proclaimed by Premier Nehru and Chou, Shri Khruschev added: "As regards political structure, of course, we have very clearly defined views but we have no intention of forcing them on others. But it is different with questions of economic construction and technique. These are international questions. N. A. Bulganin rightly observed here that it pleased us to inspect the construction of this power station. But it was even more pleasant to see the people, their bright eyes and the enthusiasm with which they work."

During the visit to the Bhakra-Nangal Project Shri Bulganin and Shri Khruschev were presented with two ancient swords decorated with gold and silver by the Maharaja of Patiala.

They arrived at Bombay on November 23 where they were accorded a civic welcome. Replying on behalf of Shri Bulganin and himself, Shri Khruschev referred to certain people who at heart wanted war would not openly say that, and said: "Some of those who now say that they stand for peace, of course, wouldn't mind if they could achieve their ends without war, they would have liked such peace in which they would be able to subjugate one

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people to another. But the people do not want this. In this lies the essence of the matter and the key to all differences."

Speaking before a meeting organised by the Bombay branch of Indo-Soviet Cultural Society on November 24 in honour of the Soviet guests, Shri Khruschev said: "There are in the world people who ask: 'Is co-existence possible?' It seems that there is no question about this since States are in practice co-existing. But this question is still raised.

"I want to tell you that it depends on Papa and Mama whether the child is to be born but it does not depend on them as to on what day, or at what hour he will appear or whether he will be as they want him to be.

"How is it possible to attempt to stop the development of history and to prevent the birth of new social forms? As the sun rises every morning, so in place of outmoded social forms, new and more progressive forms appear.

"That is how our Soviet State was born. It was the first proletarian State in the world, the State of the workers and peasants. The birth of this State was met by all other States without the ringing of bells."

The capitalist countries made various futile attempts to throttle the young socialist State. Those forces were still active in keeping up world tension. But considering all factors the Soviet Union reaffirmed its adherence to the policy of peaceful co-existence of States with different ideologies and political structure. Because, said Khruschev, "in the present conditions, in peaceful co-operation between the capitalist and socialist systems we will win, socialism will win."

"The Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, also declared that India also was taking this socialist path. This is good. Of course, we have a different understanding of socialism, but we welcome such a declaration and such an attitude.

"And so the socialist system exists and for this ask for no one's permission. We not only exist, but we are able also to defend our existence."

In conclusion Shri Khruschev said that co-existence was inevitable and was not something that could either be demanded or given by anybody. "We actually exist as much as capitalist States do. No one can transplant us to Mars, even scientists have not discovered the means for this. Evidently, the capitalist States too don't want to transplant themselves to Mars. That means we have to live on the same planet, and to live means to co-txist."

The Soviet leaders went to Bangalore on November 26. There also they were accorded a civic welcome. Speaking at the reception Shri Khruschev referred to the disarmament issue and said: "We tell statesmen of the Western Powers: if you are afraid to disarm, to destroy your stock of bombs, then let us give a true gentleman's word that none of us will ever use atomic weapons. They answer that they cannot give such a word, because they apparently need the hydrogen and atomic bombs for a 'balance of power'. . . ."

In such circumstances the Soviet Union could not reduce her armaments one-sidedly to the peril of her own security, he added. Though the Soviet Union had to develop atom bombs, Shri Khruschev went on to say, "We are inspired not by this. With great satisfaction we work so that we can produce more and different types of machines, tractors, ploughs and to grow more wheat, rice, cotton and that there is an abundance of meat, vegetables, fish and other products for the population. This is what we want and for which we work."

From Bangalore the guests went to Madras. From Madras they came to Calcutta. Replying to the civic reception on the Calcutta maidan on November 30, Shri Khruschev referred to the diehards in the imperialist camp who did not want to recognise the lessons of history. Such countries refused to recognise the resurgent Asia. "I have in view Portugal, which does not want to leave Goa, to free this legal territory of India from its rule. But sooner or later this will happen and Goa will free itself from foreign rule and will become an integral part of the Republic of India.

"The solidarity of the peoples of Asia—this is a mortal blow to the colonial system."

He then referred to the "great understanding" showed by the public of Bengal in the struggle for the independence of India and greeted the people of West Bengal, "which suffered greater sacrifices in the struggle for the independence of India more than any other Indian State."

From Calcutta the Soviet leaders went to

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Burma from where they returned to India on December 7. They visited Asansol in West Bengal, Jaipur and then arrived at Srinagar in Kashmir on December 9.

Later in a speech at the luncheon given by Sadar-i-Riyasat of Kashmir Shri Bulganin said: "We think that talented and industrious people of Kashmir together with all peoples of India will achieve new successes in the economic and cultural construction."

On December 10, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, Prime Minister of Kashmir, arranged a reception in honour of the guests. Explaining the Soviet attitude to the Kashmir question, Shri Khruschev said in a speech on that occasion: "Our position with regard to this question is absolutely clear and precise. The Soviet Union has always considered this question regarding the State of Kashmir as one which should be decided by the people of Kashmir themselves since this would be in accordance with the principles of democracy and would strengthen friendly relations among the peoples of this region . . .

"The question of Kashmir as one of the States of the Republic of India has already been decided by the people of Kashmir . . ."

Sudan becomes Independent

The Sudan, which had been under Anglo-Egyptian condominium since 1898, becomes independent on this New Year's Day. The independence of the country has already found recognition from the co-dominion powers, Britain and Egypt.

The Sudan Chamber of Deputies (Lower House of Parliament) unanimously passed a resolution on December 19 declaring that the Sudan was to become a "fully sovereign Republic" and requesting the Governor-General, Sir Knox Helm, "to ask the co-dominion powers to recognize it forthwith."

The Chamber of Deputies passed another resolution setting up a five-man commission to assume the powers of Head of State replacing the Governor-General until a President was elected to head the Republic. By another resolution the Chamber provided for the setting up of a Constituent Assembly to draw up a Constitution for the new Republic.

The formal proclamation of independence is to be made on January 1, 1956.

Cyprus

The island of Cyprus with its 3,572 square miles of territory and 514,000 people has in the recent past attracted considerable attention both of the world press and politicians. For three centuries after its conquest by the Turks in 1570 the island had remained a part of the Ottoman Empire until in 1878 the Turkish Government was forced under a 48-hour ultimatum to place it under British "temporary administration," which lasted until after the outbreak of the First World War, when the British annexed the island to the British Empire. The annexation was confirmed by the Treaty of Lausanne, July 24, 1923 and was recognised by Turkey and Greece. The British Government proclamation of Cyprus as a British colony was made on May 5, 1925.

The population of Cyprus is overwhelmingly Greek, only about 18 per cent being of Turkish origin. The Ethnarchy or the Greek Church in Cyprus had traditionally headed a movement for liberation from Moslem rule and this became identified with the idea of union with Greece ('Enosis') after the establishment of an independent Greece in the nineteenth century. The movement for Enosis has continued to gain strength even after formal British annexation in 1914 and assumed such proportions that it has now become an international question of great importance.

Internationally the future of Cyprus has become the particular concern of three States, Britain, Turkey, and Greece, with which the Cypriots want to be united. For political and strategic reasons Britain, while she was willing to concede some concession in the way of internal administrative autonomy to the people of Cyprus, is firmly committed to oppose the 'Enosis' idea. Turkey, Cyprus being by far nearer to her coast, favours the *status quo*, but in the event of British withdrawal wants the island to be given back to her. Greece, on the other hand, would like to see Cyprus independent so that its future could be decided by means of a plebiscite.

The British rule has been little better than the Turkish rule. Britain at first tried to keep up a representative government in the island but by October, 1931, the Legislative Council was abolished. The Governor now exercises all

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authority subject to the overriding authority of the British Crown. An Executive Council comprising four official members and not more than three others appointed by the Governor, of whom one, in practice, has always been a Moslem, advises the Governor on new legislation and on the exercise of the powers granted to the Governor-in-Council under existing British laws. After the Second World War, the British Government set up a Constituent Assembly, but nothing came out of it.

The Cyprus issue has assumed its present complicated character because of the strategic calculations of Britain and the Western Powers. The island is well situated, strategically close to important Mediterranean Sea lanes and astride air routes linking Europe with the Middle East and North-east Africa. "The importance of Cyprus," the British Secretary of State for Colonies, Mr. Alan Lenonx-Boyd, told the House of Commons in May, 1955, "depends on the Middle East as a whole in our world-wide strategy. I do not think that this can be denied. The Middle East is the land bridge between Europe, Asia and Africa, the centre of the Moslem world and the keystone of our defence against Communist infiltration into Africa and an essential link in our chain of strategic and military bases . . .

"It is . . . the only place where we can provide permanently, with freedom from externally imposed restrictions on our military requirements, a peace-time location for our Middle East land and air headquarters, where we can keep troops permanently to meet sudden emergencies of any kind. Geographically it is very well placed for this purpose and airfield facilities will be of first importance . . ." He then proceeded on to add to that the maintenance of British sovereignty over Cyprus was an essential prerequisite for the fulfilment of British Government commitments under the NATO and Middle Eastern Defence Treaties.

The Greek Government's claim to Cyprus is not without historical support. At the time of the First World War, Britain promised, on October 18, 1915, to cede Cyprus to Greece if she would abandon her neutrality. Greece refused. However, two years later Greece joined the war against Germany but Britain then preferred not to raise the question again. During the Second World War, Greece was too dependent on British help to raise any such claim. After the Second World War, the movement for union with Cyprus gained great strength in Greece itself. The Greek Government tried to get the British Government enter into negotiations about Cyprus. Failing in their efforts they then brought the question of Cyprus before the Ninth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations with a suggestion that, under United Nations supervision, the principle of equality and self-determination of nations should be applied to the population of Cyprus. By vote of nine against three, with three abstention the General Committee of the General Assembly recommended on September 23, 1954, that the Cyprus question be put on the agenda of the Ninth Session. USSR and Czechoslovakia supported the motion, Britain and France opposed it while the USA abstained. Meanwhile pressure was brought to bear against Greece by the USA and other colonial powers to withdraw that resolution. Nevertheless Greece presented a draft resolution on December 14, 1954, for consideration of the General Assembly. But instead of considering the Greek resolution the political committee took up a resolution moved by the New Zealand delegate with British and U.S. and Turkish support. With minor amendments the New Zealand resolution got adopted and the General Assembly with Greek support passed a resolution on December 17, 1954, to postpone consideration of the Cyprus issue. The Greek Government tried to raise the question of Cyprus again in the Tenth Session of the General Assembly in 1955 but this time on 23rd September, the matter failed of adoption as one of the items of agenda even.

Meanwhile forced by circumstances the British Government had to modify its previous stand of complete refusal to discuss the question of Cyprus with Greece and called a conference in London for a discussion of the matter. However, the British Government also invited the Government of Turkey to send a representative ostensively in the hope that the irreconcilable differences between Greek and Turkish attitude could be utilised to further British ends. The conference was held in London from August 29 to September 17, 1955, and as expected was inconclusive.

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Malayan Peace Talks

War has been raging in Malaya for the past eight years under the guise of suppression of "terrorism." According to authoritative British statements it was costing £65 million annually to maintain troops in Malaya. Since 1948, when the war started, five British Commanders-in-Chief have taken over the task of "annihilating the terrorists," but by all accounts each one of them has been equally unsuccessful in that effort. The present Director-General of operations against the insurgents, Lt.-General Sir Geoffrey Bourne, has said that to end the Emergency is a "political job."

In view of the military impasse the May 1, 1955 Declaration of the Malaya People's Liberation Army Command, on its readiness to bring hostilities to an end through negotiation, came as a welcome news. On July 4, 1955, the People's Army Command repeated the offer for a negotiated peace. The Colonial Government still remained silent. But after the popular government headed by Tengku Abdul Rahman came to office as a result of the July elections, the new Government in consultation with the British Government in UK declared an amnesty on September 8 calling upon the insurgents to surrender their arms either to the police or to the civilians. "There will be no general 'cease-fire,' but the Security Forces will be on the alert to help those who wish to accept this offer (of surrender) and for this purpose local 'cease-fire' will be arranged."

"The Government will conduct investigation on those who surrender. Those who show that they genuinely intend to be loyal to the Government of Malaya and to give up their Communist activities will be helped to regain their normal position in society and be reunited with their families. As regards the remainder, restrictions will have to be placed on their liberty; but if any of these go to China their request will be given due consideration," the amnesty offer said.

Apparently convinced of the inadequacy of the amnesty offer the Malayan Government at last agreed to discuss with the leaders of the Liberation Army. Agreement on cease-fire talks was reached in Kuala Lumpur on December 24 following which a meeting took place at Baling in North Malaya on December 28 and 29 between the Government representatives of Malaya and Singapore on the one side and the Communist leaders on the other. On the "anti-Communist" side were Tengku Abdul Rahman, Chief Minister of the Federation of Malaya, Mr. Marshall, Chief Minister of the Singapore Colony and Sir Chen Lock-tan, President of the Malayan Chinese Association. The Communist delegation consisted of Chin Peng, Leader of the outlawed Communist Party, Abdul Rashid, Bin Madin and Chan Tian.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Malaya met in the middle of December to decide on the holding of cease-fire talks. In addition to the communique a manifesto was also issued after that meeting. The manifesto said that on the termination of the Second World War the Malayan people eagerly awaited independence but the British colonial authorities instead unleashed a reign of terror of repression. "They treated their wartime allies—the Malayan Communist Party and the Malayan people—as enemies . . . In 1948, they even enforced 'emergency regulations' and unleashed the colonial war against the people." Under such circumstances the manifesto added, the Communist Party took up the only honourable path before them of leading resolutely the people's armed resistance. Failure in their efforts to crush the Malayan people's resistance had induced the British Government to "make some concessions and reforms in the system of colonial rule."

"In view of this the Malayan Communist Party wishes to declare considerately that we are always of the opinion of stopping the war through negotiations."

The manifesto also called for Malayan independence at the earliest opportunity and negotiations to settle relations between Malaya and the Commonwealth.

Tengku Abdul Rahman, Chief Minister of Malaya, declared on December 25 that he would not bargain with the Communists or go beyond the amnesty offer of September 8 in his talks with Chin Peng.

Given such irreconcilable rigidity on both sides the prospect of the success of the talks between the Government and the Communists were not quite bright. The outcome clearly turned out that it was not so.

The talks on the first day (December 28)

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revolved round three points: (*a*) Recognition of the Malayan Communist Party; (*b*) Restriction of Movement; and (*c*) Investigation after surrender. Tengku Abdul Rahman and Mr. David Marshall made it quite clear that the Communist leaders and their followers would not be allowed to go free immediately after cease-fire and that the Communist Party of Malaya would have to be dissolved.

The Communists refused to accept investigation of their loyalty after "surrender" or repatriation to People's Republic of China.

The two Chief Ministers, Rahman and Marshall, tried to impress the Communist leaders that the former were not "stooges or running dogs" of the British. The Communist leader, Chin Peng said that the fact that they had come to meet the Chief Ministers proved that they did not consider them to be stooges.

Mr. Rahman and Mr. Marshall drew attention of the Communist leaders to the futility of conducting the war which had brought so much misery. The Communists also reciprocated their sentiments and said that they had been fighting previous Governments because they had been British but now that there was a representative government, they (the Communists) too wanted peace.

In the second day's meeting on December 29, Mr. Chin Peng told the Government leaders that the Communists would lay down their arms if the Federal Government of Malaya took over from Britain complete control of internal security and all the armed forces in the country. But this statement, according to Chen Tian, Communist Party propaganda chief, was not the same thing as accepting the September 8 amnesty terms.

The talks thus ended inconclusively and the Communist leader left saying: "We will never accept surrender at any time and will continue our struggle to the last man."

There is, however, hope of fresh talks taking place in near future.

After the failure of the talks with the Communists it was officially announced on December 30 in Kuala Lumpur that the amnesty offer would come to an end on February 8, 1956.

The general conclusion in London, where Tengku Abdul Rahaman was shortly arriving for discussion on constitutional matters concerning Malaya, was, reports the *Statesman*, "that the Baling Conference would not leave things just as they were and may prove to be an occasion from which more important developments will follow."

The *Manchester Guardian* writes: "Even if the jungle war is resumed it is not likely to be resumed in exactly the same way as before. It will become more political and less military. By military means the Government cannot hope to suppress the Communist rebellion entirely, nor can the Communist hope to seize the Government: thus each side may be forced towards some political settlement."

War, The Old Order Changeth

In view of the present liquid state of the 'cold war,' the following commentary on the urge for peace would be of interest. It appeared in the *Worldover Press* some four months back:

Berlin.—It was well over a year ago that Sir Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, said that after the Pacific H-bomb tests all our military thinking of the past, even of the previous year, was obsolete, obsolete, obsolete.

At about the same time, the U.S. Secretary of Defense said he was able to bring together a powerful army of 10 million men. Immediately he was asked where that army would be concentrated. Because, wherever it would be, it was in danger of extinction from a single H-bomb. It would have to be dispersed throughout the United States or elsewhere, in which case it would lose much of its military effectiveness.

Now the Russians, with their characteristic sense of reality save when the doctrines of Marx are concerned, have reached the conviction that the vast Red Army is no longer a real asset. Mass armies in general are obsolete, obsolete, obsolete. The generals of NATO have a green light to make a war atomic. It is not sufficiently realized in the West that in Russia and its satellites, this development caused something like a panic. It meant that war with conventional weapons is "out"—and yet, it was precisely in that field that Russia had been superior.

The air manoeuvers over West Germany called "Carte Blanche" have proved the Soviet fear justified. Over 50 atomic bombs would have been dropped, while 36 atomic cannon on German soil would have spewed out their wholesale extinction.

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Any Russian concentration on German soil would have been uselessly sacrificed. Farewell, strong Red Army! It was then that the Russians became champions of disarmament. Their plan to reduce their forces by 640,000 represents a substantial cut, but it is a reduction in an army which had already become obsolete.

Two recent events, when thoughtfully analyzed, confirm the chief reason—though not necessarily the only reason—for the Russian change of policy. When the Bonn government announced that conscription was imminent, the Grotewohl regime in East Germany announced that any West German war resister or conscientious objector would be welcome in the East (which needs manpower for industry), and would be granted not only the right of asylum but full citizenship. At once, West German pacifist youth —of whom there are many—inquired whether citizenship included the duty of military service on the other side, which would be repugnant. The answer was that the query was irrelevant, for there was no intention of introducing conscription in East Germany.

Many observers thought this was insincere. But it was probably sincere in this sense: it corresponded to reality. The East German army would hereafter have its main usefulness in preserving internal "order" against attempts to overthrow the Communist-controlled government. Why force unwilling and unreliable Germans into such an army by a draft? Besides, the absence of conscription enables the East Zone to boast of itself as a liberal area without militarization.

For another tip-off on the change, it is worth while to look at the results of the World Peace Council's second big conference, this year held at Helsinki. The West has paid little attention to it, because the Vienna conference, two years ago, pulled out all the typical Communist stops for the habitual "peace line." But this year's conference was entirely different. It was held in a country considered as Western in orientation. A Finnish cabinet minister opened it. It was sponsored by such personalities as Edouard Herriot and the Brazilian de Castro, whom no one has ever remotely thought of as Communist in sympathy. And with the Communist delegations still powerful, the conference, mostly unanimous, adopted resolutions in which the West was not at all accused of bellicose intentions. Note this:

"The effective abolition of nuclear weapons cannot be achieved as an isolated action. This is now clear. It should be incorporated into the frame-work of general disarmament. The achievement of general disarmament on a large scale is not only necessary for its own sake, but also in order to diminish the tensions currently existing in the world. . . .

". . . . Necessity of an understanding amongst all European states, regardless of difference of regimes, to safeguard their economic and cultural collaboration. *The United States, having an alliance with the countries of Western Europe, should be invited to take part in this system of collective security.*"

It is remarkable that such resolutions were adopted at a gathering of 1,841 from 68 countries, with Americans comparatively absent and their influence at a minimum. Has it not always hitherto been the fierce endeavor of all Soviet politics to keep the U.S. out of any influence in Europe? Here they are urged to join all Europeans. The shift is basic.

Let us, however, not be over-idealistic in measuring the change. The new Russian attitude is not based on sentimental considerations. It comes from the stark fact, most of all, that the Red Army is no longer an asset. But exactly because it is a change based on reality, it can be regarded as reliable and politically "sincere." For that matter, what is true for the Russians is true for everybody. No wonder Germans are asking of what actual use will be the planned West German army, when 50 atomic bombs would render the country uninhabitable?

The Pope and Colonialism

The Pope's Christmas message, which we quote, displays a clear and profound understanding of the colonial issue:

Vatican City, Dec. 24.—Pope Pius XII in his seventeenth Christmas message to the world today referred to "colonialism" and the conflict between European nations and their overseas territories struggling for independence.

He called upon European colonial Powers to show "a spirit of impartial justice and even of generosity" in dealing with dependent peoples aspiring to full political independence.

The Pope warned that, if these "disputes" were allowed to run their course, "a third party" might gain advantage. Let not these peoples be denied "a fair and progressive political freedom," His Holiness said.

The Pope said: "In last year's Christmas

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message we indicated the points of dispute noted in the relations between Europeans and those non-Europeans who aspire to full political independence.

"Can those disputes be allowed to run their course, so to speak, a procedure which might easily increase their gravity, sow hatred in man's souls, and create the so-called traditional enmities?

"And might not a third party come to profit from such enmities, a third party which neither of the others really wants, and cannot want?

"At any rate let not those peoples be denied a fair and progressive political freedom, and hindered in its pursuit.

"To Europe, however, they will give credit for their advancement—to that Europe without whose influence, extended to all fields, they might be drawn by a blind nationalism to plunge into chaos or slavery.

"On the other hand, Western peoples, especially those of Europe, should not in the face of such problems remain passive, in futile regret over the past or in mutual recrimination over colonialism.

"Rather they should set themselves constructively to work to extend, where it has not yet been done, those true values of Europe and the West which have produced so many good fruits in other continents.

"The more Europeans strive for this, the more help will they be to the just freedom of young nations, which in turn will be saved from the pitfalls of false nationalism. This in truth is their real enemy, which would pit them one day against each other to the advantage of third parties.

"Such a forecast, not unfounded, cannot be neglected or forgotten by those who handle their problems of peace at congress—where, unfortunately, there gleams the splendour of a unity that is external and predominantly negative.

"We think that in such considerations and in such modes of procedure there is a valuable assurance of peace, in some respects even more important than an immediate prevention of war."

India's Policy of Neutrality

Pandit Nehru reaffirmed our stand on the issue of neutrality in the context of foreign reactions to the Soviet leaders' visit, as the following news indicates:

Coimbatore, Dec. 22.—Mr. Nehru today expressed India's determination to pursue her own independent policy "internally in the domestic sphere and externally in the international sphere."

"We shall make friends with all who are friendly to us, and we shall also continue to be friendly with those who do not want to be friends with us," he said. "Our contacts will be closer with those who are friendly than with those who refuse to be friendly. But we do not want to be hostile or inimical to any country."

"Now great controversies have arisen in other countries about the consequences of the visit of the Soviet leaders to India. They ask: Is India aligning or tying herself with the Communist countries and with the Soviet Union? Is India giving up her policy of non-alignment and neutrality? Some people in the West are very angry.

"People in many parts of the world seem to think that, if you are friendly with one person that means you are hostile and inimical to the other as if you can only be friendly with one in order to be hostile to another. The area of friendship should not be confined by a wall of hostility. That is our national and international outlook and that is the real basis of what is called the policy of neutrality or non-alignment that India follows."

"India has an individuality and soul, not of today but of the last 2,000 years," he said. "We have a mind of our own, and we have a soul and spirit of our own. Regardless of what we are, some may have misunderstanding of what India has been and is going to be in the future. But India will pursue her own independent policy."

Psychology of the Near East

The British on their side have made a major mistake in trying to hurry Jordan into the Baghdad Pact. Prolonged rioting with considerable loss to life and property followed the visit of the British Commander-in-Chief resulting in the collapse of the Government as the following message shows:

"Amman, Dec. 20.—King Hussein today accepted the resignation of Mr. Mahali's Government amid renewed demonstrations against the Baghdad Pact.

"But Mr. Mahali was asked to remain in office until a replacement has been installed at the head of a caretaker Government, which will supervize general elections early next year.

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"King Hussein dissolved Parliament and called general elections last night in an attempt to stabilize the political situation.

"Security forces are patrolling the streets, guarding embassies and foreign establishments. Earlier today, Civil Servants, doctors and lawyers joined demonstrators in demanding the immediate resignation of the Government.

"Mr. Mahali himself said in a statement over the radio that his Government had resigned to give the nation a chance to decide the issues before them."

India and the S.E.A.T.O

Sri Menon has clearly stated our official view of the S.E.A.T.O., to which the Baghdad Pact is linked, in the following assertion:

"U. N. H. Q., Dec. 9.—India today asserted that the South-East Asia Treaty Organization constituted an 'attempt to infringe on our sovereignty.'

"Mr. Krishna Menon made the statement in the Political Committee during a blistering attack on military alliances. He branded all these as contrary to the terms of the U.N. Charter, and declared that India was being 'encircled. We are ringed in by these war pacts and highly armed nations.'

"Referring to the alliance between China and the Soviet Union, Mr. Menon said that China had a powerful war potential which India had no reason 'up to now, to think will be used against us.'

"He spoke of 'the organization which is euphemistically called, or was called, the South-East Asia Defence Organization.' He understood it was now the South-East Asian Treaty Organization. 'The question is how many teeth has it?'"

New Members of the U.N.

The package entry of 18 nations to the U.N. was wrecked in the beginning by the vetoing of Outer Mongolia by Nationalist China, despite requests by even the U.S. Russia retaliated by vetoing thte entry of the West-sponsored nations. It is now confirmed by the U.N. Assembly President, Dr. Jose Maza, that at Pandit Nehru's request M. Bulganin, who was in India at that time, intervened with the results noted below in the following messages:

"New York, Dec. 15.—Thunderous applause went up from the crowded benches of the U.N. General Assembly late last night when 16 new countries, including Ceylon, were formally declared members after five years of deadlock.

"The Assembly met to elect the 16 candidates a few hours after they had been approved by the Security Council where the Soviet Union suddenly reversed her position on the vetoes she had cast against the West-backed countries at the previous day's meeting.

"Russia decided to drop the candidature of Outer Mongolia, which Nationalist China had vetoed, and Japan 'for the present session.'

"Unanimous voting was given to many of the ney members—Albania, the Jordan, Ireland, Portugal, Hungary, Italy, Austria, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland, Ceylon, Nepal, Libya, Cambodia, Laos and Spain.

"The Soviet Union was among sponsors of the resolution. In separate voting by roll-call on each applicant, Albania was the first state to be formally elected—48 to three with five abstentions. Ceylon was elected unanimously by 57 members present.

"Dr. Jose Maza of Chile, the Assembly President, told the Assembly it had 'given life to a deep desire which has existed for several years in the General Assembly; to overcome the obstacles that have impeded the development of U.N. towards an international organization which represents all the peoples of the world and which enjoys true universality among its members.'"

The Muslim League in India

Pandit Nehru has at last clarified his view of the Muslim League as the following news indicates:

Calicut, Dec. 27.—Mr. Nehru today launched a strong attack on communal organizations, specially the Muslim League, which has recently been revived here after a lapse of years.

Addressing a public meeting here, he said: "In Malabar, I am told, there is a remnant of the old Muslim League. It is amazing that this discreditable organization—that worked against Indian freedom and brought misery to India—should raise its head in the Malabar area."

Christian Missionaries in India

Religious toleration has been an age-old tradition in India prior to the advent of the Muslims, with only a few instances of intolerance. This has been declared as a definite

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policy of the present day by our President, as indicated in the news below:

"Dec. 19.—The President made a forthright declaration in New Delhi on Sunday that it was not the intention of the Government of India to curtail the freedom of Christian missionaries or to come in the way of their true mission.

"Presiding over a meeting at the Constitution Club grounds to celebrate the 1,903rd anniversary of the arrival in India of St. Thomas, Dr. Prasad declared that the missionaries were welcome to place the true teachings of Christ 'before our people.'

"Dr. Prasad said that what was demanded of Christians, as well as of other people, was loyalty to the country and not to a dogma. It was India's traditional policy, he added, to give equal respect to all.

"The President gave an assurance to Christians that it was the intention of the Prime Minister and all others in responsible administrative positions to be fair to all.

"It was not an accident, the President declared, that Mahatma Gandhi owed as much to Christianity as to Hinduism in the making of his personality. He stated: 'In India it has been our firm faith that God can be reached by innumerable paths. Each man is and ought to be free to pursue the path that suits him best and whoever does so honestly will ultimately reach God.'"

Aftermath of the S.R.C. Report

The S. R. C. Report has given rise to reactions all over the States concerned. Pandit Nehru has formulated a new proposal to alleviate the consequences. We reproduce it below without comments, as the final decisions on the report have not materialised yet:

"New Delhi, Dec. 21.—A proposal to form five Zonal Councils each of five or six States to consider mutual economic, developmental and border problems was suggested to the Lok Sabha by Mr. Nehru today and welcomed with prolonged cheers.

"To begin with, Mr. Nehru said that the proposed Councils—with which the Centre could be associated—might have an advisory status. They could develop more powers subsequently, if well received.

"He suggested setting up five such Councils, one each for the Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western and Central areas of the country. They would not be created on linguistic principles.

"He agreed with a member's suggestion that in some Zones the constituent States could share a common High Court and Governor.

"The proposal for Zonal Councils as a means to develop greater co-operation and goodwill among neighbouring States came at the end of nearly an hour's speech on the S.R.C. Report in which Mr. Nehru emphasized that he was expressing his personal views and was not speaking on behalf of the Government.

"He frankly stated his opposition to the principle of linguistic States while at the same time emphasizing the need to give each language full opportunity to develop.

"He did not see how a language could be developed by putting up walls between it and other languages. Personally, he would prefer to live in a multilingual State in order to appreciate other cultures more fully, he said.

"The most important part of the report was the chapter on safeguards. They could be increased if regarded inadequate, and even laid down in the Constitution so as to ensure a fair deal to every language everywhere.

"Even more important than a decision was the way in which it was reached and accepted. Unless the country and all sections in it adopted the democratic method of discussing issues fully and then accepting the majority view, even if it did not suit a particular group it would be encouraging violence."

Institute of Asian-African Relations

The "Institute of Asian-African Relations" recently came into being in Calcutta with the blessing of the leading statesmen and scholars of India. The object of the institute is to promote a deeper study of the cultural problems of Asia and Africa in the context of world peace and Gandhi World Fellowship.

The peoples of Asia and Africa who constitute more than half of world's total population and who possess unbounded natural resources had so long been blatantly denied, to quote Dr. Kalidas Nag, the Secretary-General of the Institute, "not only self-government but even fundamental human rights."

Of late there has been a welcome awakening on the part of the United Nations to the urgent need of asserting its authority in the interest of the colonial peoples. But the colonial spirit of domination dies hard as would appear from the recent debates in the Economic and Social Council.

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RUSSIA IN ASIA

By Dr. KALIDAS NAG, M.A., D.LITT. (Paris)

The name Russia is rather recent, but the vast territory stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific has yielded evidences of ancient culture from the Neolithic to the Bronze age synchronising with the archaeological remains of North Iran (Kuban area of 4/3 mill. B.C.). Between the Volga and the Drichhar rivers, Red Ochres Graves have been found and in the Ukraine Chaleolithic sites have been excavated in Tripolje A and B (2500-1500 B.C.) and in Anan (Turkestan, 4000-3000 B.C.) which offer striking parallels to our Indus Civilization (early and late) and also to the Yang-Shao Chalcolithic pottery culture of China.

Between 600-500 B.C. when the Assyrio-Babylonian empires were devastated by the Medes and the Persians a new race came with a new art and culture—called Scytho-Sarinatian—from the proto-Russian zones over which the Indo-Iranian and other Indo-European races have moved and left linguistic traces in South Russia, considered (by Peter Gills, etc.) as the so-called cradle of the Aryans !

The Nordic Aryans or the Battle-Axe (Parasusain ?) culture folks, already settled in North Russia and the Baltic, also influenced the proto-Russians who—between 700-800 A.D.—came under the protectorate of the Turkish Khazar tribes ruling the lower Volga valley, over the Eastern Slavs who spoke Sanskritic Slavonic dialects. Then (800-900 A.D.) North Russia came to be penetrated by the Scandinavian king named in old Russian chronicles as the Varangians or Rus giving name to greater Russia. The founder of the Russian princely dynasty was Riurik or Roerick who ruled in Novgorod (850 A.D.) whence they raided the Byzantine capital, Constantinople. In 957 the Russian Princess Olga visited Constantinople and was converted to orthodox Christianity which thus, in 1957, completes one thousand years of Christian regime in Russia. By 1000 A.D. mass conversion to Christianity took place, under Uladimer the Saint (978-1015).

But up to 1000 A.D. the old Slav languages (studied by Meillet) retained pre-Christian Asian culture and Sanskrit forms. By 1200 we find South Russia invaded by the Nomads (Turks ?) of the East—under Sabutai from Trans-Caucasus—and ruled by them for two centuries (1250-1450). The Turco-Mongol Khans of the Golden Hordi were masters of whole Russia and of China from Kiev to Peking (founded by Kublai Khan). These Asian strains in Russian ethnography and culture have been well established and in that light we should read the 14th. century Russian traveller to India, Nikitin. The disruption caused by Tartar domination was stopped by Ivan the Great (1462-1505) who in 1472 married Zoe (Sophia), niece of the last emperor of Constantinople (taken by the Turks in 1453). Ivan took up the Byzantine concept of the autocrat Caeser or Tsar ruling from the grand Ducal palace of Kremlin in Moscow. Ivan won over the Khan of Crimea and thus creating disunion among the Tartars baffled their last attack on Moscow (1480). In 1492 by invading Lithuania, Ivan resumed diplomatic relations with Western Europe.

Ivan the Terrible (1533-84) ruled for half a century and opened the way for Russian expansion in Asia by conquering Kazan and Astrakhan from the Tartars. The Russian traders (who began comimg to India with Nikitin) and Cossacks under Ermak began the conquest of Siberia (1580-83). In 1589 the Russian Church declared independence of Byzantine. Christian patriarch Michael Romanov (1613-45) began the Rumanov dynasty (1613-1917) and under him the Cossacks took the fort of Azov from the Crimean Tartars and Russian Pioneers crossed the whole of Siberia reaching the Pacific Ocean (1637). Peter the Great (1689-1725) opened his career by resolving Russo-Chinese conflict over the Amur region, by a treaty (1689). He also recognised the Turkish title over Azov (1711) stopping war, as also made a treaty with Sweden (1721) and opened the Russian window on the Baltic as a European Power. Catherine II (1762-96) began again the war with the Turks (1768-72) winning victories and annexed Crimea (1783) from the weakening Turkish empire. During the French Revolutionary

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wars Russia became ally of England (1798) and Turkey. Henceforth Russia would try to extend her empire in Asia, now as an ally then as rival of other "imperialist powers of Europe."

Between 1804-13 Russia fought Persia which ceded Daghestan and Shemankha and recognised the Russian annexation of Georgia (birth-place of Stalin). Persia was again defeated (1826-28) and obliged to cede part of Armenia with Erivan.

In 1844 Russia abandoned Russian settlement in California and sold to U.S.A. Alaska in 1867. In 1875 Russia ceded the Kurile Islands to Japan in exchange of South Sakhalin. The Populist movement and Land and Liberty Secret Society began threatening Tsarism with the growth of Pan-Slav movement in 1867-1879. Alexander II was murdered in 1881.

Under Alexander III (1881-94) Russia conquered the whole of Central Asia up to Afghan frontiers thus threatening British India. England began helping Japan who defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) lowering the prestige under Nicholas II (1894-1917). The last Tsar was forced to abdicate and was killed in 1918 after the outbreak of Revolution in 1917.

Asian Plans of Soviet Russia

In the Middle East: Armenia, Azarbaijan and Georgia declared independence in 1918 and war broke out also in Siberia but temporarily stopped when the Japanese removed from Vladivostok (1922) and Soviet Russia set up a buffer State—the Far Eastern Republic with its capital in Chita. After the great famine of 1921-22 Russia began the New Economic Policy leading to a series of Five-Year Plans. Lenin died in January, 1924. England and Japan recognised the Soviet and New Asian Republics were added, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakistan, etc. (1925). Stalin became the top leader and Trotsky was expelled (1929). In December, 1936 the new "Democratic" Constitution was adopted and the Soviet Federation was recast as follows: (1) Russia (Moscow), (2) Ukraine (Kiev), (3) Byelorussia (Minsk) in the West, and in the East (4) Azarbaijan (Baku), (5) Georgia (Tiflis), (6) Armenia (Erivan), (7) Turkmenistan (Ashkhabad), (8) Uzbekistan (Tashkent), (9) Tazikistan (Stalinbad), (10) Kazakistan (Alma Ata), (11) Kirghizistan (Frunze).

To these are added the following three areas in Asia:

The Far Eastern Region stretching from Vladivostok to the Behring Straits along the Pacific (Population; 1,593,400 in 1931); the country is rich in fur-bearing animals, fishery and forest products.

The Yakutsk Republic (Population: 400,544 in 1939) is rich in gold mines, also silver, lead and coal. Chukchis, Chuvans and Eskimos live here.

The Buriat Mongol Republic (Population: 542,000) maintains itself by cattle-breeding, poultry, etc.

The Tuva Autonomous Region (Population: 65,000) incorporated in 1944 is situated to the north-west of Mongolia. The people are Turki by race using good pastoral land with deposits of gold and asbestos.

The Sakhalin, taken totally from defeated Japan (1945), has an area of about 14,000 sq. miles with 340,000 population, mostly Japanese, who developed herring fishery, farming, etc. Coal, petroleum and gold also abound. When Japan came to be rebuilt into the biggest American base in the Pacific, they discovered what valuable strategic centres were given over by the Allies to Russia. Now Japan is demanding a few of the Kurile Isles. The Siberian regions are divided into Western (Population: 8,767,200) and Eastern (Pop: 2,568,400), largely unsettled forest to the north and fertile lands to the south. East Siberia yields gold and great mineral resources and thus has developed iron and engineering industries. West Siberia has coal, timber, orchards, etc.

The Arctic Soviets, remote and largely unknown 'regions' and 'areas' (like autonomous republics), are regularly governed by Executive Committees elected by the local Congress of Soviets elected by the citizens for two years. Ships tonnage are moved freely between the Baltic and the Far East via the North-East Passage opened after completing the grand canal (141 miles) between the Baltic and White Seas. Soviet Naval Air Force is under 3 principal Commanders, the Black Sea, the Baltic and the North Pacific (facing Alaska, Canada and U.S.A.). In 1941 Air lines were opened between Moscow and Anadyr (East Siberia) and in 1946 air service was opened between Moscow, Vladivostok, Chukotsk, Taskhent, Stalinbad and Alma Ata, capitals of the Central Asian Soviets, which we describe finally.

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Soviet Central Asia

This vast area known as Turkestan was conquered by Russia in 1860, Tashkent in 1866, Samarkand in 1868, Khiva and Bokhara in 1870. Their feudal groupings were reformed into regular Soviets in 1924-25.

(1) Kazakistan (Capital, Alma Ata, former Verny; incorporated, 5th. December, 1936).

It is bounded on the west by Russia and the Caspian, on the East by China, on the north by Russia and on the south by Uzbeck and Kirghiz Soviets. It makes (after Russian Soviets) the second largest Republic with over 6 million people (1939). Land of Nomad Kazakhs have now been developed by the Soviet Academy of Sciences (1944) into industrial areas with coal and copper. A very big hydro-electric station and Dam has been built in Kyzl Orda (1944) irrigating 100,000 acres of rice. So sugar, rubber, etc., are grown with orchards and vineyards ; also medicinal plants and grasses for sheep giving best quality wool. They are exploiting also the rich mineral resources like copper, lead, zinc, coal, tungsten and oil (along the river Emba), gold and big iron ores have been found in 1946. High grade aviation oil comes from Emba and Aktyabisk.

(2) Turkmenistan : Joined in 1924 as the Turkmen Republic occupying the former Trans-Caspian Region taken by Russia (1881). The population 1,252,000 is mostly Sunni Moslems speaking the South-West group of Turkish languages. Capital Ashkhabad has 126,580 souls. It is famous for horses and sheep and long-fibred cotton. Subterranian water is being utilised to reclaim the Kara Kum desert (with coal and minerals) where our Rajputana Desert Scientists should go and work with Russian geologists. Amu-Darya waters are also utlized and fishery practised in the Caspian. Sulphur, salt and oil are also utilized. Nabit-Dag is an oil-town and Kara Bogaz has a sulphate industry. Cotton, wool and Astrakhan furs bring money.

(3) Uzbekistan : Formed in 1925 out of ancient Turkestan, Bokhara and Khonezm (known to Alberuni and Avicenna). The old States of Khiva and Bokhara, the provinces of Samarkand and Ferghana (known to the Turco-Mongols like Chengiz, Taimur, Babar) belonged to the Uzbecks, the ruling race of Central Asia dominantly Buduhistic from the Age of Kanishka to Kublai Khan. The Uzbecks met the Afghans (to the South) who also were Buddhistic till Sunni Muslims conquered them. Pop. 6,282,450 maintain themselves by intensive farming based on artificial irrigation, etc., devised by their Academy of Sciences with 46 Research Institutes, promoting yields of cotton, silk, fruit and rice. In 1949 the Kzyl Kum desert was afforested by means of sowing from aeroplanes. From that advancing desert the Bokhara and Karakul oases are protected by afforestation. Tashkent the Capital contains the richest collection of Turco-Mongol art—specially paintings which should be studied by all those who know something of the so-called Mughal school. Timur died in 1405 (after meeting the greatest Poet of the age, Hafiz) and his fourth son was Shah Rukh (1377-1447), a peace-loving son of a savage warlord. Shah Rukh removed the capital from Samarkhand to Herat and restored ruined cities to prosperity and patronized scholars and artists, who flocked to his court. His son Ulugh Beg (1394-1449) was hailed by western scholars as the illustrious personification of Tartar Astronomy, Philosophy and Sciences like Geometry, Mathematics. He as Crown Prince ruled over Khorasan, Mazandaran and Transoxiana and made Samarkand the centre of Muslim civilisation assimilating the scientific and cultural discoveries of the savants of Iran and India. Why not hold an All-Asian Cultural Conference at Tashkent with modern amenities !

(4) Tajikistan joined USSR in 1929 : for centuries well known for farming, cattle-trading and horticulture, the land to sow yielding valuable minerals like oil (in the north), sulphur, zinc, lead, uranium, etc. Thus big industries are growing for food, textile, silk, chemicals and electrical items. In 1950 an Academy of Sciences was founded and its observatory at the capital city of Stalinbad has recently discovered a new Comet in the Pegasus Constellation. Population : 1,485,000 mostly Tajiks speak an Iranian dialect close to modern Persian and the Tajiks are considered to be the Christians of the original Aryans of Central Asia, where Indo-European speeches have been traced. The highest mountains are named now the Stalin Peak (about 7600 metres) and Lenin Peak (7,127 metres), they slope down to the lowest valleys of the Pamirs (3500 meteres), the "roof the world." It is the Asian Soviet closest to India and Kashmir.

(5) Kirghizistan was reconstructed into a republic in 1926 with a population of 1.1/2 million and capital city Frunze (former Pishpex).

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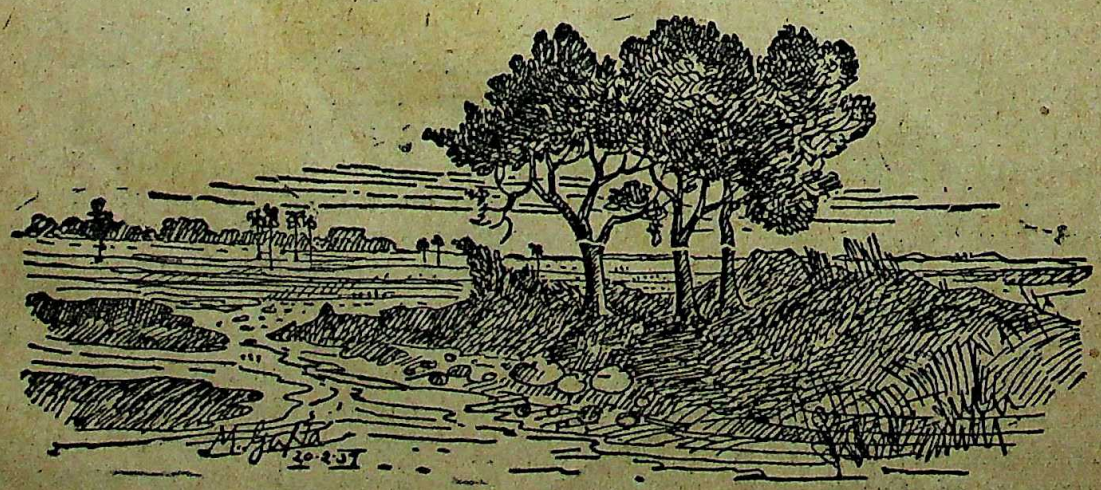
The state is situated on the Tien Shan range and borders on China to the East, Kazak-Uzbak lands to the West and Tazikistan to the South. The Kirghiz Academy of Sciences, opened in 1943, now operates 23 research institutes which develop agriculture, livestock and over 500 industries relating to sugar, cotton, textile, wool, silk, and coal, oil and rare minerals like gold, silver, lead, mercury, arsenic, etc.

A large new canal is being built in the east Tien-Shan ranges, opening new possibilities. Where Asia merges into Europe, there also we find three republics of Asian language and culture :

(6) Armenia : Capital Erivan. Area: 11,640 sq. miles. Population : 1,281,100 of whom 85% are Armenians and the rest are Jews (mostly settled in the town of Birobidzhan in the Far Eastern Region), Kurds, Persians, Turks and Georgians. Their Academy of Sciences runs 43 institutes with schools and colleges. The mineral deposits feature copper, aluminium, zinc, etc., fostering chemical industries, fertilizers, synthetic rubber, etc. Mt. Ararat is famous in Biblical history and the persecuted Armenians—like the unfortunate Jews—found asylum in the Soviet Republic rejecting credal and racial discrimination.

(7) Azerbaijan : Area 33,460 sq. miles. Population : 3,209,700 mostly of the Turks group with Armenians, Georgians and Russians. It formed with Georgia and Armenia, Trans-Caucasian Soviet, washed by the Caspian in the East and South—thus bringing complications to South Caspian regions of Iran, which it resembles in productions like rice, vine, silk, tea, cotton, tobacco, horses, camels, and buffaloes. Iron, copper, zinc, lead, etc., are found, but the richest industry is that of oil in the Baku region (known to Indian Fakirs for centuries) where Soviet Russia held its first All-Asian Congress (1920). Baku Oil-field is connected by a double pipeline with Batum on the Black Sea which washes Rumanian oil-fields also Baku oil output in 1940 was 25 million tons, much enlarged in the last 15 years.

(8) Lastly Georgia, the birth-place of Stalin, originated National Council 1917-18 and became Sovietised in 1921-22 with capital at Tiflis. Area : 37,570 sq. miles and population 3.1/2 million. Iron and steel and motor works develop industries and metallurgical plants, manganese mines, sulphur springs, etc. The highest peak of the Caucasus overlooking and protecting it in the north and in the west, the Black Sea offers sub-tropical areas growing tea (tea machinery), bamboo and tobacco. No wonder Stalin called himself an 'oriental' and when he died in 1952 I found rabid American papers crying him down as an 'oriental savage' ! But one should remember that what the exploiting Colonial Powers of the west could not do in four centuries (1500-1900) Soviet Republic has done in four decades (1920-50) to bring food, clothes and hygiene to millions of the neglected orientals.



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SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(VII) Fundamental Rights : Right to Freedom *(Continued)*

By D. N. BANERJEE,

Surendranath Banerjea Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta

I

In our preceding article[1] in this series we have dealt with Clause (1)(a) and Clause (2) of Article 19 of our Constitution. We shall now deal with the other Clauses of this Article. It may incidentally be pointed out here, in a slight modification of what we have stated[2] in our preceding article, that the number of these "other Clauses" is now, according to *The Constitution of India (As modified up to the 1st May, 1955)*,[3] five and not four. This will be shown hereinafter at the appropriate place.

II

Under Sub-clause (b) of Clause (1) of Article 19 of our Constitution, all citizens have the right "to assemble peaceably and without arms." We may describe this right as the right to freedom of peaceful assembly. This right, however, is subject to the following qualification :

"(3) Nothing in sub-clause (b) of the said Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State (as defined in Article 12 of the Constitution) from making any law imposing, in the interest of public order, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right confirmed by the said sub-clause."

Thus any restriction on the exercise of the right conferred by Sub-clause (b) of Clause (1) of Article 19 must be reasonable and, therefore, *justiciable*. In our preceding article we have explained[4] the implication of the expression "resonable restrictions" in connexion with Clause (2) of Article 19. As that explanation will apply wherever the expression "reasonable restrictions" occur, we need not repeat it in connexion with the remaining Clauses of Article 19 except where it comes incidentally. We should only like to add here that the question of the reasonableness of any restriction imposed by a law may, as will be shown hereinafter in connexion with Sub-clause (d) of Clause (1) of Article 19, "arise as much from the substantive part of the law as from its procedural portion."

We may refer in this connexion to the corresponding position in the United States of America so far as the "privilege of assembly" is concerned. The First Amendment to its Constitution lays down, among other things : "Congress shall make no law abridging the right of the people peaceably to assemble." This provision "is, of course, only a limitation on the federal government, yet," says Professor Willis,[5] "all but four state constitutions contain" a similar guarantee. Now, what does this guarantee really mean ? It does not mean, he further says, "that either the United States or the individual states are forbidden to exercise social control of assemblages of people in the interest of the common good. For this reason disorderly assemblages may be forbidden." "What constitutes an unlawful assembly is," however, "likely to elude precise definition, but," he has observed, "there are two elements which serve as a guide in the solution of particular problems. In order to be lawful the purpose of the assembly must be to do no unlawful act, and the assembly must be conducted in a manner which is not tumultuous."

It may perhaps be interesting to note here, in connexion with the question of arms, that an attempt had been made by Shri H. V. Kamath, member of our Constituent Assembly, to insert, in Article 13 of the Draft Constitution of India, which corresponded to Article 19 of our present Constitution, an additional fundamental right, namely, the right "to keep and bear arms," together with a new clause providing for "restrictions (on the exercise of this right) in the interests of public order,

1. See *The Modern Review* for July, 1955.
2. See *ibid.*, p. 25.
3. Published by the Manager of Publication, Delhi, 1955; also see *The Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order*, 1954, dated 14th May, 1954.
4. See *The Modern Review* for July, 1955, p. 34.
5. See Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, p. 506.
6. See *ibid.*, pp. 506-507.

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peace and tranquillity." The attempt failed[7] as it was feared that very often the right to keep and bear arms might be gravely abused in our country. Speaking on behalf of the Drafting Committee, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar said[8] by way of a reply to Shri H. V. Kamath:

"Now, with regard to the question of bearing arms about which my friend Mr. Kamath was so terribly excited, I think the position that we have taken is very clear. It is quite true and everyone knows that the Congress Party had been agitating that there should be right to bear arms. Nobody can deny that. That is history. At the same time I think the House should not forget the fact that the circumstances when such resolutions were passed by the Congress no longer exist. It is because the British Government had refused to allow Indians to bear arms,, not on the ground of peace and order, but on the ground that a subject people should not have the right to bear arms against an alien government so that they could organise themselves to overthrow the Government, and consequently the basic considerations on which these resolutions were passed in my judgment have vanished. (sic) Under the present circumstances, I personally myself cannot conceive how it would be possible for the State to carry on its administration if every individual had the right to go into the market and purchase all sorts of instruments of attack without any let or hindrance from the State."

And referring to the proposed proviso of Shri Kamath regarding restrictions on the exercise of the right to keep and bear arms, as mentioned above, Dr. Ambedkar observed :[9]

"What does the proviso say? What the proviso can do is to regulate, and the term 'regulation' has been judicially interpreted as prescribing the conditions, but the conditions can never be such as to completely abrogate the right of the citizen to bear arms. Therefore regulation by itself will not prevent a citizen who wants to have the right to bear arms from having them. I question very much the policy of giving all citizens indiscriminately any such fundamental right. For instance, if Mr. Kamath's proposition was accepted, that every citizen should have the fundamental right to bear arms, it would be open for thousands and thousands of citizens who are today described as criminal tribes to bear arms. It would be open to all sorts of people who are habitual criminals to claim the right to possess them. You cannot say that under the proviso a man shall not be entitled to bear arms because he belongs to a particular class . . . . I am explaining the position that has been taken by the Drafting Committee. The point is that it is not possible to allow this indiscriminate right."[10]

Apparently, it was a case of conflict between theory and realism, or rather between an abstract right and political expediency. And the Constituent Assembly agreed with the point of view presented by Dr. Ambedkar, and rejected the motion of Shri Kamath for an additional fundamental right, namely, the right to keep and bear arms with some safeguards. The safeguards, it was apprehended, might ultimately prove to be illusive, in view of our other fundamental rights.

We may also refer in this connexion to the position in the United States of America in respect of the possession of arms. The Second Amendment to the American Constitution which was adopted in 1791 and which actually came into force on 15th December[11] in that year, lays down :

"A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

This amendment does not, according to Corwin,[12] "cover concealed weapons, the right 'to bear arms' being the right simply to bear them openly." Moreover, the arms referred to in it "are those of the soldier."[13] The amendment appears to have originated from a distrust of "a standing army"[14] and from the desirability "of a free and peaceful nation (like the United States) depending for defence chiefly or wholly upon locally organized militia drawn directly from the people."[15] But under it the American people "have a right to arm themselves for protection against both domestic disorder and foreign dangers."[16]

Early writers on American constitutional law attached a great importance to the amendment. According to Judge Cooley,[17] it is a safe-

7. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 1st and 2nd December, 1948.
8. See *ibid.*
9. See *ibid.*

10. Also see *ibid.*, for Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar's speech in this connexion. Shri Ayyangar had practically taken the same view as Dr. Ambedkar.
11. See Ogg & Ray, *Introduction to American Government*, 9th Ed., p. 1103n.
12. Corwin., *The Constitution and What It Means Today*, 9th Ed., p. 160., It may also be noted here that the right "to bear arms," being a right of citizenship in the U.S.A. rather than of a person, "may be denied aliens, at least on reasonable grounds." —*Ibid.*
13. See Ogg & Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
14. See Cooley, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., pp. 498-99.
15. See Ogg & Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 163; also see Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 505.
17. See Cooley, *op. cit.*, pp. 498-99.

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guard to liberty. And Justice Story[18] has observed:

"The importance of this article (*i.e.*, the Second Amendment) will scarcely be doubted by any persons who have duly reflected upon the subject. The militia is the natural defence of a free country against sudden foreign invasions, domestic insurrections, and domestic usurpations of power by rulers. It is against sound policy for a free people to keep up large military establishments and standing armies in time of peace, both from the enormous expenses with which they are attended and the facile means which they afford to ambititous and unprincipled rulers to subvert the government or trample upon the rights of the people. The right of the citizens to keep and bear arms has justly been considered as the palladium of the liberties of a republic, since it offers a strong moral check against the usurpation and arbitrary power of rulers, and will generally, even if these are successful in the first instance, enable the people to resist and triumph over them."

A modern writer on American Government and Politics like Professor Harold Zink, however, is not so enthusiastic about the utility of the Second Amendment.

"The Second Amendment of the federal Constitution," he writes,[19] "specifically provides that 'the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.' For many years this was also regarded as a fundamental right by the states, but the increasing congestion of population, the rise in the crime rate, and (the) establishment of a professional army and police have served to render the keeping and bearing of arms *not only unnecessary but a public menace*.[20] Increasingly, therefore, it has become customary for the states to limit the keeping of many types of arms to those who receive a permit from the police. All others are regarded in illegal possession of such weapons and may be dealt with accordingly."

And we also find in Frederic Ogg and Orman Ray:[21]

"Under the police power, the 'bearing' of arms intended for private use may be regulated and restricted by both the federal government and the states; and, as is well-known, there are *plenty of laws forbidding the carrying of concealed weapons*[22] (pistols, revolvers, dirks, bewie-knives, sword-canes, etc.) and the sale, possession, or use of sawed-off shot-guns and other weapons not employed for military purposes but habitually used by criminals."

Professor Willis corroborates these views.

"What is the extent," he asks, "of the personal liberty guaranteed by this provision (*i.e.*, the Second Amendment)? It does not guarantee the individualism which many people think it does. Probably the purpose of this limitation was to guarantee the general security through the use of militia as against a standing army. For this reason the arms referred to are those used by the militia. The prohibition of weapons used in private affrays, or of the carrying of concealed weapons is not forbidden."[23]

It is evident from these views that, notwithstanding the Second Amendment, the right of the people to keep and bear arms is not so unrestricted in the United States as it appears from the text of the Amendment.

III

Let us now pass on to Sub-clause (c) of Clause (1) of Article 19. This Sub-clause declares that "all citizens shall have the right to form associations or unions." This right also is subject to the following qualification:

"(4) Nothing in Sub-clause (c) of the said Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State[24] from making any law imposing, in the interests of public order or morality, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said Sub-clause."

As in other cases shown before, the reasonableness or otherwise of any restriction imposed on the exercise of the right conferred by Sub-clause (c), is ultimately subject to judicial determination and is, therefore, justiciable. But the provision for the imposition of restrictions on the right of citizens to form associations or unions is not peculiar to our Constitution only. Apart from some other Constitutions, such restrictions are permissible under American constitutional law, for the common good.

"The right of assemblage," says Professor Willis,[25] "includes only the physical meeting of many in one place. The right of association presupposes organization and a relation of some permanence between many persons. For the maintenance of political liberty the right of association is fully as important as the right of assemblage. The right of assemblage and the right of free association are parts of the per-

18. See Justice Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, 5th Ed., Sections 1896-97.
19. See Harold Zink, *Government and Politics in the United States*, 1947, p. 93.
20. The italics are ours.
21. See Ogg & Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
22. The italics are ours.
23. See Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 505.
24. As defined in Article 12 of our *Constitution*. Also see in this connexion my article in *The Modern Review* for November, 1954.
25. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 755.

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sonal liberty of individuals, both protected by the due process clause and one[26] by a separate clause. But in the exercise of the police power where these forms of personal liberty do not tend to aid general political progress, governments may regulate them for the purpose of protecting the members of the association and of the public. Primary election laws and other laws for the regulation of political parties are exercises of this form of social control. For the protection of this social interest secret organizations, like the Ku Klux Klan, may be compelled to file lists of members."

Further, "the social interest in general economic progress has been held sufficient for the exercise of many different forms of the police power . . . Sometimes individual freedom, if left alone, will itself take the form of monopoly, and then economic progress may require the regulation of monopolies. Anti-trust laws are illustrations of social control which aim to further economic progress by enforcing competition."[27]

Thus, freedom of association may be controlled in the United States "for the protection of general economic progress" as well as other social interests. And we also find in the judgment[28] of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Thomas* V. *Collins* :

"That the State has power to regulate labour unions with a view to protecting the public interest is, as the Texas Court said, hardly to be doubted. They cannot claim special immunity from regulation."

Thus, as Mr. Justice Das of our Supreme Court has very rightly observed in the course of his judgment in *A. K. Gopalan* V. *The State of Madras* :[29]

"Restraints on liberty (of action) should be judged not only subjectviely as applied to a few individuals who come within their operations but also objectively as securing the liberty of a far greater number of individuals. Social interest in individual liberty may well have to be subordinated to other greater social interests. If a law ensures and protects the greater social interests then such law will be a wholesome and beneficent law although it may infringe the liberty of some individuals, for it will enure (*sic*) for the greater liberty of the rest of the members of the society."

IV

We shall now deal with Sub-clauses (d), (e) and (f) of Clause (1) of Article 19. These Sub-clauses lay down as shown below :

"All citizens shall have the right—

(d) to move freely throughout the territory of India ;

(e) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India ; and

(f) to acquire, hold and dispose of property."

But these rights are not absolute. They are subject to the following qualification:

"(5) Nothing in Sub-clauses (d), (e) and (f) of the said Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State from making any law imposing reasonable restrictions in the exercise of any of the rights conferred by the said Sub-clauses either in the interest of the general public or for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribe."[30]

We may note here what Mukherjea J. of our Supreme Court has stated with reference to the above, in the course of his judgment[31] in *A. K. Gopalan* V. *The State of Madras*.

"In construing Article 19(1) (d)," he has said, "stress is to be laid upon the expression 'throughout the territory of India,' and it is a particular and special kind of right, *viz.*, that of free movement throughout the Indian territory, that is the aim and object of the Constitution to secure. In the next sub-clause, right to reside and settle 'in any part of the territory of India' is given and here again the material thing is not the right of residence or settlement but the right to reside or settle in any part of the Indian territory . . . . The meaning of sub-clause (d) of Article 19(1) will be clear if we take it along with sub-clauses (e) and (f), all of which have been lumped together in clause (5) and to all of which the same restrictions including those relating to (the) protection of the interest of any scheduled tribe have been made applicable. It will be remembered that these rights are available only to citizens. To an alien or foreigner, no guarantee of such rights has been given. Normally[32] all citizens would have the free right to move from one part of the Indian territory to another. They can shift their residence from one place to any other place of their choice and settle anywhere they like. The right of free trade, commerce and intercourse throughout the territory of India is also secured. What the Constitution emphasises upon (*sic*) by guaranteeing these rights is that the whole of (the) Indian Union in spite of its being divided

26. Namely, "the right of the people peaceably to assemble." See the First Amendment to the Constitution of the U.S.A.

27. Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 756-57.

28. 323 U.S.516 (1945).—See Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1950, p. 994.

29. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III, April and May, 1950, pp. 292-93.

30. The term "Scheduled Tribes" "means such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of this Constitution" (*i.e.*, the Constitution of India). See in this connexion Articles 342 and 366(25) of the Constitution of India.

31. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III, April & May, 1950, pp. 258-59.

32. See Article 370 in this connexion in regard to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

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into a number of States is really one unit so far as the citizens of the Union are concerned. All the citizens would have the same privileges and the same facilities for moving into any part of the territory and they can reside or carry on business anywhere they like; and no restrictions either inter-State or otherwise would be allowed to set up in these respects between one part of India and another."

Further :[33]

"So far as free movement throughout the territory is concerned, the right is subject to the provision of clause (5), under which reasonable limitation may be imposed upon these liberties in the interests of the general public or protection of any scheduled tribe. The interests of the public which necessitates (*sic*) such restrictions may be of various kinds. They may be connected with the avoidance of pestilence or spreading of contagious diseases; certain places again may be kept closed for military purposes and there may be prohibition of entry into areas which are actual or potential war zones or where disturbances of some kind or other prevail..[34] Whatever the reasons might be, it is necessary that these restrictions must be reasonable, that is to say, commensurate with the purpose for which they are laid down. In addition to general interest, the Constitution has specified the protection of the interests of the scheduled tribes as one of the factors which has got to be taken into consideration in the framing of these restrictions. The scheduled tribes, as is well known, are a backward and unsophisticated class of people who are liable to be imposed upon by shrewd and designing persons. Hence there are various provisions disabling them from alienating even their own properties except under special conditions. In their interest and for their benefit, laws may be made restricting the ordinary right of citizens to go or settle in particular areas or acquire property in them. The reference to the interest of scheduled tribes makes it quite clear that the free movement spoken of in the clause relates not to general rights of locomotion but to the particular right of shifting or moving from one part of the Indian territory to another, without any sort of discriminatory barriers."

This view has been practically endorsed[35] by Das J. of the Supreme Court in the course of his judgment in the same case. He has added :

"In sub-clause (d) (of Clause (1) of Article 19) the real emphasis is on the words 'throughout the territory of India.' The purpose of Article 19(1) (d) is to guarantee that there shall be no State barrier. It gives protection against provincialism. It has nothing to do with the freedom of the person as such."

It may perhaps be interesting to refer here to the (majority) judgment of our Supreme Court in *Dr. N. B. Khare* vs. *The State of Delhi*.[36] The case arose out of "an application for a writ of *certiorari* and *prohibition* under 32" of our Constitution. The application prayed for the quashing of the "externment order made by the District Magistrate of Delhi, against the petitioner Dr. N. B. Khare, on 31st March, 1950, by which the latter was directed to remove himself immediately from the Delhi District and not to return to that District so long as the order remained in force." The order was to remain "in force for three months." The grounds for the order were stated as follows:

"Your activities generally and particularly since the recent trouble in East and West Bengal have been of a communal nature tending to excite hatred between communities and whereas in the present composition of the population of Delhi and the recent communal disturbances of Delhi feelings are roused between the majority and minority communities, your presence and activities in Delhi are likely to prove prejudicial to the maintenance of law and order, it is considered necessary to order you to leave Delhi." (*Sic*.)

The order had been issued under the East Punjab Public Safety Act, 1949. This Act had come "into force on 29th March, 1949," and was to remain in force till the 14th of August, 1951. Its object, as stated in its Preamble, was "to provide for special measures to ensure public safety and maintenance of public order." The material provisions of the Act, so far as this case was concerned, were Sub-Section (1) (c) and Sub-Section (3) of Section 4 of the Act. They ran as follows :

"4 (1) (c). The Provincial Government or the District Magistrate, if satisfied with respect to any

33. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III. April & May, 1950, p. 259.

34. Or, as Das J. of our Supreme Court has observed:

"The free movement of citizens may have to be restricted in the interest of the general public. A person suffering from an infectious disease may be prevented from moving about and spreading the disease, and regulations for his segregation in the nature of quarantine may have to be introduced. Likewise, healthy people may be prevented, in the interests of the general public, from entering a plague-infected area. There may be protected places, *e.g.*, forts or other strategic places, access whereto may have to be regulated or even prohibited in the interests of the general public. The point to be noted, however, is that when free movement is thus restricted, whether in the interest of the general public or for the protection of the Scheduled Tribes, such restriction has reference generally to a certain local area which becomes the prohibited area but the right of free movement in all other areas in the Union is left unimpaired."—See *Ibid.*, p. 302.

35. See *ibid.*, pp. 301-302.

36. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, pp. 519-36.

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particular person that with a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to the public safety or the maintenance of public order it is necessary so to do, may, by order in writing, give anyone or more of the following directions, namely that such person shall remove himself from, and shall not return to, any area that may be specified in the order."

"4 (3). An order under Sub-section (1) made by the District Magistrate shall not, unless the Provincial Government by special order otherwise directs, remain in force for more than three months from the making thereof."

The contention of the petitioner who was then the President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, was that the particular provision of the East Punjab Public Safety Act, 1949, under which the order had been "made," become "void and ceased to be operative after the new Constitution of India" had come into force as it was inconsistent with his fundamental right guaranteed to him by Sub-clause (d) of Clause (1) of Article 19 of the Constitution read along with Clause (5) of the Article. He also contended that the grounds of the order served on him were "vague, insufficient and incomplete." Further, he alleged that the order was *mala fide* and illegal as it had been issued with a view to suppressing "political opposition" to the Government policy of appeasement in respect of Pakistan and as he and the Hindu Mahasabha were against that policy.

The Supreme Court by a majority[37] dismissed the petition of Dr. Khare. In doing so, it held, among other things:

(a) that there was nothing unreasonable in the provision contained in Sub-section (1)(c) of Sec. 4 of the East Punjab Public Safety Act, 1949, "empowering the Provincial Government or the District Magistrate to make an externment order, and making their satisfaction as to the necessity of" issuing such an order final, or in the provisions contained in Sub-Section (3) of Section 4 of the Act that an order of a District Magistrate might remain in force for three months and that the Provincial Government might "make an order, or keep alive an order made by a District Magistrate, for a period exceeding three months without fixing any time limit;" and

(b) that the restrictions imposed by the above mentioned provisions of the said Act of 19[illegible] upon the fundamental right guaranteed b[illegible] Article 19 (1) (d) of the Constitution we[illegible] not, therefore, unreasonable restrictions with[illegible] the meaning of Article 19 (5) (thereof) a[illegible] the provisions of the Act were not void und[illegible] Article 13 (1) (of the Constitution), and th[illegible] order of externment was not illegal."

Further, Kania C. J. declared[38] that th[illegible] grounds for the externment order on Dr. Kha[illegible] could not be "described as vague, insufficien[illegible] or incomplete."

"Apart from being vague," he continued, "I thin[illegible] that these grounds are specific and if honestl[illegible] believed can support the order. The argument tha[illegible] the order was served to stifle opposition to th[illegible] Government policy of appeasement has little bearin[illegible] because the District Magistrate of Delhi is no[illegible] concerned with the policy of the Government o[illegible] appeasement or otherwise. The order is made becau[illegible] the activities of the petitioner are likely to prov[illegible] prejudicial to the maintenance of law and order an[illegible] the grounds specified have a dircet bearing on the[illegible] conclusion of the District Magistrate. I therefor[illegible] think that this contention of the petitioner must b[illegible] rejected.

"The result is that the petition fails and i[illegible] dismissed."

Fazl Ali and Patanjali Sastri JJ. agree[illegible] with this view.

The Supreme Court also held by anothe[illegible] majority[39] in this case:

"Whether the restrictions imposed by a legislativ[illegible] enactment upon the fundamental right guaranteed b[illegible] Article 19 (1) (d) are reasonable within the meanin[illegible] of Article 19 (5) of the Constitution would depen[illegible] as much on the procedural portion of the law as (on[illegible] the substantial part of it, and in considering whethe[illegible] such restrictions are reasonable the Court is no[illegible] therefore bound to confine itself to an examination o[illegible] the reasonableness of the restrictions in the abstra[illegible] with reference to their duration and territorial exten[illegible] The Court can also consider the reasonableness o[illegible] the procedural part of the law and the circumstance[illegible] under which, and the manner in which, the restriction[illegible] have been imposed."[40]

Thus the Court is entitled, said Kania C. J.,[41] "t[illegible] consider whether the restrictions on the right to mov[illegible] throughout India, *i.e.*, both as regards the territor[illegible]

37. Consisting of Kania C. J., Fazl Ali and Patanjali Sastri JJ. Mahajan and Mukherjea JJ, dissented from the decision of the majority.—See *ibid.*, p. 520.

38. See *ibid.*, pp. 527-28.

39. Consisting this time of—Kania C.J., Fazl Ali, Mahajan a[illegible] Mukherjea JJ. Patanjali Sastri J. "did not express any opini[illegible] on this point."—See *ibid.*, p. 521.

40. See *ibid.*, pp. 521, 524 and 532.

41. See *ibid.*, p. 524; also p. 532.

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and the duration, are reasonable or not. The law providing reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by Article 19 may contain substantive provisions as well as procedural provisions. While the reasonableness of the restrictions has to be considered with regard to the exercise of the right, it does not necessarily exclude from the consideration of the Court the question of the reasonableness of the procedural part of the law. It is obvious that if the law prescribes five years' externment or ten years' externment, the question whether such period of externment is reasonable, being the substantive part, is necessarily for the consideration of the Court under Clause (5). Similarly, if the law provides the procedure under which the exercise of the right may be restricted, the same is also for the consideration of the Court, as it has to determine if the exercise of the right has been reasonably restricted. I do not think by this interpretation the scope and ambit of the word 'reasonable' as applied to restrictions on the exercise of the right, is in any way unjustifiably enlarged. It seems that the narrow construction sought to be put on the expression, to restrict the Court's power to consider only the substantive law on the point, is not correct."

With regard to the importance of Sub-clause (f) of Clause (1) of Article 19 quoted before, namely, the right "to acquire, hold and dispose of property," it will we believe be quite enough if we only quote here what Professor Yashwant Rai[42] stated in the Constituent Assembly on 2nd. December, 1948, with reference to Sub-clause (f) of Clause (1) of Article 13 of the Draft Constitution of India which corresponded to the former.

"The Harijans of the Punjab," he said,[43] "are very much indebted to the Chairman of the Drafting Committee for having included Article 13 in the Constitution.[44] At present it is the custom in the Punjab that only one particular community can purchase land and take to agriculture. But the Harijans, 90 per cent of whom are cultivators, are not permitted to purchase land to cultivate, or to build houses. When this article receives the assent of the House, they will have the facility of purchasing land for building their houses, as also land for agricultural purposes if they have the capacity to do so. I hope that the many handicaps from which the Harijans suffer in (the) Punjab, causing the clashes that are taking place in almost every village between them and the landlords, as a result of which they are kept confined to their houses in some villages, as also their other difficulties will not have to be faced by them in future. . . Therefore Clause (f) of Article 13 is very necessary because it provides the facilities we wanted. I think that the difficulties with which we are faced today will soon disappear. I therefore support this article."

We also find in the speech[45] of Shri Chaudhari Ranbir Singh in the Constituent Assembly on the same day :

"I come from East Punjab, and there is a law which is known as the Land Alienation Act, according to which certain classes are debarred from acquiring land, by law. I agree with my friends, specially Harijans who advocate that the Harijans and other persons who are actually the tillers of the soil should have the right to acquire land."

Such disabilities as these are now incompatible with Sub-clause (f) of Clause (1) of Article 19, subject, however, to the provisions of Clause (5) of the Article.

There is, however, one objectionable feature in Clause (5) of Article 19 as quoted before. It empowers "the State" to enact laws imposing reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the rights conferred by Sub-clauses (d), (e) and (f) of Clause (1) of the Article, either in the interests of the general public or for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribe. As we have seen before,[46] under Article 12 of our Constitution the term "the State" means not merely the Government and Parliament of India, but also the Government and the Legislature of each of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory of India, etc. This means, further, that such matters as come within the scope of Sub-clauses (d), (e) and (f) are, under Clause (5), within the legislative competence of a State legislature or even of a local authority. Moreover, the expressions "in the interests of the general public" and "for the protection of the interests of any Schedule Tribe" in Clause (5) are not very definite in their connotation. There is, therefore, a danger implicit in Clause (5) that under it, and notwithstanding the judicial safeguard provided for in it, laws may be enacted, say, by State legislatures acting under the influence of narrow, parochial considerations. Thus Clause (5) may contribute to the growth of provincialism and inter-State ill-will in our country. The Parliament of India alone should

42. East Punjab: (General).
43. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 2nd December, 1948, pp. 761-62.
44. In fact, it was the work of the Drafting Committee as a whole.
45. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 2nd December, 1948, pp. 757-58.
46. See *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 376-77.

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have been empowered to enact laws contemplated by Clause (5). This would have also ensured uniformity of legislation in the country in regard to matters covered by Sub-clauses (d), (e) and (f).

V

Let us now pass on to Sub-clause (g) of Clause (1) of Article 19. This Sub-clause declares that

"All citizens shall have the right to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business."

As in the case of other rights, it is also subject to a qualification. And this qualification *now*[47] runs as follows :

"(6) Nothing in Sub-clause (g) of the said Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State from making any law imposing, in the interests of the general public, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said Sub-clause, and, in particular, nothing in the said Sub-clause, shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it relates to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to—

(*i*) the professional or technical qualifications necessary for practising any profession or carrying on any occupation, trade or business, or

(*ii*) the carrying on by the State or by a corporation owned or controlled by the State, of any trade, business, industry or service, whether to the exclusion, complete or partial, of citizens or otherwise."

It should be evident from this that, subject to the requirements of the qualification contained in Clause (6) of Article 1 as quoted immediately above, Sub-clause (g), in effect, provides, positively, for freedom of business, occupation and contract, and declares, negatively, against what is generally known as the *law of status*. Thus the career of an Indian citizen is to be determined by his worth and not by his birth. Further, his position in society will be a matter of choice or voluntary arrangement by and for him. His blood will not "make his life" as under the *law of status*. This is quite in consonance with the principles of democracy. But this freedom of choice or occupation is subject to the requirements of social interest. It is true that there is a social interest in the maintenance of the freedom of choice or occupation; but this freedom may have to be restrained, as, for instance, in the United States of America,[48] for the protection of other social interests which may be considered to be more important than the former. Thus the social interest in the maintenance of freedom of choice or occupation will have "to take its chances along with other social interests." And this is what Clause (6) of Article 1 provides for. What Shri Algu Rai Shastri[49] stated in this connection on 2nd December, 1948, in our Constituent Assembly, is worthy of note in this connexion. Referring to Article 13(1)(g) of the Draft Constitution of India, which corresponded to Article 19(1)(g) of our present Constitution, he observed:[50]

"Under this article there would be no compulsion for any person to follow any particular occupation. This article as a matter of fact, instead of prescribing the compulsory pursuit of any occupation, provides for unrestricted freedom to every individual to follow any vocation he pleases. I think that the freedoms granted under Sub-clauses (f) and (g) need clarification. In Sub-clause (f) is specified the right of a person to acquire, hold and dispose of property; while in Sub-clause (g) it is stated that there is freedom of a person to practise any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business or other means of livelihood of one's choice. It is true that the State has been authorized to restrict this freedom in Sub-clauses (Clauses?) (5) and (6). But a little reflection would show that it was necessary to limit the freedom so widely provided for in Sub-clauses (f) and (g) of Clause (1) of Article 13. Such unrestricted freedom as is provided in these two Sub-clauses could not be free from grave danger. For instance, we have in our society the practice of prostitution. Is this to continue in future also as it has done till now? It should not in any circumstances be permitted to continue. Evidently there must be some provision whereby its practice may disappear by providing for a profession worthy of being adopted. Evidently restrictions have to be imposed on it . . . Again, begging is a common profession in our society today. Should it be permitted to continue as it is? I submit that there should be a good arrangement for bringing it to an end."

Similarly, freedom to earn one's livelihood by the sale of intoxicants may be restricted or even abolished as a result of the enforcement of Prohibition by the State. Thus social interest in individual freedom may well have to be subordinated to the requirements of other

47. *i.e.*, since the enactment of the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951 (Section 3).

48. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 743-46.

49. United Provinces (formerly): General.

50. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 2nd December, 1948.

51. See *ibid.*, pp. 768-69.

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greater social interests. But any restriction on the freedom guaranteed by Sub-clause (g) of Clause (1) of Article 19 must, under Clause (6) of the Article, be reasonable, and, as we have seen in the case of the other Clauses, "the question of reasonableness is a justiciable matter[52] which has to be determined by the Court" of Law. If the restriction imposed by a law is held to be reasonable there is certainly no remedy. If, on the other hand, it is held to be unreasonable, Article 13 of our Constitution imposes[53] a duty upon the Court to pronounce the law to be invalid and void to the extent it is found to be inconsistent with the fundamental right guaranteed by Sub-clause (g) read along with Clause (6), referred to above. We may refer in this connexion to the judgments of our Supreme Court in what are known as *Rashid Ahmad* vs. *The Municipal Board, Kairana*, and *Chintaman Rao* vs. *The State of Madhya Pradesh* and *Ram Krishna* vs. *The State of Madhya Pradesh*, dated 19th May, 1950, and 8th November, 1950, respectively.[54] Briefly speaking, the facts of these two cases and the Supreme Court's judgments thereon are as follows:

The first case, namely, *Rashid Ahmad* vs. *The Municipal Board, Kairana*, arose[55] out of "an application under Article 32 of the Constitution of India made by Rashid Ahmad" for the "enforcement of his fundamental right to carry on his business" which, it was submitted, had been guaranteed to him by Article 19(1) (g) of the Constitution, and which was "said to have been completely stopped by the respondent, the Municipal Board of Kairana" (in the District of Muzaffarnagar in the State of Uttar Pradesh). Now bye-law 2 of the bye-laws of the Municipal Board "pertaining to contract of vegetables" which had come into force only "on and from 1st January, 1950," laid down that "no person shall establish any new market or place for wholesale transaction without obtaining the previous permission of the Board and no person shall sell or expose for sale any vegetable, fruit, etc., at any place other than that fixed by the Board for the purpose." And bye-law (4) of these bye-laws "permitted the grant of a monopoly to a contractor to deal in wholesale transactions at the place fixed as a market." Under these bye-laws "the monopoly right to do wholesale business in vegetables for three years" had been auctioned[56] by the Municipal Board and granted to the highest bidder, Habib Ahmad, and a place had also been fixed as the market where such business could be carried on. The petitioner Rashid Ahmad "who had been carrying on wholesale business in vegetables at a rented shop within the Municipality for two years before the bye-laws came into force applied for a license to carry on his business at his shop, but this was rejected on the ground that there was no provision in the bye-laws authorising the grant of any such license," and "he was prosecuted for (the alleged) contravention of the bye-laws."

"The fact," we find in the judgment of the Supreme Court, "that the respondent Board had already auctioned the contract to Habib Ahmad might conceivably have had some bearing on this refusal to grant a license to the petitioner . . . The position, therefore, is that the petitioner cannot do any wholesale business either at the appointed market or at his own shop where he had admittedly been doing wholesale business for two years prior to the bye-laws coming into force. In short, the petitioner's business has been wholly stopped and he is being prosecuted for alleged breach of the bye-laws."

The Court held—(*i*) that the prohibition in bye-law 2 had in effect become absolute in the absence of any provision authorising the issue of a license;

(*ii*) that, "inasmuch as the Municipal Board had, further, put it out of its power to grant a license to the petitioner by granting a monopoly" to Habib Ahmad, the restrictions imposed on the petitioner were not *reasonable* within the meaning of Clause (6) of Article 19 of the Constitution;

(*iii*) that the bye-laws were accordingly void and the prosecution of the petitioner for carrying on his business in the alleged contravention of the bye-laws was illegal; and

(*iv*) that "the fact that the Constitution came into force only after the bye-laws had

52. Quoted from the judgment of Mukherjea J. in *Dr. N. B. Khare* vs. *The State of Delhi* (*The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, p. 530.)

53. See my article in *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 377-82.

54. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, pp. 566-72, and Part VIII, October and November 1950, pp. 759-66.

55. For details see *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, pp. 566-72. The Union of India and the State of Uttar Pradesh were interveners in this case.

56. As a matter of fact, the auction had been held in anticipation of the bye-laws in question on 21st May, 1949. The bye-laws came into force on 1st January, 1950.

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come into force did not affect the petitioner's right to carry on his business."

In conclusion, the Court declared:

"We are satisfied that in this case the petitioner's fundamental rights have been infringed and he is entitled to have his grievance redressed. The proper order in such circumstances would be to direct the respondent Board not to prohibit the petitioner from carrying on the trade of wholesale dealer and Commission agent of vegetables and fruits within the limits of the Municipal Board of Kairana, except in accordance with the bye-laws as and when framed in future according to law and further to direct the respondent Municipal Board to withdraw the pending prosecution of the petitioner and we order accordingly. The respondents to pay the costs of the petitioner."

Thus the petition of Rashid Ahmad was allowed by the Supreme Court.

The second case,[57] namely, *Chintamon Rao* vs. *The State of Madhya Pradesh* and *Ramkrishna* vs. *The State of Madhya Pradesh*, arose out of two applications "made by a proprietor and an employee respectively of a bidi-manufacturing concern of District Sagar" in the State of Madhya Pradesh. It was "contended (in this case) that the law in force in the State authorizing it to prohibit the manufacture of bidis in certain villages including the one wherein the applicants" resided was "inconsistent with the provisions of Part III of the Constitution" and was "consequently void." The position was this. The law in question was the Central Provinces and Berar Regulation of Manufacture of Bidis (Agricultural Purposes) Act (Act LXIV) of 1948. It had been passed on the 19th October, 1948, and was in force in the State at the commencement of the Constitution. Sections 3 and 4 of the Act laid down as follows:

"3. The Deputy Commissioner may by notification fix a period to be an agricultural season with respect to such villages as may be specified therein.

"4. (1) The Deputy Commissioner may, by general order which shall extend to such villages as he may specify, prohibit the manufacture of bidis during the agricultural season.

"(2) No person residing in a village specified in such order shall during the agricultural season engage himself in the manufacture of bidis, and no manufacturer shall during the said season employ any person for the manufacture of bidis."

Now on 13th June, 1950, an order had been issued by the Deputy Commissioner of Sagar under the provisions of the said Act of 1948, forbidding all persons residing in certain villages to engage in the manufacture of bidis. And on 19th June, 1950, the two applications had been presented to the Supreme Court under Article 32 of the Constitution "challenging the validity of the order as it prejudicially affected the petitioners' right of freedom of occupation and business." During the pendency of the applications the season mentioned in the order of 13th June had run out, and "a fresh order for the ensuing agricultural season—8th October to 18th November, 1950"—had been "issued on 29th September, 1950 in the same terms." This had also been challenged in a supplementary application.

In the course of its judgment the Supreme Court first quoted Sub-clause (g) of Clause (1) and also Clause (6), of Article 19 of our Constitution and then observed:

"The point for consideration in these applications is whether the Central Provinces and Berar Act LXIV of 1948 comes within the ambit of this saving Clause[58] or is in excess of its provisions. The learned Counsel for the petitioners contends that the impugned Act does not impose reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the fundamental right in the interests of the general public but totally negatives it. In order to judge the validity of this contention it is necessary to examine the impugned Act and some of its provisions. In the preamble to the Act, it is stated that it has been enacted to provide measures for the supply of adequate labour for agricultural purposes in bidi manufacturing areas. Sections 3 and 4 (of the Act cited above[59]) empower the Deputy Commissioner to prohibit the manufacture of bidis during the agricultural season. The contravention of any of these provisions is made punishable by Section 7 of the Act, the penalty being imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine or with both. It was enacted to help in the grow more food campaign and for the purpose of bringing under the plough considerable areas of fallow land."

"The question for decision," continued the Court, "is whether the statute under the guise of protecting public interests arbitrarily interferes with private business and imposes unreasonable and unnecessarily restrictive regulations upon lawful occupation; in other words, whether the total prohibition of carrying on the business of manufacture of bidis within the agricultural season amounts to a reasonable restriction on the fundamental rights mentioned in Article

57. See, for details, *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1; Part VIII, October & November, 1950, pp. 759-66.

58. *i.e.*, Clause (6) of Article 19.

59. Sections 3 and 4 of the Act in question have also been quoted by us in the text.

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19(1)(g) of the Constitution. Unless it is shown that there is a reasonable relation of the provisions of the Act to the purpose in view, the right of freedom of occupation and business cannot be curtailed by it. The phrase 'reasonable restriction' connotes that the limitation imposed on a person in enjoyment of the right should not be arbitrary or of an excessive nature, beyond what is required in the interests of the public. The word 'reasonable' implies intelligent care and deliberation, that is, the choice of a course which reason dictates. Legislation which arbitrarily or excessively invades the right cannot be said to contain the quality of reasonableness and unless it strikes a proper balance between the freedom guaranteed in Article 19(1)(g) and the social control permitted by Clause (6) of Article 19, it must be held to be wanting in that quality."

"The statute[60] in substance and effect," the Court further stated, "suspends altogether the right mentioned in Article 19(1)(g) during the agricultural seasons and such suspension may lead to such dislocation of the industry as to prove its ultimate ruin. The object of the statute is to provide measures for the supply of adequate labour for agricultural purposes in bidi-manufacturing areas of the Province and it could well be achieved by legislation restraining the employment of agricultural labour in the manufacture of bidis during the agricultural season. Even in point of time a restriction may well have been reasonable if it amounted to a regulation of the hours of work in the business. Such legislation though it would limit the field for recruiting persons for the manufacture of bidis and regulate the hours of the working of the industry, would not have amounted to a complete stoppage of the business of manufacture and might well have been within the ambit of Clause (6). The effect of the provisions of the Act, however, has no reasonable relation to the object in view but is so drastic in scope that it goes much in excess of that object. Not only are the provisions of the statute in excess of the requirements of the case but the language employed prohibits a manufacturer of bidis from employing any person in his business, no matter wherever that person may be residing. In other words, a manufacturer of bidis residing in this area cannot import labour from neighbouring places in the district or province or from outside the province. Such a prohibition on the face of it is of an arbitrary nature inasmuch as it has no relation whatsoever to the object which the legislation seeks to achieve and as such cannot be said to be a reasonable restriction on the exercise of the right. Further the statute seeks to prohibit all persons residing in the notified villages during the agricultural season from engaging themselves in the manufacture of bidis. It cannot be denied that there would be a number of infirm and disabled persons, a number of children, old women and petty shopkeepers residing in these villages who are incapable of being used for agricultural labour. All such persons are prohibited by law from engaging themselves in the manufacture of bidis; and are thus being deprived of earning their livelihood. It is a matter of common knowledge that there are certain classes of persons residing in every village who do not engage in agricultural operations. They and their womenfolk and children in their leisure hours supplement their income by engaging themselves in bidi business. There seems no reason for prohibiting them from carrying on this occupation. The statute as it stands, not only compels those who can be engaged in agricultural work from not taking to other avocations, but it also prohibits persons who have no connection or relation to agricultural operations from engaging in the business of bidi-making and thus earning their livelihood. These provisions of the statute, in our opinion, cannot be said to amount to reasonable restrictions on the right of the applicants and that being so, the statute is not in conformity with the provisions of Part III of the Constitution. The law even to the extent that it could be said to authorize the imposition of restrictions in regard to agricultural labour cannot be held valid because the language employed is wide enough to cover restrictions both within and without the limits of constitutionally permissible legislative action affecting the right. So long as the possibility of its being applied for purposes not sanctioned by the Constitution cannot be ruled out, it must be held to be wholly void."

Finally, the Court remarked:

"Mr. Sikri (Counsel) for the Government of Madhya Pradesh contends that the legislature of Madhya Pradesh was the proper judge of the reasonableness of the restrictions imposed by the statute, that that legislature alone knew the conditions prevailing in the State and it alone could say what kind of legislation could effectively achieve the end in view and would help in the grow more food campaign and would help for bringing in fallow land under the plough, and that this Court sitting at this great distance could not judge by its own yardstick of reason whether the restrictions imposed in the circumstances of the case were reasonable or not. This argument runs counter to the clear provisions of the Constitution. The determination by the legislature of what constitutes a reasonable restriction is not final or conclusive; it is subject to the supervision by this Court. In the matter of fundamental rights, the Supreme Court watches and guards the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and in exercising its functions it has the power to set aside an Act of the Legislature if it is in violation of the freedoms

60. *i.e.*, the Central Provinces and Berar Act LXIV of 1948 under consideration.

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guaranteed by the Constitution. We are, therefore, of opinion that the impugned statute does not stand the test of reasonableness and is therefore void. The result therefore is that the orders issued by the Deputy Commissioner on 13th June, 1950 and 26th (29th ?) September, 1950, are void, inoperative and ineffective. We therefore direct the respondents not to enforce the provisions contained in Section 4 of the Act against the petitioners in any manner whatsoever. The petitioners will have their costs of these proceedings in the two petitions."

Thus the two petitions out of which the case arose were allowed by the Supreme Court.

We have quoted above the judgment of the Supreme Court in the *Chintaman Rao* case at some length as it is a fine illustration of effective judicial interference with *unreasonable* legislation in respect of a fundamental right.

We need not say much about either Sub-clause (*i*) or Sub-clause (*ii*) of Clause (6) of Article 19 as they are more or less self-explanatory. Under Sub-clause (*i*) law may, in the interests of the general public, reasonably prescribe the professional or technical qualifications necessary for practising a profession or for carrying on an occupation, trade or business. And under Sub-clause (*ii*) law may permit the creation of a monopoly, complete or partial, in favour of the State itself, or in favour of a corporation owned or controlled by the State, but not otherwise. As Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Minister of Law) pointed out[61] in our Parliament on 18th May, 1951, the important point of this Sub-clause lies in this that it permits the State to make a classification as between private persons carrying on a trade and the State itself carrying on the same trade It was necessitated,[62] according to him, by the judgment of the Allahabad High Court in *Motilal* vs. *Uttar Pradesh*[63] and its object was to help nationalisation of industries, business, etc., and to evade the charge of any discrimination in that connexion.[64]

Before we leave the discussion of Clauses (1) to (6) of Article 19 we may note wh Justice Das and Justice Mukherjea of o Supreme Court have said[65] with regard t them, in the course of their judgments in A *K. Gopalan* vs. *The State of Madras*. Refe ring to "the seven rights protected by Clau (1) of Article 19" Justice Das has observed:

"If there were nothing else in Article 19 the rights would have been absolute rights and the pr tection given to them would have completely debarr Parliament or any of the State Legislatures fro making any law taking away or abridging any those rights. But a perusal of Article 19 makes abundantly clear that none of the seven righ enumerated in Clause (1) is an absolute right, fo each of these rights is liable to be curtailed by law made or to be made by the State to the exte mentioned in the several Clauses (2) to (6) of th Article. Those Clauses save the power of the Stat to make laws imposing certain specified restrictio on the several rights. The nett result is that th unlimited legislative power given by Article 246 rea with the different legislative lists in the Seven Schedule (to the Constitution) is cut down by th provisions of Article 19 and all laws made by th State with respect to these rights must, in ord to be valid, observe these limitations. Whether an law has, in fact, transgressed these limitations is t be ascertained by the Court and if in its view th restrictions imposed by the law are greater than wha is permitted by Clauses (2) to (6), whichever applicable, the Court will declare the same to b unconstitutional and, therefore, void under Article 1 Here again there is scope for the application of th 'intellectual yardstick' of the Court. If, however, th Court finds, on scrutiny, that the law has not over stepped the constitutional limitations, the Court w have to uphold the law, whether it likes the law o not."

And Justice Mukherjea has said in con nexion with those seven rights:

"There cannot be any such thing as absolute o uncontrolled liberty wholly freed from restrains, fo that would lead to anarchy and disorder. The posse sion and enjoyment of all rights, as was observed b the Supreme Court of America in *Jacobson* vs. *Ma sachusetts*,[66] are subject to such reasonable condi tions as may be deemed by the governing authori of the country essential to the safety, health, peac general order and morals of the community. Th question, therefore, arises in each case of adjustin the conflicting interests of the individual and of th society. In some cases, restrictions have to be place

61. See *Parliamentary Debates*, India, Part II, Official Report, 18th May, 1951, pp. 9020-9021.

62. See *ibid.*

63. *Motilal* vs. *Uttar Pradesh*, A.I.R. 1951 (Allahabad) 257. See *ibid.*

64. Pandit Kunzru (Uttar Pradesh), however, did not agree with the view that Dr. Ambedkar had taken of the Allahabad High Court judgment in *Motilal* vs. *Uttar Pradesh*. According to him, the essence of this Allahabad judgment was that nationalisation could not be carried out merely by an executive order, but that legislation was necessary for the purpose. See *Parliamentary Debates*, India, Part II, Official Report, 31st May, 1951, pp. 9784-9785.

65. See the *Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II III, April & May, 1950, pp. 294 and 253-54.

66. 197 U.S. 11 (1905).

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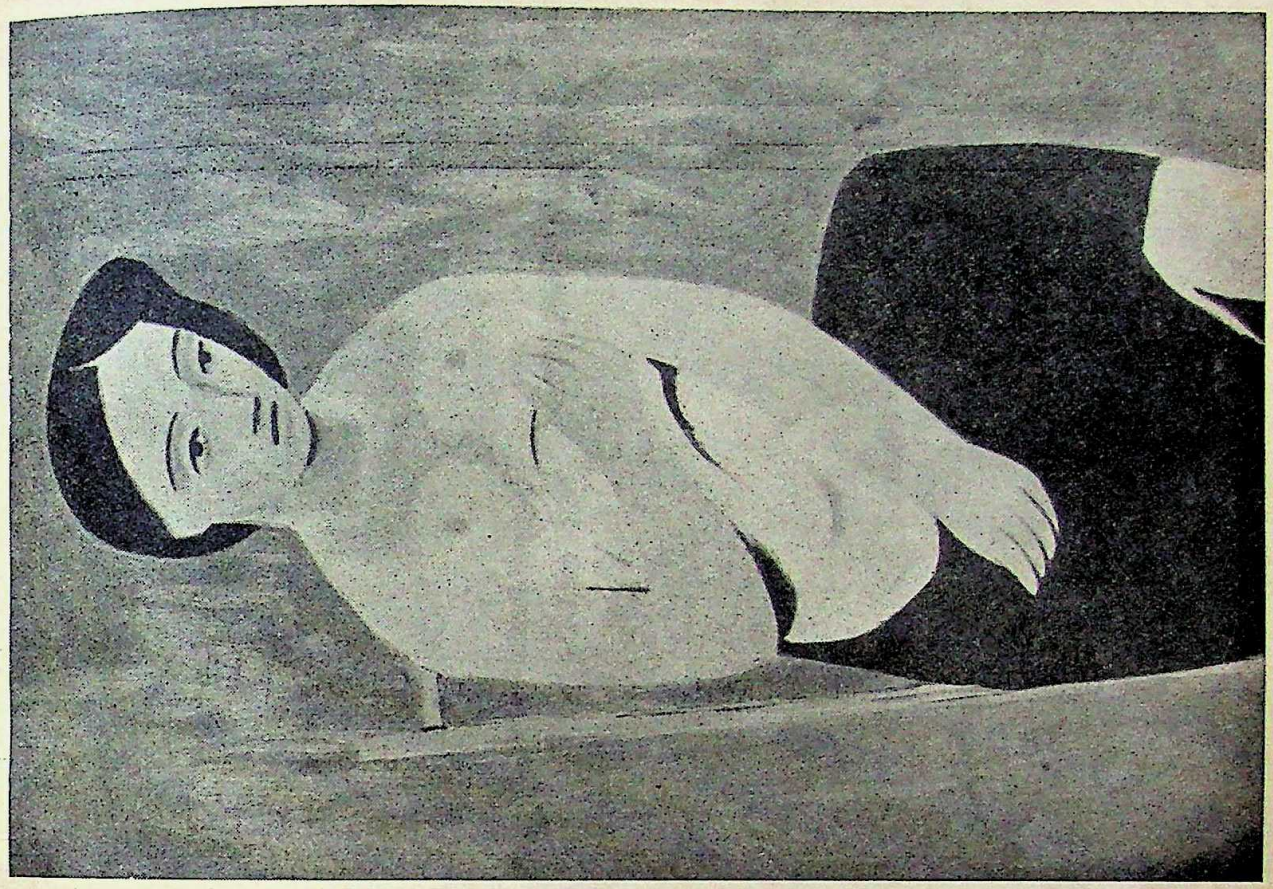
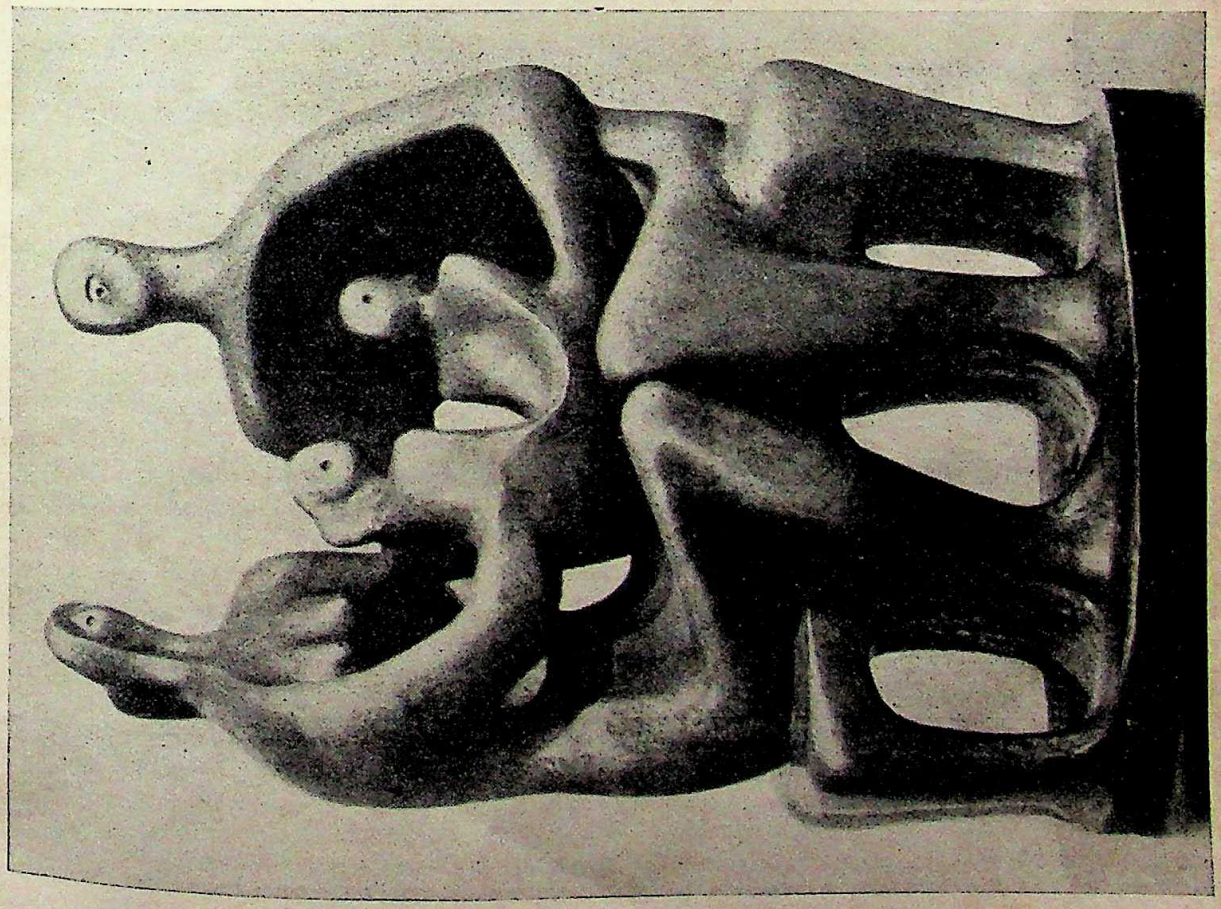


Nude
By William Scott



Family Group
By Henry Moore

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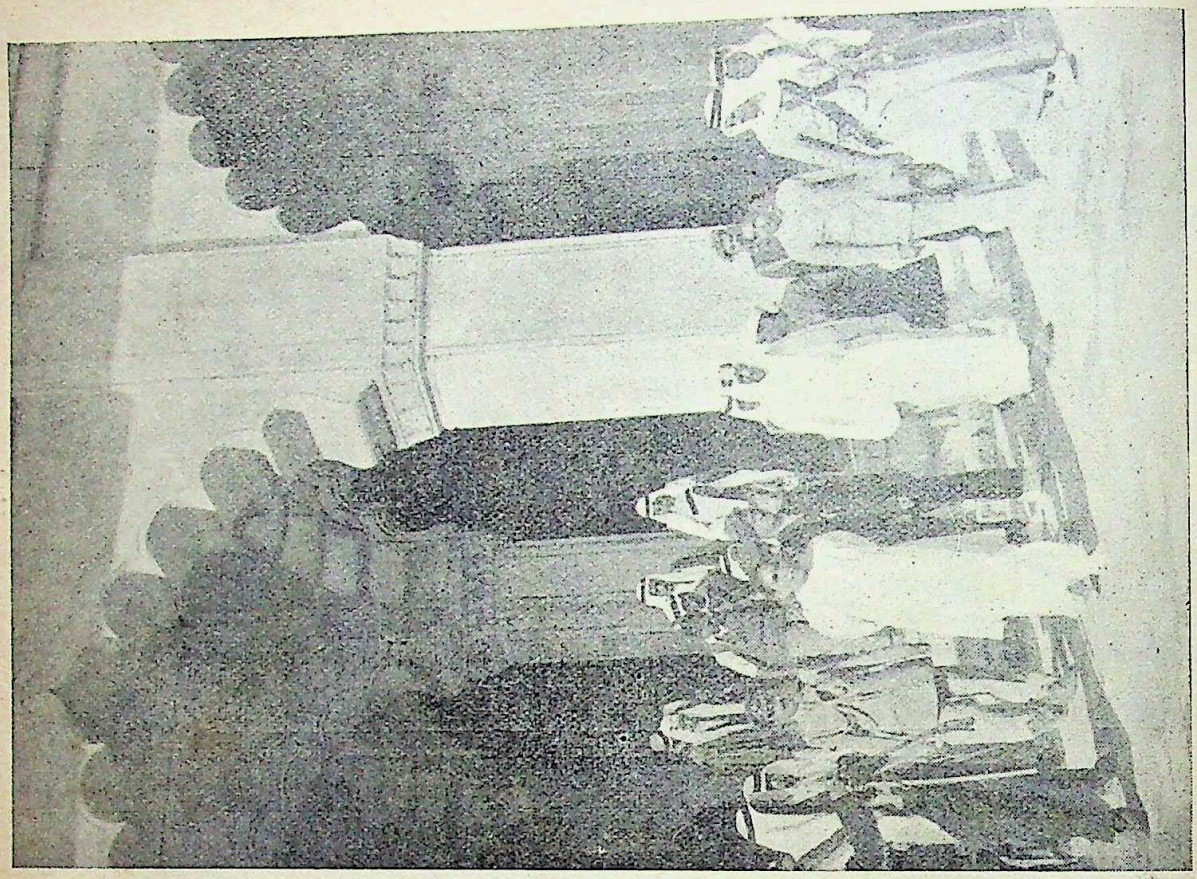

His Majesty King Saud Bin Abdulaziz al Saud of Saudi Arabia being conducted round the Moti Masjid inside the famous Agra Fort

Madame Sun Yet-sen, also known as Madame Soong Ching Ling, visited India in December, 1955

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upon free exercise of individual rights to safeguard the interests of the society; on the other hand, social control which exists for public good has got to be restrained, lest it should be misused to the detriment of individual rights and liberties. Ordinarily, every man has the liberty to order his life as he pleases, to say what he will, to go where he will, to follow any trade, occupation or calling at his pleasure and to do any other thing which he can lawfully do without let or hindrance by any other person. On the other hand, for the very protection of these liberties the society must arm itself with certain powers. No man's liberty would be worth its name if it can be violated with impunity by any wrong-doer and if his property or possessions could be preyed upon by a thief or a marauder. The society, therefore, has got to exercise certain powers for the protection of these liberties and to arrest, search, imprison and punish those who break the law. If these powers are properly exercised, they themselves are the safeguards of freedom, but they can certainly be abused. The police may arrest any man and throw him into prison without assigning any reasons; they may search his belongings on the slightest pretext; he may be subjected to a sham trial and even punished for crimes unknown to law. What the Constitution (of India), therefore, attempts to do in declaring the rights of the people is to strike a balance between individual liberty and social control. To me it seems that Article 19 of the Constitution gives a list of individual liberties and prescribes in the various Clauses the retraints that may be placed upon them by law, so that they may not conflict with public welfare or general morality."

This reminds us of what the Supreme Court of the United States of America observed in 1905 in the course of its judgment in *Jacobson* vs. *Massachusetts*.[67]

"The liberty secured by the Constitution of the United States to every person within its jurisdiction does not," said the Supreme Court,[68] "import an absolute right in each person to be, at all times and in all circumstances, wholly freed from restraint. There are manifold restraints to which every person is necessarily subject for the common good. On any other basis organized society could not exist with safety to its members. Society based on the rule that each one is a law unto himself would soon be confronted with disorder and anarchy. Real liberty for all could not exist under the operation of a principle which recognizes the right of each individual person to use his own, whether in respect of his person or his property, regardless of the injury that may be done to others."

VI

In concluding our discussion of Article 19 of our Constitution, we should like to point out that, under the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954, made by the President of India on 14th May, 1954,[69] in its application to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, Article 19 has been subject to the following modifications for a period of five years with effect from the 14th of May, 1954:

(*i*) In Clauses (3) and (4) thereof, after the words "in the interests of," the words "the security of the State or" are to be inserted;

(*ii*) In Clause (5) thereof, for the words "or for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribes," the words "or in the interests of the security of the State" are to be substituted; and

(*iii*) The following new Clause is to be added thereto, namely,

(1) The words 'reasonable restrictions' occurring in Clauses (2), (3), (4) and (5) shall be construed as meaning such restrictions as the appropriate Legislature deems reasonable."

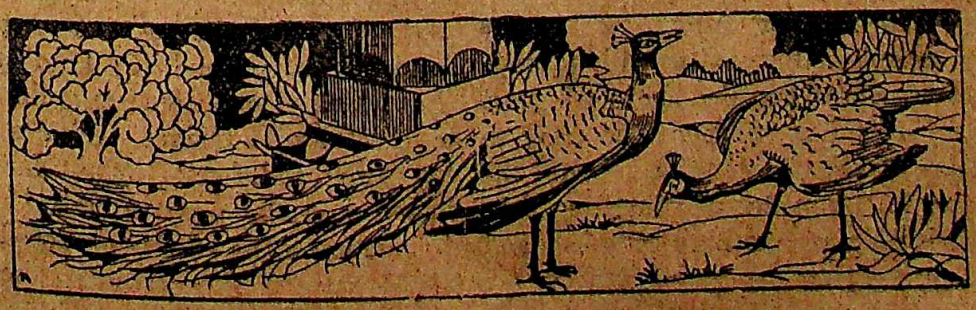
This is obviously a transitional measure in view of the peculiarity of the present position of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in the Indian Union. It needs no elucidation.

In our later articles in this series, we propose to deal with some other aspects of our Fundamental Right to Freedom as guaranteed by our Constitution.

67. 197 U.S. 11 (1905). See Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1960, pp. 772-79.

68. See *ibid.*, pp. 775-76.

69. See *The Gazette of India Extraordinary*, Part II, Section 3, May 14th, 1954; also *The Constitution of India As modified up to first May*, 1955), published by the Manager of Publication, Delhi, 1955, p. 10.



Madame Sun Yet-sen, also known as Madame Soong Ching Ling, visited India in December, 1955 His Majesty King Saud Bin Abdulaziz al Saud of Saudi Arabia being conducted round the Moti Masjid inside the famous Agra Fort

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THE GOLDEN JUBILEE OF SWADESHI MOVEMENT

By NAGENDRA KUMAR GUHA ROY

During the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, the Imperialist Conservative politician, in the beginning of the first decade of the present century the Partition of Bengal was planned on the plea of removing administrative difficulties. The province of Bengal was then composed of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and it was, according to the authorities, too big for a Lieutenant Governor to administer efficiently. The scheme of partition was officially announced in July 1905. There was strong protest through newspapers and public meetings to which the alien rulers turned a deaf ear. The scheme was so prepared that the Bengali-speaking Hindus in both the provinces of divided Bengal would be turned into minority. The leaders of Bengal had justifiable suspicion that the motive behind the conception of partition was to strike at the root of integrity of the Bengali nation which was in the forefront of all kinds of political movements in India. Lord Curzon found that it was the leaders of Bengal who had a dominating voice in the field of all-India politics and that other provinces followed their lead.

At a huge public meeting held on the 7th August of that year in the Calcutta Town Hall a resolution of boycott of British goods was passed *nem con* as a protest against the proposed partition. There was an unprecedented rally of citzens of Calcutta numbering nearly half a lac which could not be accommodated in the ground floor of the big Town Hall and three simultaneous meetings,—two in the Town Hall and one in the adjoining *maidan*, had to be arranged. The movement spread all over Bengal within a fortnight with the speed of a violent hurricane. The enthusiasm of the people, particularly of the youth and the students community, reached its climax. They organised themselves with promptitude and started picketting the shops of those traders in the *bazars* and markets who used to deal with British goods. In compliance wtih the leaders' direction in the matter of picketting they stuck to the principle of moral persuasion and refrained from using physical force. But in the cases of those dealers and customers of British goods, who used to give provocation to the you volunteers, the principle could not be stric adhered to. In the city of Calcutta and Muffa towns the students and youngmen paraded n infrequently public thoroughfares in processi singing national songs and shouting *Ban Mataram*. The movement, which came to known as the Swadeshi or the Boycott mo ment, inundated the whole of Bengal fr one end to the other like flood-water of mountainous river during monsoon. Both in t urban and rural areas the awakening of the Beng nation from age-long slumber was manif through different spheres of our national life.

It was officially announced in September that year that the partition scheme would co into operation on and from the 16th Octob Following upon the announcement *Rastragu* Surendra Nath Banerjee, who was then so popul as a leader that he was called by his countrym "the uncrowned king of Bengal," convened informal conference of leaders for deciding as how to observe the day. The following are so of the leaders who participated in the proceedin of the conference: Poet Rabindranath Tago Sister Nivedita, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Achar Ramendra Sundar Tribedi, Tarak Nath Palit, Choudhury. It was decided unanimously that sixteenth of October (1905) would be observ throughout Bengal as a day of national mournin A programme for that day was chalked out a the following items were included therein: (1 Cessation of all sorts of work from morn t evening, (2) closing of markets and *bazars*, (stoppage of vehicular traffic, (4) non-cooki fasting and prayer, (5) *Rakhi-bandhan, i.e.*, ty of red bands on the wrist as a token of un and fraternal feelings among the people 'divided' Bengal and (6) holding of public me ings where people would take the vow of annull the Partition of Bengal. Besides those the follo ing two additional items for Calcutta we included in the programme: (1) Laying of t foundation stone of the proposed Federation H at the selected site adjoining the Upper Circul Road close to the Deaf and Dumb School.

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would keep alive the remembrance of our severance and thus be an ever-living stimulus to our efforts to secure our reunion"—said Surendra Nath. (2) Collection of money for the proposed National Fund at a rally of the citizens of Calcutta in the big field in front of Rai Pasupati Nath Bose's house at Baghbazar.

The sixteenth of October or thirtieth Aswin was observed as a day of national mourning throughout Bengal with due solemnity. In the city of Calcutta, which was then the capital of India, there was cessation of work in all the areas except those where Europeans, Muslims and Marwaris carried on business; daily markets and shops on the side of streets, roads and lanes were closed and all sorts of vehicular traffic was stopped. The factories, workshops and mills in the suburbs of Calcutta could not be run as the workers abstained from attending. On that memorable day in the annals of our national upheaval nowhere in the great city of Calcutta nor in the towns and villages of Bengal any disturbance or breach of the peace was committed. The Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, made elaborate Police arrangements for guarding different areas of the city, but his Police force had to spend the day as silent spectators as nothing untoward happened. The function of laying the foundation-stone of the Federation Hall was performed in the afternoon at a mammoth meeting of about half a lac people by Ananda Mohan Bose, a great popular leader and an ex-president of the Indian National Congress. Having been in sick-bed he had to be carried to the meeting in an invalid's chair attended by his physicians. Rastraguru Surendra Nath Banerjee read the presidential speech, as the president of the function was too weak to stand on his legs and read it himself. The *Rastraguru*, himself a renowned orator of All-India fame, made the following observation about the speech in his autobiography *A Nation in Making*:

"The speech that he prepared on his sick-bed, amid the daily inroads of a mortal disease, is striking evidence of the triumph of mind and spirit over matter. I regard it as the greatest of his oratorical performances, and one of the noblest orations to which it has been one's privilege to listen. Indeed, judged by what happened within a few months, it was the song of the dying swan....."

The function over, the huge crowd, all barefooted, proceeded to the house of Rai Pashupati Nath Bose at Baghbazar Street nearly two miles off. In the big grounds of his palatial mansion there gathered about a lac of people to contribute their mite to the National Fund. A sum of twenty-five thousand rupees was collected on the spot from the voluntary contribution of the poor and the middle classes. As the leaders could not anticipate such a monster rally of the citizens adequate arrangement could not be made for speedy collection, as the result of which many intending contributors had to go home frustrated. The project of the Federation Hall could not materialize in due time owing to various causes. The Federation Hall Society, entrusted with the task of fulfilling it, completed the construction in the year of the Golden Jubilee of the Swadeshi movement and the opening ceremony of the Federation Hall at 294-2-1 Upper Circular Road was performed on the 24th April, 1955 by Dr. J. C. Ghosh, an eminent scientist of international reputation and an illustrious son of Mother India.

Sister Nivedita of hallowed memory sent *rakhis* by post to Principal Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor, *Prabasi*, at his Allahabad address where he was then residing. The letter she wrote to him on the occasion is worthy of that patriot-saint who loved and served India, her land of adoption. The above news together with the letter was published in the famous vernacular weekly of the time, *Sanjibani*, in its issue of the 19th October, 1905 from which it is reproduced below:

"With the compliments of Sister Nivedita.

"Today, being the 30th Aswin, 16th October, 1905, Partition of the Bengali people is to be made by law.

"This day, then, designed to be the date of our division, is henceforth yearly to be set aside by us, for the deeper realisation of our national unity. Having been made, by this threat of division, overwhelmingly conscious of the essential oneness of the whole Indian Nation, the heart of Bengal goes out to all parts of our common Motherland.

"Thus to you, from us of Bengal, is sent today this thread of *Rakhi-Bandhan*, in token, not merely of the union of provinces but of bond that knits us all, as children of one Motherland together.

"*Bande Mataram.*

"To Principal Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor, *Prabasi*, Allahabad."

"For distribution among suitable persons."

It appears from the said report of the *Sanjibani* that on that occasion Ramananda Babu held divine service in his residence early in the morning of the sixteenth October and also in

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the preceding night. Other Bengali residents of Allahabad also observed the day according to the programme. With the observance of the day of national mourning on the sixteenth October the first phase of the Swadeshi Movement came to an end.

Let us now survey the second and third phases of the movement. The alien rulers thought at the start of the Anti-Partition movement that like most of the previous political movements of the Bengali leaders it would also die a natural death in no time. But when it was found that their calculation was wrong they began to pursue a police of repression, the first target of which was the student community. In the newly-created province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, where Sir. Bampfylde Fuller was the first Lieutenant Governor, a large number of students were punished either by imposition of fines or by rustication. In many cases teachers were compelled to resign or discharged from service for participating in the movement or for expressing sympathy with its object. Many Government-aided educational institutions were deprived of the aid they had been getting. In West Bengal, Government circulars through the District Magistrates were issued upon authorities of the educational institutions directing them to prohibit the students from joining any political movement.

The students of Calcutta assembled at a public meeting where strong protest was recorded against the circular and an association called Anti-Circular Society was formed in violation of and as a protest to the circular for the purpose of rendering services to the success of the national movement. Sri Nares Chandra Sen Gupta then a post-graduate research Scholar, (subsequently a reputed novelist and advocate of Calcutta High Court), the late Sachindra Prasad Bose (subsequently one of the nine deportees of Bengal), the late Phani Banerjee (subsequently a barrister of the Calcutta High Court), Sri Sukumar Mitra and the late Rama Kanta Roy, a young Engineer educated in Japan, were prominent workers of the society. *Rastraguru* Surendra Nath Banerjee, J. Choudhuri, Krishna Kumar Mitra and a few other leaders gave fillip to the students' movement by their guidance and assistance. The society turned into a strong well-disciplined organisation whose substantial contribution through selfless and fearless service were highly appreciated by their countrymen.

The leaders of Bengal boldly faced the situation created by the campaign of repression against students and founded the "National Council of Education, Bengal," for the purpose of imparting education on national lines. The munificence of such patriotic sons of Bengal as 'Raja' Subodh Chandra Mullick, Sri Brojendra Kishore Roy Chodhury, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose and Taraka Nath Palit in this connection will ever be remembered with reverential gratitude by the appreciating and admiring countrymen. Aurobindo Ghose (Sri Aurobindo), then a high-salaried officer in the Education Department of Baroda State, gave up his lucrative job and joined the National College started at Calcutta by the National Council of Education, as Principal on a small monthly allowance of Rs. 150 only. The famous Jadavpur Technological Institute is the product of the "National Council of Education, Bengal."

The notable event of the period was the sitting of the Bengal Provincial Conference at Barisal town in the district of Buckharganj where the Boycott Movement under the guidance of the illustrious leader Aswini Kumar Dutta had made such unparalleled progress that the Government of Fuller had to station Gurkha soldiers at the headquarters and post Punitive police at Banaripara village. In spite of the unrelenting operation of the repressive measures the morale of the leaders and their innumerable followers did not break down. The notorious Bande Mataram Circular, whereby shouting of Bande Mataram on public highways was banned in the whole of Eastern Bengal, was not withdrawn despite universal protest. That lawless law, which encroached upon the inherent right of a man, was rendered into a dead letter by boys and youths who used to shout *Bande Mataram* in the public roads whenever any occasion arose and became accustomed to evade arrest by running away out of the sight of the police.

On the first day of the Conference (April 14, 1906) in defiance of the prohibitory order a procession consisting of about five thousand people started some time after midday from *Raja Bahadur Habeli* singing national songs in chorus and shouting *Bande Mataram*. Surendra Nath Banerjee, Matilal Ghosh, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Bepin Chandra Pal, and other leaders, who headed the procession, gave definite orders to the processionists not to take with them any kind of arms not even a *lathi* and to meet firmly but peace-

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fully any attack from the armed police. When the processionists were proceeding towards the Conference Pandal police constables armed with regulation *lathis* assaulted some of them causing hurt both simple and grievous. None of them in the face of such beastly attack turned back. Thus it is evident that the mighty weapon of Non-violence and Passive Resistance was first used in India by the Bengali people and politicians at Barisal with commendable success against the mighty alien Government. Abdul Rasul, a popular Muslim leader and well-known barrister of the Calcutta High Court, presided. Aswini Kumar Datta was the chairman of the Reception Committee. On the second day some time after the sitting had begun, an order under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code issued by the District Magistrate was personally served upon the leaders in the Pandal prohibiting further sitting of the Conference. Surendra Nath Banerjee appealed to the people present there to leave the Conference Pandal peacefully. Bhupendra Nath Bose, an eminent moderate leader, who attended the Conference, openly remarked following upon its dissolution that it was the beginning of the end. Excesses and atrocities perpetrated at Barisal in the name of law and order goaded young Bengal to have recourse to the dangerous path of secret revolutionary societies which had already taken the field. The happenings of the next two eventful years (1907 and 1908) betrayed death-defying courage and unswerving determination of the revolutionary youths of Bengal to break the shackles of political bondage.

In the campaign of persecution the following nationalist newspapers of Calcutta were the target of attack: *Jugantar*, vernacular Bengali weekly of the revolutionaries, *Sandhya*, vernacular Bengali daily of Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya, *Nabashakti*, vernacular Bengali daily of Monoranjan Guha Thakurta and *Bande Mataram*, English daily of Aurobindo Ghosh, Raja Subodh Chandra Mullick and some other leaders of the Nationalist party. The cases against them on charges of sedition tried in the Court of Mr. Kingsford, Chief Presidency Magistrate, ended in conviction. Notwithstanding such repression the tone of those papers did not undergo any change whatsoever. The nationalist Press continued their crusade fearlessly against the foreign Bureaucracy. The Bureaucracy failing to cope with the situation with the help of ordinary law got the "Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act" passed hurriedly and thus stopped the publication of those papers by confiscation of their printing press, apparatus and other connected materials under the new law. Some other similar Acts were passed in quick succession for the sole purpose of crushing the movement of neo-Nationalism. Aurobindo Ghose in his Bombay speech in January 1908 highly praised the patriotic young men of Bengal for their bold stand against the relentless operation of repressive measures saying that "they were called upon to bear the crown, not of victory but of martyrdom." The high priest of neo-Nationalism speaking on the situation then created in Bengal said:

> . . . "By what strength are we in Bengal able to survive? Nationalism is not going to be crushed. Nationalism survives in the strength of God and it is not possible to crush it, whatever weapons are brought against it. Nationalism is immortal; Nationalism cannot die; because it is no human thing, it is God who is working in Bengal. God cannot be killed, God cannot be sent to jail. . . ."

The attempt to kill Mr. Kingsford, formerly Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, by throwing dangerous bombs at Mazaffarpur (Bihar), where he was transferred as a safety measure and posted as District and Sessions Judge, was one of the most sensational events of the period. Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki, two young members of the Jugantar revolutionary party, were responsible for doing that daring act which occurred in the night of the 30 h April, 1908. The former was arrested next day with a loaded revolver near a Railway station about twenty-five miles off from Muzaffarpur; and the latter finding his arrest imminent at Mokamaghat Railway Station on the 2nd May, ended his life by firing two shots with his revolver aiming his forehead. Instead of Mr. Kingsford two European ladies were killed through mistake. Khudiram was subsequently tried and sentenced to death.

That incident led to the discovery of a miniature arsenal and a small laboratory for manufacture of bombs with a large quantity of incriminating articles, documents and literature in the garden house of Aurobindo Ghose, Barin Ghose and brothers at Muraripukur Road (Maniktala), Calcutta. Aurobindo Ghose, Barin Ghose, Upen Banerjee, Hem Das, Ullaskar Dutta and many others were arrested. Thirty-five young men were tried before the Sessions Court, Alipore (24-Parganas), on charges of conspiracy and attempt to wage war against the King-Emperor, commission of murder and attempt to commit

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murder. As such extensive and well-organised conspiracy had never before been conceived of by any section of the Indian intelligentsia against the British rule, the Alipore Bomb case created a good deal of sensation not only in India but also in Great Britain. The case went up to the Calcutta High Court. Fourteen of the accused persons were convicted and sentenced; Barin, Upen, Hem and Ullaskar were awarded sentences of transportation for life. Aurobindo Ghose, the main accused or the hero of the drama, who was described by the prosecution as the leader of the party and the brain of the plot, was honorably acquitted by the trial court. Accused Naren Goswami, the son of a big zeminder, who turned an approver, was shot dead inside the Alipore jail by Satyen Bose and Kanai Lal Datta, two under-trial accused in the case. They were sentenced to death in a separate trial. Both the young revolutionaries mounted the gallows and braved death cheerfully and their countrymen idolized them as patriot-martyrs like their two comrades-in-arms Prafulla and Khudiram. The result of the conspiracy case had no reaction upon those who were initiated to the cult of armed revolution. In spite of unscrupulous operation of repressive laws they proceeded with their work vigorously. The accused in the State trial were not only connected with the Swadeshi Movement as active supporters but many of them were in the forefront of the movement. The political career of many a revolutionary began during the Swadeshi era.

"Absolute autonomy free from foreign control" was openly preached as the political goal by the Nationalist party through press and platform in the middle period as well as the last period of the movement. It is manifest that the political outlook of the Bengali nation thoroughly changed. The Swadeshi movement brought about revolutionary changes in different spheres of the life of the Bengalis and hence it is also regarded as a Renaissance movement of Bengal. Its duration was only for six years and four months, not at all a long period in the matter of revival of a nation in bondage. The Bengalis made headway in different fields, *viz.*, political, social, literary, economic. Prejudices of caste system, still rampant in the society, faded considerably. Imitation of English customs, dress and mode of living, then prevalent among a section of the educated Bengalis, was abandoned; rendering relief service to the suffering countrymen during famine, epidemic and calamitous visitation of Nature topped the programme of work. Let us reproduce a few lines in this connection from the autobiography of Surendra Nath :

. . . "Literature felt the full impact of the rising tide of national sentiment, which bodied itself forth in prose and verse. Journalism received a stimulus such as it had not felt for a long time. The speeches made in Bengalee at *Swadeshi* meetings, under the inspiration of the new ideas, were models of eloquence and it is a pity they have not been preserved . . .

. . . . "It is, however, in the industrial line that the national activities received an unprecedented stimulus."

The Swadeshi movement successfully terminated in December 1911 with the Royal Proclamation of annulment of the Partition of Bengal. That epoch-making movement is adorable as forerunner of our fight for freedom. Its fiftieth anniversary was observed in Bengal on the 7th August, 1955. Eight years before that India had attained her independence. The remembrance of the great contribution of the movement will, no doubt, fill up the heart of every Bengali in free India with pride and glory, and inspire him with self-devotion to the cause of building up a New India of our day.

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THE STATES REORGANISATION COMMISSION'S REPORT

By CHUNI LAL RAY

III

WEST BENGAL's Chief Minister's statements relating to Jamshedpur and to Dhanbad in the Assembly debate on 6th December, are very difficult to follow. He has described both as industrial towns, but Dhanbad has no industry outside its coalfield which, by the way, Dr. Roy wants to get for Bengal. Shorn of the coalfield, Dhanbad retained in Bihar will have no work for its Courts, for its Water Board, and for its Mines Board of Health. And equally incorrect is the idea suggested by one of Dr. Roy's sentences that Bengal and Bihar have contributed more or less equally towards the development of Jamshedpur and that other States also have contributed more or less equally. As a matter of fact contribution by Bombay alone is comparable to Bengal's, and aggregate of contributions by all the other States would fall far short of contributions by Bombay and Bengal. That the Tisco administration recognise this is clearly demonstrated by the bust of geologist Pramatha Nath Bose that they erected in the Jamshedpur Maidan and by the very recent grant of a lakh of rupees for further perpetuation of Bose's memory. In the earliest years of the Tisco works, the labour force consisted almost exclusively of local Bengalees, Santals and Bhumijes; and both Santals and Bhumijes were bi-linguals, with Bergali as the invariable subsidiary language; Sakchi, Jugsalai, Bistupur Kalimati were still unknown names in Bihar. In 1911, when many of the buildings had been completed and machinery was being set up, there were less than 6,000 persons with mother-tongue Hindi in the whole of Dhalbhum; and it was not till the later years of the First World War that men started coming in fair numbers from Hindi-speaking areas, the total for Dhalbhum up to 1921 being definitely less than 25 thousand. There are still now nearly 55 thousand Bengalees in Jamshedpur (more than 25 per cent); and it is doubtful if this is exceeded by the number of Biharees. Out of the 92 thousand Hindi-speakers, at least 18 thousand came from Madhya Pradesh, at least 12½ thousand from Uttar Pradesh, about 3 thousand from Rajasthan.

Even if the number of Biharees in Jamshedpur does exceed the Bengalee number 55 thousand, there is no gainsaying the fact that Bihar has no contiguity with Jamshedpur—this is definitely given out in para 625 of the States Reorganisation Commission's Report—and it is through the Bengali-speaking Kandra thana of Saraikela (Bengalees about 20 thousand out of total population 30 thousand) that Bihar would be allowed access to Jamshedpur. With Dhanbad town also Bihar would have no contiguity if the coal-field comes to West Bengal; but the coalfield has now a definite Hindi-speaking percentage at least 70 to 75 per cent., Biharees alone being about 40 per cent, while in Jamshedpur the total Hindi-speaking percentage, including people from Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan is less than 40. Bihar can certainly make out a strong case for West Dhanbad with which it has contiguity; but it has none for Jamshedpur. If nevertheless Bihar is allowed to retain Jamshedpur, it will certainly intensify the campaign of shutting out non-Biharees from Tatas' works; and the 10 thousand from Purulia (a number larger than that from any other district in India, barring of course Singbhum) and at least fifteen thousand from the Dhalbhum rural area that are now getting their livelihood in Jamshedpur will soon be compelled to seek fresh fields and pasture new; for Bihar, having earned the reputation of being strongly Congress-minded, seems to have earned also exemption from the directive in the Bardoli Resolution of 1939 about non-intereference with nationality of employees in private concerns. West Bengal honours that directive; and Jamshedpur in West Bengal will provide employment for Bihar's people as do the collieries in the Raniganj field and indusrial concerns in and round Calcutta. Separation from Jamshedpur will for Purulia and for Dhalbhum's rural area, amount to positive punishment for the crime of asking for merger with West Bengal. Purulia people may of course seek revenge by stopping supply of water from the Mungo reservoir in Barabhum thana; but that would not give them food.

EAST DHANBAD

About East Dhanbad one point which I forgot to mention in the November number is that, for two of its thanas, Nirsha (including Chirkunda police-station) and Tundi, Survey and Settlement Records were prepared in Bengali. The Government had at first ordered Records to be prepared in Hindi, but opposition to this was so widespread that the order had to be cancelled and fresh order issued for Records in Bengali, for these two thanas. Similar action should have been taken also at least for Govindapur thana, part of which juts into the gap between Nintha and Tundi thanas and which entire thana is Bengali-speaking. Equally Bengali-

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speaking are police-stations Baliapur and Sindri of revenue-thana Jharia, which lie to the east of the Dhanbad-Pathardi branch railway line, which line marks the eastern boundary of the Jharia coal-field. Hindi records for Govindapur, Baliapur, Sindri, also for the western portion of thana Jharia and other police-stations further west were later found to cause the greatest inconvenience; and the Settlement Officer, Mr. Gokhale, I.C.S., found to his regret that, in many of the villages, even in the western thanas, there was not even one man who could read and understand the Hindi records, not to speak of explaining the same to his neighbours.

Reasons were noted in detail in the November number for the estimates of linguistic distribution in East Dhanbad, 45 per cent for Bengali, 33 per cent for Hindi and 18 per cent for Santali. Plate I is a map of Dhanbad subdivision and of adjoining portion of Purulia subdivision, divided between East and West in either case, and with brief notes explaining the very great difference in estimates in linguistic distribution between East and West Dhanbad—the big and abrupt, differences being due to the fact that it is only the coalfields which have attracted immigrants who brought the Hindi language with them. The map shows also the locations of the Maithon and Panchet Hill dams of the D.V.C., which would both have Bihar at one end and West Bengal at the other, if the S. R. Commission's recommendations are implemented without any modification. East Dhanbad has an overwhelming case for transfer to West Bengal, along with the Purulia subdivision. No objection can legitimately be raised on the score of its forming part only of a subdivision, after the recommendation that Chas thana should be separated from the Purulia subdivision and tagged on to Dhanbad for retention in Bihar. If Chas thana can be separated from the rest of Purulia subdivision, why not East from West Dhanbad? Incidentally, the suggestion to attach Chas thana south of the Damodar river, to Dhanbad subdivision which is to the north of that river is irreconcilable with the S. R. Commission's observation in para 658 that "Manbhum is really composed of two different areas which are divided by the Damodar." There is no consistency, no principle, in the Commission's recommendations. Damodar is put forward as an impassable barrier when it is sought to establish that Dhanbad is a full-fledged district, (which it is not, any more than Dhalbhum with its Deputy Commissioner in Jamshedpur and only an Additional in Chaibasa is a full-fledged district); but the same Damodar is no impediment to attachment of Chas thana to Dhanbad subdivision.

West Dhanbad

On linguistic grounds alone, Bengal has not a strong case for West Dhanbad except on the homeland theory which does not find favour with the S. R. Commission, and with many others as well. Moreover, subsequent to the Settlement Officer Mr. Gokhale find that in many villages even in the western thanas Dhanbad, there was not even one person who could re and understand the Records in Hindi, some proport (though not a very large one) of the immigrants fr Hindi-speaking areas have permanently settled down Dhanbad.

There are, however, certain economic grounds wh affecting not West Bengal alone, but the whole of t Indian Union, make it very desirable that West Dhanb also be transferred to Bengal along with East Dhanb Calcutta has now grown to be the biggest industr centre within the Indian Union, and its requirement coal is much larger than that of any other station the country. The Raniganj coalfield is getting exhaus —the reserve has come down to little over 2 thous million tons, as noted by the Indian Coalfields Co mittee of 1946. Bihar has in Hazaribagh, Ranchi a Palamau reserve over 10 thousand million tons, m than enough to meet all posible industrial expans in Bihar for a hundred years or more. A few mon back the Government of Bihar, in approaching t Central Government for a Steel Plant either at Sin or at Bokaro, observed that if the plant is sanction for Sindri the requirement of coal would be met fr the Jharia field, but that, in the event of the sanct being for Bokaro, the requirement of coal would be m entirely from the Bokaro and Karanpura fields with Hazaribagh district. It is understood that a St Plant at Bokaro has been practically decided upon; a Bihar will, therefore, have little need for the Jha coalfield, except as a source of wage-earning for sup fluous Bihar labour. And on this last score, trans of the Jharia coalfield to West Bengal will make little difference, because Bengal has never at empted exercise control on the nationality of workers in priva owned concerns (similar to what Bihar has be doing for years, in flagrant disregard of para 8 of t Bardoli Resolution of 1939). Many lakhs of work from Bihar and other Hindi-speaking States earn th living in the collieries of Burdwan and Birbhum a in industrial concerns in Calcutta, 24-Paraganas, How and Hooghly; and Bengal will not grudge the maintena of some 3 or 4 lakhs more in the Jharia coalfield a in Jamshedpur in the event of reconsideration of t S. R. Commission's recommendations leading to trans of entire Dhanbad and Dhalbhum to Bengal.

Purnea and Santal Parganas

The States Reorganisation Commission's perso experience that Siripuria or Kisanganjia which has cl affinities with Bengali (para 648) is the language spok in East Purnea should have, of itself, sufficed to sh their faith in the 1951 Census figures which show the corridor area, possibly 1½ to 2 lakh Urdu-speak out of total population about 3½ lakhs, or between and 62 per cent, percentage higher even than the rec

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figures hitherto, Rampur 40 per cent, Bijnor 30 p.c. Saharanpur and Meerut 22 p.c., Moradabad 18 p.c. The further observation in the same para that "as one proceeds westwards affinity with Hindi becomes more marked" is applicable presumably to dialects in border areas in districts other than Purnea. The cases of Singbhum and Dhanbad have been discussed already; in the former the Commissioners themselves discovered that Bengali was the biggest language group, in the eastern Subdivision of Dhalbhum; and the notes at the foot of Plate I show sufficent grounds for holding that in East Dhanbad also, Bengali is the biggest language group. The case for Santal Parganas may now be discussed in detail.

The 16 and 13 per cent respectively for Bengali in Rajmahal and Pakur, on the 1951 figures referred to in para 650, are for the entire subdivisions extending up to the Godda subdivision border in the West; and they are certainly consistent with (and even indicate, on finding of Bengali element decreasing, and Hindi influence increasing as one proceeds from east to west) much higher figures for Bengali in the eastern fringe, at least double the 16 and 13 respectively, and, for Hindi, figures not more than half of those for the entire subdivisions which are 34 and 31 respectively. This works out, on 1951 Census figures, for the eastern fringe considered by itself, Rajmahal subdivision, Bengali 32 p.c., Hindi 17 p.c., Pakur subdivision Bengali 26 p.c., Hindi 16 per cent, excess of Bengali over Hindi in either case. Jamtara, however, gives different results; the percentages (1951) for the entire subdivision are Bengali, 5.5, Hindi 37.5, and half of the latter is much more than double the former. That West Bengal nevertheless claims Jamtara subdivision is because the 1951 figures for it is absolutely unworthy of credit; and 1951 figures for Pakur* also are equally untrustworthy; the Bengali figures have been whittled down, not only by the so-called "increased awareness among indigenous elements that the language spoken by them in their homes is a Bihari dialect," (as has been done in Manbhum, to get the Bengali figure reduced from 1,046,643 in 1931 to 805,063 in 1951), but also by methods more crude. How, otherwise, can be explained the most strange phenomenon of the Bengali percentage falling off, as compared with 1931, most remarkably in the eastern subdivisions that border on West Bengal, while Bengali percentages have increased most unexpectedly in the western subdivisions *i.e.*, those that are farthest from Bengal. This has happened, not only in the Santal Parganas but in Purnea and Singbhum as well. In Purnea, Kisanganj subdivision in the east, where the language spoken by the people was found by the S. R. Commissions to have close affinity with Bengali, the Census Tables record decreased in Bengali figure from 59,398 in 1931 to 17,088 in 1951, while Araria subdivision, far in the west, of which even the name is unknown to most people in Bengal, records increase from 1,210 in 1931 to 15,256 in 1951. In the Santal Parganas Jamtara and Pakur on the Bengal border show decreases from 73,091 to 15,377 and from 68,792 to 32,120 respectively, while Deoghar, farthest from Bengal, is credited with increase from 13,609 in 1931 to 39,217 plus possibly 4 to 6 thousand more for the municipal towns of Deoghar and Madhupur, resulting in the absurdity of Deoghar which adjoins Bihar proper being credited with a larger Bengali percentage (more than 10) than Jamtara (5.6 per cent only) on the Bengal border. In the Singhbhum district, Chaibasa subdivision, far in the west shows increase from 6,412 to 30,270. There is nothing to indicate that there was any large-scale migration of Bengaleas from the Bengal border to subdivisions in the west; and the conclusion is irresistible that there has been extensive manipulation of figures—numbers have been deliberately transferred from east to west. The only safe course would, in such circumstances, be to work on the 1931 figures, which showed, both for Jamtara and for Pakur, more Bengali-speakers than Hindi-speakers. And the 1931 figures which are Jamtara: Bengali 73,091, Hindi 70,362 and Pakur, Bengali 68,792, Hindi 44,452 do show the reasonableness of West Bengal's claims. Dumka had, in 1931, Bengali percentage 9.7, Hindi 38.5, suggesting that on figures for the eastern fringe alone, the numbers of Bengali-speakers and of Hindi-speakers are more or less equal. The existence at Masanjore in Dumka of the headwaters of West Bengal's Mayurakshi project should, in the circumstances, turn the scale in West Bengal's favour.

The natural increase in Hindi percentage and decrease in Bengali percentage as one proceeds westwards from the Bengal border, referred to above, point to the necessity of confining plebiscite (if plebiscite suggested by the Provincial Congress Presidents, both of West Bengal and of Bihar, is decided upon), only to the narrow fringe which is claimed to have Bengali-speakers more numerous than Hindi-speakers. In the Santal Parganas this fringe area has a southern base about 25 miles wide, from Chittaranjan railway station to a mile or two west of Karmatar; but the northern end is narrower, only from the Ganga river to a point about 6 to 8 miles west of Sakrigali.

For Purnea, the 1951 Census shows the number of Bengali-speakers in the Sadar subdivision to be more than 5 times the number in Kisanganj subdivision. This justifies the extension of the corridor southwards, from Barsoi to Manihari Ghat. The necessity of this, from a very different viewpoint, *viz.*, that of communication, was very ably put forward by Sri Rajagopalachari in the Parliamentary debate on 23rd. August 1951; and

* The member for Pakur-Rajmahal constituency Sri Brijlal Dokania reproduced in the Bihar Assembly, on 26th March, 1949, a sentence supposed to be Hindi spoken by one of his Kisan constituents; and this sentence was "*amon darogar moto officerera ashe je dekhe bhoi hoi.*" What better proof can there be that the language, really Bengali, is boing wrongly recorded as Hindi?

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this had the approval of a Member from Bihar Janab Husain Imam, who, by the way, did not speak about any necessity of imposing conditions about Urdu culture. If Urdu is really spoken in that area, adequate arrangements must have been made already by the Government of Birar; and presumably, all that West Bengal need do would be the continuance of these arrangements after transfer to Bengal. The Provincial Census Superintendent has, however, expressed the opinion (page 37 of Census Paper No. 1 of 1954) that in "the East Pakistan border, Urdu is practically unknown, except among educated Muslims, and the vast majority of the population (including, of course, Muslims) speak a mixed Maithili-Bengali dialect known as Kisanganjia." The S. R. Commission themselves found on personal observation that Kisanganjia or Siripuria, as spoken in these regions, had close affinity to Bengali.

I cannot conclude without reference once again to the suspicion cast on West Bengal's veracity by the inconclusive observation in paras 639 and 640 of the S. R. Commission's Report that "the statement reported to have been issued by some prominent leaders of Bihar in 1912 conceding West Bengal's claim to the territory east of the Mahananda, the whole of Manbhum and the Dhalbhum portion of Singbhum district has been challenged, and counter-arguments drawn from history have been produced in order to rebut West Bengal's claim." West Bengal resents the aspersion very bitterly, and demands a full enquiry about the genuineness (or falsity) of the co-called Bihar leaders' statement, and also of the counter-arguments from history that have been put forward to rebut West Bengal's claims. The Bihar leaders' statement appeared in the form of a letter published in the *Bengalee* newspaper on the 4th January 1912, and a photographic copy of the same was submitted to the Commission by the Indian Association who have carefully preserved old files of the *Bengalee* in their library; and all that seems to be necessary is to arrive at a finding whether the letter published was genuine or had been manufactured in the *Bengalee* office. Relevant evidence on this point are the facts that (1) only 8 days earlier, on the 27th December 1911, Mr. Parmeswar Lal, Bar-at-Law, a Bihari gentleman practising in the Calcutta High Court, had, in the open session of the Indian National Congress, seconded Tej Bahadur Sapru's resolution which spoke of adjustment of Bihar-Bengal boundary on linguistic basis, (2) the letter in the *Bengalee*, if genuine, was a very natural sequel to the speech in the Congress and to some observations that had appeared in the *Bengalee* of 3rd January 1912, claiming Bhagalpur as Bengali-speaking, and (3) the fact that Mr. Parmeswar Lal, supposed to be one of the signatories to the letter published on the 4th January, and who was presumably in Calcutta when the High Court re-opened after the Christmas holidays, never protested against the publication of the letter in the *Bengalee*, which was considered in those days to be one of the leading newspapers in India. Mr. Parmeswar Lal's attention would certainly have been drawn to any fake letter that may have issued over his forged signature, by Biharee young men then in Calcutta, like present-day Education Minister Acharya Badrinath Verma, who was then a student in a Calcutta college and was an inmate of the Eden Hindu Hostel. Verma had noticed the unjust claim on Bhagalpur (and other places) as Bengali-speaking in the *Bengalee* of the 3rd. January—he spoke in the Bihar Assembly on the 25th March, 1949 of "a well-known newspaper, whose name he did not like to disclose, claiming Santal Parganas, Manbhum, Singhbhum, etc., as parts of Bengal," The Bihar leaders' statement that appeared in the *Bengalee* on the very next day must also have been seen by him or shown to him by disgruntled "Bengalee inmates of the Hostel who had got withered मायुसी हुयी थी mayusi hui thi) by the announcement of creation of Bihar as a separate province" and to whom the concession relating to Dhalbhum, Manbhum and parts of the Santal Parganas and Purnea must have acted as a refresher. Reading the letter, if he suspected it to be a forgery, Mr. Verma would certainly have rushed to Mr. Parmeswar Lal's place to apprise him of the dirty trick that had been played by the *Bengalee* office.

Of the counter-arguments from history referred to by the Commission, presumably the most important are (1) the statement, on page 59 of the *Bihar and Orissa First Decennial Review for 1921-22* that "When, in 1765 the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was granted by Shah Alam to the East India Company, Chota Nagpur came under British influence as an integral part of Bihar," and Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha's observation on page 9 of his Memorandum presented to the Constituent Assembly that "out of this Chota Nagpur, fairly large areas, Manbhum, Dhalbhum and others are now claimed by West Bengal," and that the *First Decennial Review* from which he quoted had been "issued during the term of office of the Right Honourable Lord Sinha," and (2) that a former Deputy Commissioner of Manbhum, Mr. Coupland, had recorded a note that 'not even 10 per cent of the people of Manbhum spoke Bengali.' This note ascribed to Mr. Coupland is diametrically opposed to what the same Mr. Coupland had written on page 72 of the Manbhum District Gazetteer that "the prevailing language of the district is the western dialect of Bengali, known as Rarhi boli, which is used by 72 per cent of the inhabitants." And parties speaking of the "not even 10 per cent" version have never ventured to produce the original, although challenged to do so. As for the *Decennial Review*, the expression "Chota Nagpur" on page 59, which "came under British influence as an integral part of Subah Bihar in 1765" was intended, not for the entire Chota Nagpur Division, but only for a part of it, *viz.*, the Chota Nagpur Raj domains, confined

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to the present districts of Ranchi and Palamau; this is clear from the entry on page 60, "Chota Nagpur: the present district of Ranchi and pargana Tori," also from the sentance on page 59 itself that "Chota Nagpur was then rather in the position of a Tributary State than under the direct administration of the East India Company" (which shows, incidentally, that the addition of the word 'integral' to a very similar sentence in Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal* was not justified by facts). These quotations give the lie direct to the thesis that it was out of this Chota Nagpur of page 59 of the *Decennial Review* that "fairly large areas, Manbhum Singhbhum and others, are now claimed by West Bengal." No portion of either district Manbhum or district Singhbhum of the present day was ever attached to the Chota Nagpur Raj, or was ever included in Subah Behar. The real Singhbhum, consisting of present-day Chaibasa and Saraikela subdivisions, had never formed part of any Subah, Bengal or Behar, for it had never been conquered by the Moguls or by Mahrattas; it was first conquered, by the British, in 1818. Dhalbhum was in Subah Bengal, included in the zila of Medinipoor which went under British influence, not in 1765, along with Chota Nagpur Raj, but five years earlier, simultaneously with another Bengal district, Chittagong, ceded by Meer Cassim in 1760. All this is clear from the Map of Acquisitions of British Territory in Bengal and the Burmese Provinces, which formed the frontispiece to the first (1862) edition of Aitchison's *Treaties, Engagements, Sunnuds*, etc. The map shows that the south-western corner of the then zila Medinipoor extended right up to the edge of the Singhbhum that was conquered by the British in 1818, and included, therefore, within it, the parganas of Dhalbhum, Barabhum and Manbhum.

The attempt to connect Lord Sinha, who was a Bengalee, with the statement in the *Decennial Review* and with the perverted meaning sought to be given to the expression "Chota Nagpur" on page 59 of it, is as mean as it is incorrect. The *Decennial Review* was published in 1923; and as it related to a period which did not close till the 31st March 1922, it is pretty certain that not even one sentence of it was drafted prior to 31st March 1922. Lord Sinha had relinquished charge of his office as Governor of Bihar, four months earlier, on the 29th November 1921; and even his successor Mr. Havilland LeMesurier completed his term of office on 11th April 1922, only eleven days subsequent to the 31st March 1922. Both names, and both dates, are shown on page 111 of the *Decennial Review*; and the Review was certainly not his own epitaph writtes by Lord Sinha himself. If there was any Sinha connected with the sentence in the *Decennial Review*, with its incorrectly added word 'integral,' it was not the Right Hon'ble Lord Sinha, the Bengalee, but Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, who continued in office as Finance Member of the Bihar Government till long after 1922.

On the non-existent peg of Dhalbhum, Manbhum, areas within the Chota Nagpur that formed a part (integral or otherwise) of Subah Bihar, Dr. Sinha did hang yet another 'historical' vignette, that of industrially-developed Dhanbad and Dhalbhum being in the nature of "Naboth's vineyards situated in Bihar," which had been reared by Biharees having their homeland in these regions, and of "avaricious neighbours," the Bengalees "casting their longing, lingering eyes towards these vineyards." For the Biharees' homeland in Dhanbad, with its Jharia coalfield, Grierson's observation on page 145 part 2, vol. V of his *Linguistic Survey of India*:

> "In Manbhum, Bengali extends on the west up to the foot of the Ranchi and Hazaribag plateaux; there are emigrants from these highlands into the Bengali-speaking area, who speak a mixed dialect, essentially Bihari in nature, but with a curious Bengali colouring; this dialect is not a local one it is the language of a strange people in a strange land; all around them, and usually in great majority, live the true people of the country who speak a Bengali of considerable purity,"

should suffice to provide a quietus. In Dhalbhum, sometime before its Hindi-speaking population reached in 1911, the insignificant number of 6 thousand only about 2.6 per cent of the total, in the midst of overwhelming population who had mothertongue Bengali, 40 per cent, Santali 32 per cent, Bhumij 12 per cent (most of the Santals and Bhumijes being bi-lingual, invariably with subsidiary language Bengali), and Oriya 12 per cent, four obscure villages in the extreme north-western corner Sakchi, Jugsalai, Bistupur and Kalimati, peopled exclusively by Bengalees, Santals, Bhumijes, had been selected on the advice of a Bengalee geologist Pramatha Nath Bose, backed by European metallurgist Mr. Weld, as the site for Tatas' contemplated Iron and Steel Works, in preference to places in Madhya Pradesh which the Tatas had till then been thinking of. And the pioneer band of unskilled labour, consisting almost exclusively of these local Bengalees, Santals and Bhumijes, worked under the direction of Bengalee overseers, a handful of Parsi supervisors and German engineers, from the earliest stage of construction of buildings from 1908 to December 1911, when the first cast of pig iron flowed from the runners. Seven years more and the outbreak of the First World War, were necessary to attract the attention of people of Bihar and other Hindi-speaking provinces; and the number of Hindi-speaking people in the entire district of Singbhum (separate figures for Dhalbhum are not available) did not increase by more than 23 thousand during the decade 1911-21; and, possibly, half of the 23 thousand came from provinces other than Bihar. The Tatas have still kept geologist Bose's memory green, not only maintaining the bust that they erected in the Maidan, but have also sanctioned as late as in 1955, a grant of a lakh of rupees for further perpetuation of his memory; possibly also they

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retain their gratefulness to local Bengalee, Santal and Bhumij labour that never failed them during worst years of trial.

Two other 'historical' statements deserve investigation, both of which emanated from the Hon'ble Acharya Badrinath Verma, holding the portfolio of Education in Bihar, and expected, therefore, to be the model from which lakhs of boys and girls in schools and colleges would draw their inspiration about truthfulness. On the 25th March 1949, he stated in the Bihar Legislative Assembly that "on Census figures of 1941, as many as 11,73,959, or 56 per cent of Manbhum's total population 20,25,146 are Tribals, and 6 lakhs are Kurmis; neither have Bengali as their mother-tongue." And eight monthrs earlier, he had written to Mr. Mashruwala, editor of the *Harijan*, that, under his administration, Santali, Mundari, Oraon and Ho childern, for the first time, will have the opportunity of getting their primary education through the medium of their own tongue. My cloudy eyes, however, see only 678,126, and not 1,173,959, as the number of Tribals in the 1941 Census Tables; and Kurmis, who numbered only 323,066 in 1931 (the latest Census for which Caste tables were compiled) could not possibly have grown to more than 4 lakhs during the next 18 years. Why do not the Congress High Command take note of Acharya Verma's wonderful capacity for magnifying facts and figures by 65 to 75 per cent, and nominate him for the portfolio of Publicity and Broadcasting?

As for education of tribal children in their own mother-tongue, there can be no better evidence than the direction issued by the District Inspector of Schools, Manbhum, that "the 72 aboriginal schools financed out of special Government grant are to be run on the State language basis." A Santal friend of mine, living in a village in police-station Hura, writes that he does not know of even one school in the district which has Santali as the medium of instruction.

I have nothing to add, except to urge once again for a thorough investigation of the charges and counter charges about veracity (or otherwise) of statements made by West Bengal and by Bihar. Bengal has suffered for 44 years already, from unjust separation of Dhalbhum, Manbhum, etc., and may not altogether break down if that injustice is not removed even now, although such injustice, involving the separation of Purulia from Dhanbad and from Dhalbhum, and the banning of Bengali as Court language, and also as language for preparation of electoral rolls, even as an alternative, to the inconvenience of one hundred and eighty-five thousand Bengalees in Dhanbad, and about the same number in Jamshedpur (including no less than 54¾ thousand in Jamshedpur City) amounts to penalisation worse than that of the Curzon Partition of 1905. But West Bengal cannot tolerate an unjust aspersion (or even suspicion) on its reputation for veracity, or any equally unjust charge of poaching on neighbours' property. Removal of the extremely unjust ban on Bengali in Dhalbhum and Dranbad, and also in Jamtara, Dumka, Pakur, Rajmahal, Purnea and Kisanganj, accompanied by declaration of Bihar being a bi-lingual State and Bengali being the regional language in Dhalbhum, east Dhanbad, east Santal Parganas and east Purnea, might have gone some way to smooth exacerbated feelings and to remove tension; but even this little thing the S. R. Commission did not suggest. They pressed only for recognition of Urdu for educational and official purposes is Kisanganj without possibly caring to enquire about the nature of Bihar's recognition of this.

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The map shows separately West Dhanbad (thana Topchanchi and thana Jharia excluding police-stations Baliapur and Sindri), East Dhanbad (Baliapur and Sindri and thanas Gobindapur, Tundi and Nirsha), North-west Purulia (thana Chas) and North-east Purulia (thanas Raghunathpur, Para and Kashipur). Settlement Records were prepared in Bengali for thanas Nirsha and Tundi; records prepared in Hindi for Gobindapur, Baliapur and Sindri proved unitelligible to people there, these areas also being definitely Bengali-speaking.

The figures show linguistic distrigution separately for each area, in percentages for Hindi (H), Bengali (B) and Santali (S). They are official figures for the Purulia subdivision ; official figures were not published for different regions of Dhanbad; and estimates based on official figures for Purulia have been worked out.

Sixty-five per cent Hindi average for entire Dhanbad does not mean that it is same in every part of the sub-division. In the Purulia subdivision Hindi percentage 71.4 in the west comes down to 31.1 in the east; and Bengali 55.1 per cent in the east goes down to only 22.6 per cent in the west. Similar divergence in Dhanbad, excess of Hindi in the west and of Bengali in the east, is quite natural, the Bengali element decreasing and the Hindi element increasing as one proceeds from east to west.

Another factor affecting linguistic distribution is the large concentration of colliery labour immigrating into the Jharia coalfield (which is confined to West Dhanbad) from Hindi-speaking districts in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. This is chiefly a floating population, but it has been taken into account in all official calculations. In West Dhanbad, out of total population 437,261, as many as 209,767 or 48 per cent are under the head "Production other than agriculture" (mostly colliery labour and a small percentage of railway employees); but in East Dhanbad the percentage is 12 only, 33,518 out of total population 294,439. In these circumstances, estimates of Hindi 81 in the west, 32 only in the east, of Bengali 12 only in the east but 47 in the east are quite reasonable. Excluding floating population, the figures would possibly have been : 42 Hindi, 48 Bengali, 8 Santali in W. Dhanbad, 18 Hindi, 55 Bengali and 25 Santali in East Dhanbad.

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THE LURE OF PECHIPPARA

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

A branch road from Martandam or Thoduvetti at the twenty-fifth mile-stone on the trunk road from Trivandrum to Cape Comorin, leads off to Pechippara, one of the loveliest beauty spots in Travancore. A detour of thirteen and a half miles across typical countryside of which the last stretch of three miles is through the heart of the forest, takes the visitor to the Pechippara Dam and Reservoir. The road to Pechippara cuts through several small villages around which history and folklore have gathered interesting anecdotes and stories.

THIRUVATTAR

Four miles from Martandam *en route* Pechippara is Thiruvattar where the Thamravarni river winds around the ancient Vishnu Temple. Dedicated to Adi Kesava Perumal (Vishnu), this temple is one of the three Vaishnavite shrines in India, where the image of the god is in a reclining posture, the other two temples being at Srirangam and Trivandrum. There are a number of picturesque waterfalls and delightful cascades in the river which winds around the shrine at Thiruvattar. The great Alwars, in their hymns ascribed to the early eighth century, have referred to the sanctity of this temple, which is remarkable for its sculpture on stone, wood and metal.

THIRUNANDIKKARA

Five miles beyond Thiruvattar is Thirunandikkara which has a thousand-year old rock-cut cave temple. The oldest relics of mural painting ascribed to the eighth-ninth century, so far discovered in South India, are to be found in this rock-cut temple. An eminent artist and critic of mural art and a well-known student, restorer and copyist of ancient oriental art, has said that 'perfection' is the only word that can be used to describe the quality of the frescoes at Thirunandikkara. Admirably excellent and faithful copies of these striking wall paintings copied on the spot by the famous Iranian artist, Sarkis Katchadourian, are exhibited in the *Sri Chitralayam*, State Art Gallery at Trivandrum.

THRIPPARAPPU

On the way to the Pechippara reservoir is Thripparappu, famous for its Siva Temple and Water Falls. Situated amidst idyllic sylvan scenery, Thripparappu attracts a large number of pilgrims and sightseers. The river Kodayar flows close to the temple. The Kodayar Irrigation Extension Project has a Pick-up Weir across the Kodayar at Thripparappu and the waters of the Kodayar are diverted through two systems of channels to irrigate the Kalkulam and Vilavancode

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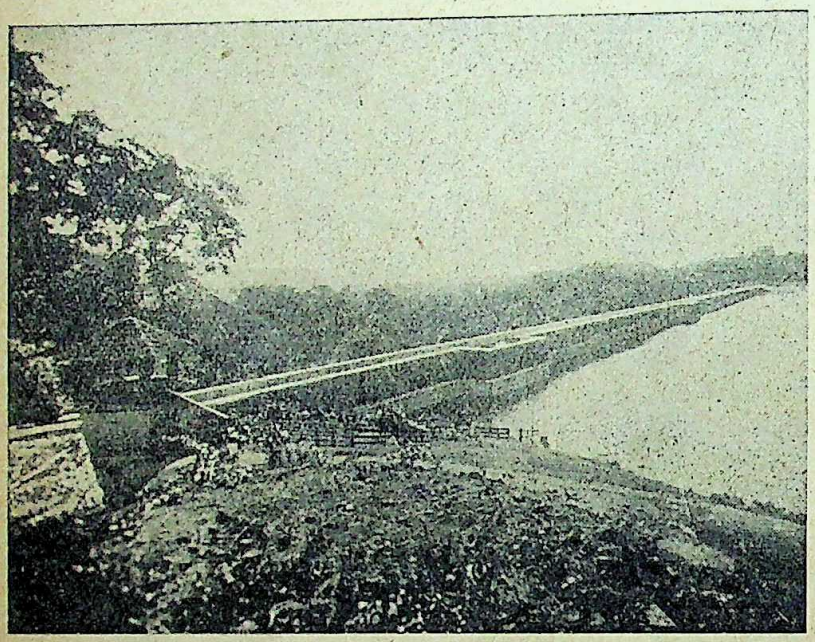
Taluks in South Travancore. The Kodayar has an independent catchment below the Pechippara Dam and above Thripparappu, and the water from this catchment is sufficient to irrigate a large acreage of paddy fields. With this aim, a submersible concrete weir at Thripparappu and ten miles of channels, four



A view of the Pechippara Dam and Reservoir

miles on the right bank, and six miles on the left bank, have been completed. The Thripparappu system of irrigation is an achievement of agricultural engineering.

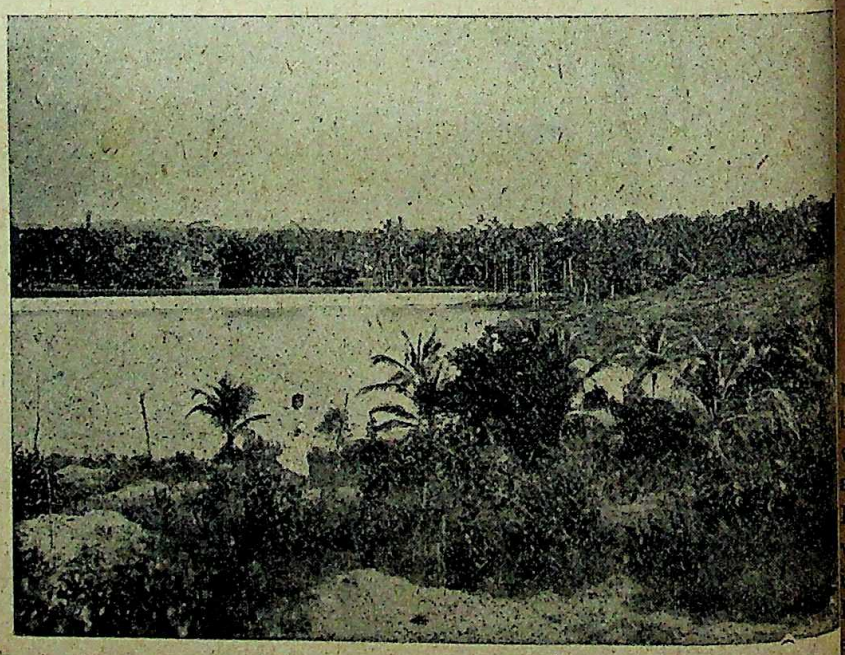
PERINCHANI

Nor far from Thripparappu is Perinchani, a beauty spot nestling among high hills. The Kodayar Irrigation Extension Project includes the masonry dam at Perinchani which stores the water that had flown to waste every year over the Puthen Dam during the floods. The Perinchani Reservoir Scheme irrigates and brings under the plough another sixty thousand acres of land in South Travancore. The Perinchani Dam is one hundred feet high at its deepest section and eight hundred and sixty feet long at the top and with a width of eighteen feet at the top and seventy-four feet at the base. The Perinchani Reservoir has a capacity of one thousand five hundred million cubic feet. Recently completed, this reservoir is one of the most picturesque artificial lakes in India.

PECHIPPARA DAM

The thirteen and a half-mile long road which passes through South Travancore's charming sce ends at the brink of the Pechippara reservoir. mghty dam thrown across the Kodayar rive Pechippara sustains a great irrigation scheme w irrigates tens of thousands of acres of paddy field South Travancore, and is a marvel of engine skill. The extensive reservoir Pechippara which is in the hear a region of forests, covers 3,230 a and is surrounded by forest- hills which rise in gentle slo from the banks of the lake. Kodayar Irrigation Scheme w has almost literally converted arid land of South Travancore the fertile plains of Nanjinad, famous as the Granary of South, is essentially dependent u the Pechippara Reservoir.

Work on the present Pechipp Dam was commenced in 1896 was completed in 1906. It is c structed mainly of concrete *surkhi* mortar with skin walls rubble masonry. At the river bed constructed two under-sluice va with vents 4 feet by 10 feet. present these vents remain clo



Countryside view near Pechippara

permanently with masonry. The top 15 feet of dam is built entirely of rubble masonry. The leng of the Dam is 1,936 feet, the width at the foundat is 105 feet, and the total height is 306 feet. T waterspread area of the Reservoir at full tank le is 5.47 sq. miles, and the catchment area of the la is 80 sq. miles. The average annual rainfall

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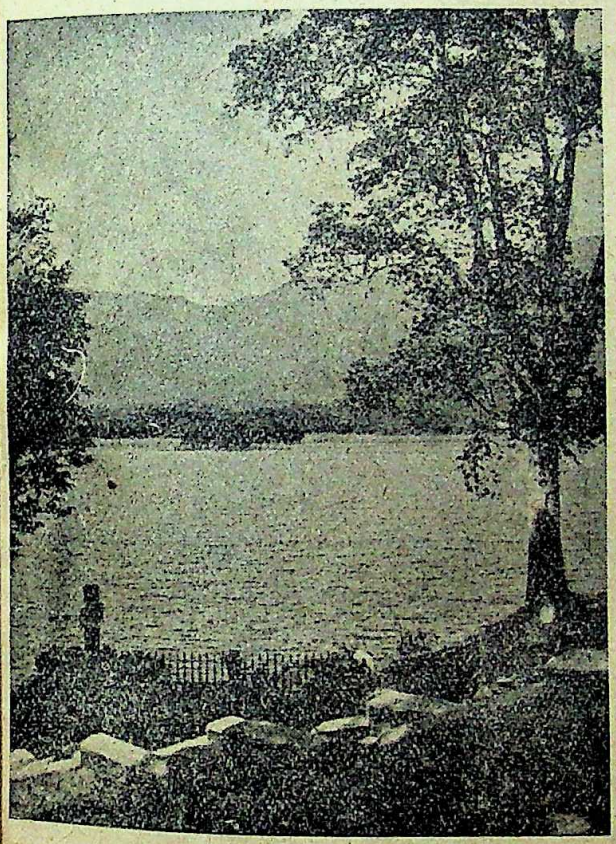
Pechippara at the time of the construction of the Dam and Reservoir was 166 inches. Since then the rainfall has varied from 150 inches to 87.93 inches. The net expenditure on the work is 80.3 lakhs of rupees. The Reservoir gathers a bumper monsoon every year. The Dam arrests the flood and causes the artificial lake to swell.

The Old Pandyan Dam and Channel

It is interesting to remember that the modern engineers who constructed the now famous Dam at Pechippara only followed as a continuation, of course with suitable modifications, the works which were already so efficiently executed by the old-time engi-

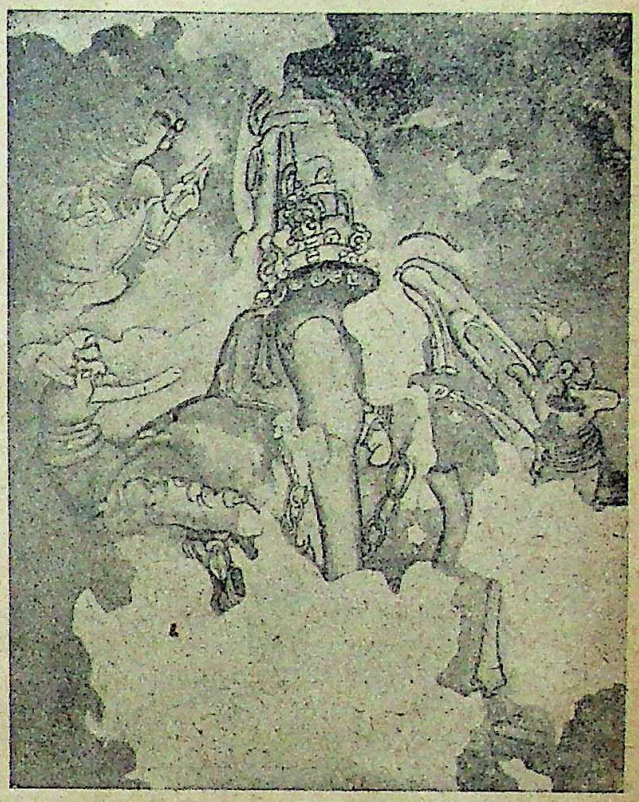


Pechippara Reservoir

neers in the past centuries. This is an eloquent tribute to the greatness of the engineers of the past whose knowledge of irrigation and engineering was admirably profound. The Old Pandyan Dam and Pandyan Kal constructed so early as 900 A.D. convince the visitor of the great foresight and effort put into the undertaking by engineers of the old Pandyan Rulers whose knowledge was only equalled by their enthusiasm and spirit of service. Nanjinad owes its present fertility to the Old Pandyan Dam thrown across the Parilayar and the Old Pandyan Channel cut across chiefly through solid rock for aout two miles.

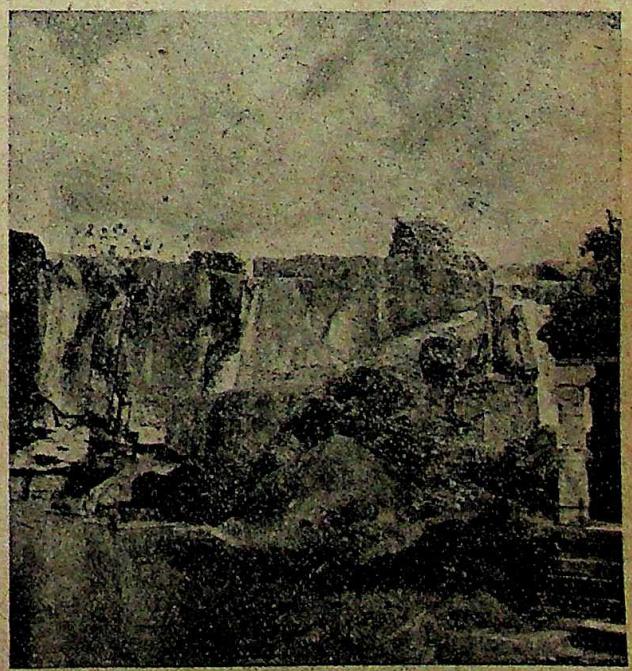
The Puthen Dam and Channel

In the reign of Maharaja Martanda Varma the great was constructed another anicut on the model of the old Pandyan Dam, a quarter of a mile below it. Another long channel was also cut. Known as the Puthen Dam and the Puthen Channel, these remark-



Relics of the eighth to ninth century Murals at Thirunandikkara

able engineering undertakings executed in A.D. 1750, succeeded in bringing the waters to Padmanabhapuram, the then capital of the State, and irrigating a vast acreage of paddy fields.



Waterfalls close to the Temple at Thriparappu

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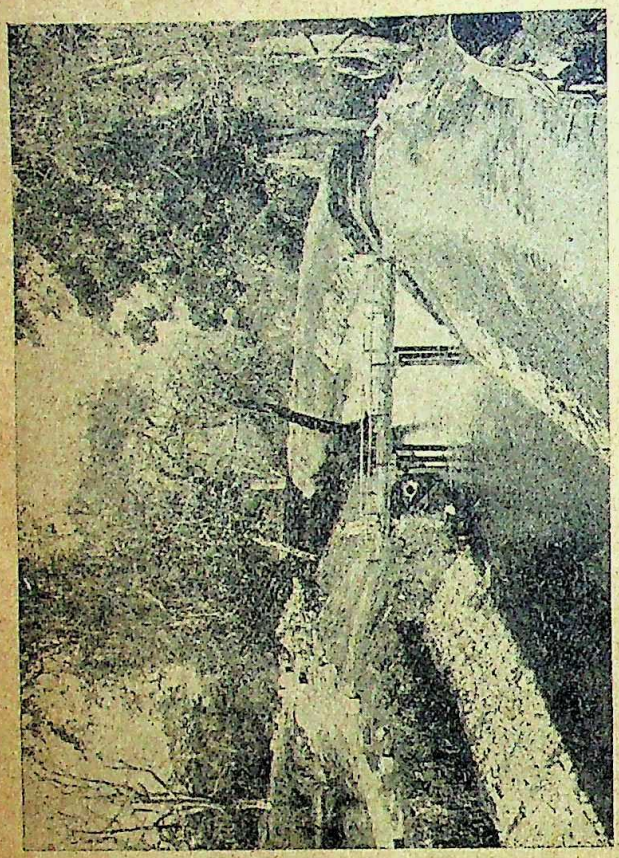
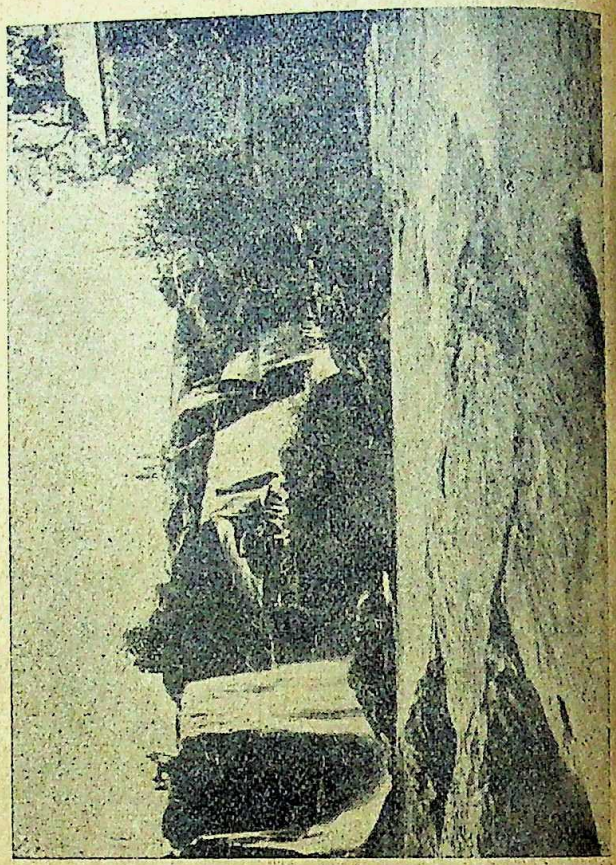
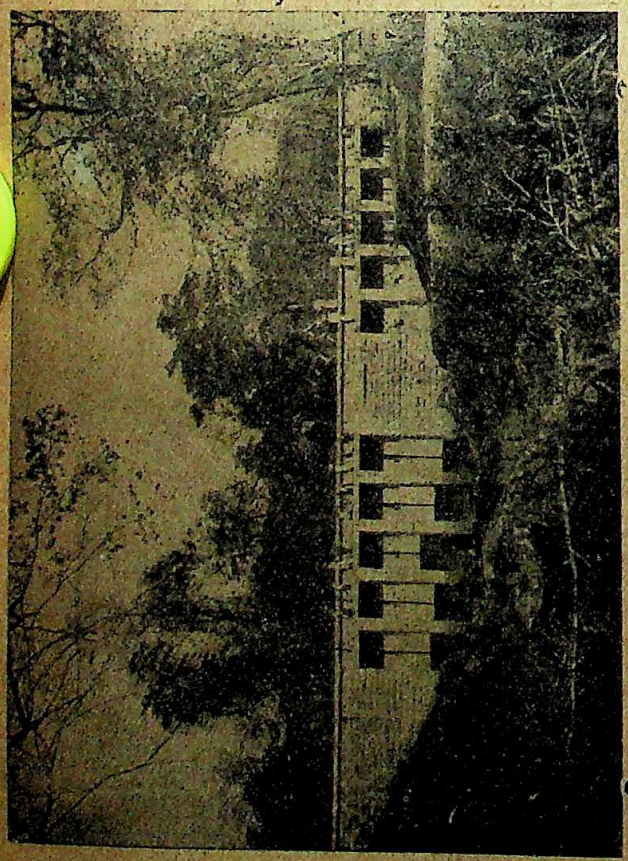
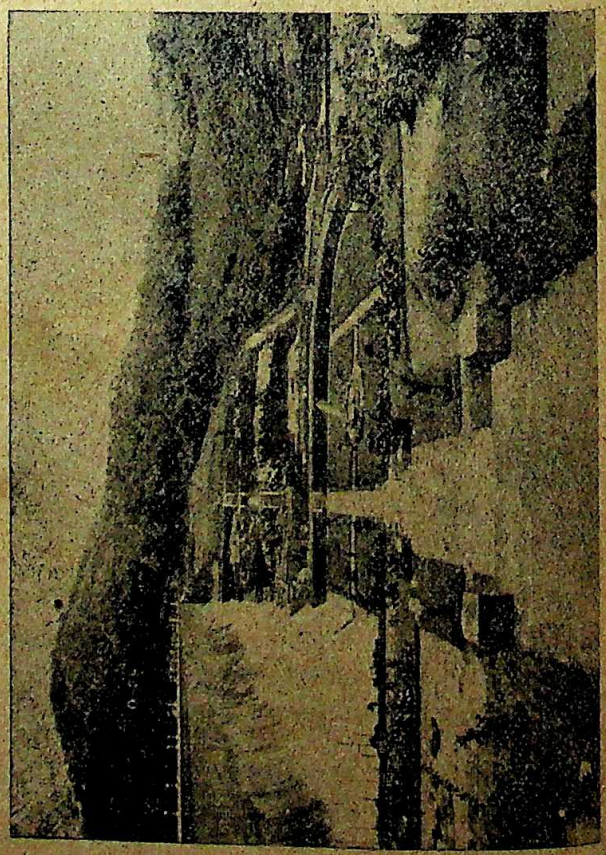


The Pathen Channel—one of the network of channels in the Kodayar Irrigation Project





The old Pandyan Dam



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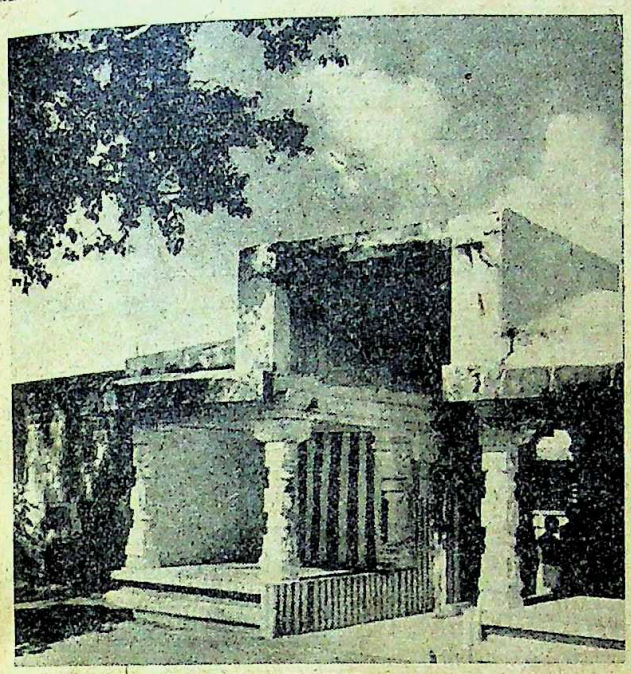
A Royal Anecdote

It is said that His Highness Maharaja Martanda Varma personally supervised the construction of the dam and channel. An interesting anecdote in this



Entrance to the Siva Temple at Thripparappu

connection is on the lips of old men. The Maharaja used to go to the work spot every day early morning and remained there late in the night closely supervising the work, taking out a simple meal in the course of the day. He used to sit on a rock nearby and a servant was wont to hold a palm-leaf umbrella to protect the Royal Master from the hot sun. Realising that the labour of the cooly thus engaged was being lost in the all-out effort towards the construction of the Dam, the Maharaja ordered a stone-cutter to make a hole in the rock so that the handle of the umbrella could be fixed into it, and the services of the cooly utilised for work in connection with the Dam. People around the locality point out the hole made in the rock. An oil painting illustrating this historic incident now adorns the Padmanabhapuram Palace along with other paintings depicting the most important events in the history of Travancore.

Latter-Day Developments

Captain Horsely of the Madras service was invited in the year 1831 to suggest improvements for the irrigation of South Travancore. It was he who first suggested to throw a dam at Pechippara and cut a channel to the left bank of the river. The proposal was laid in cold storage until 1877 when Dewan Nanoo Pillai, a son of the soil and native of South Travancore who was fully alive to the local conditions, reopened the proposal. Colonel Mead of the Madras P. W. D. whose opinion was sought in 1879 suggested that the Kodayar Scheme was premature and that the Puthen Dam might be improved.

The improvements formulated by Colonel Mead were completed in 1885 during the reign of His Highness Maharaja Sri Visakhom Thirunal. His Highness performed the ceremony of opening the headworks of the Pandyan Kal and Padmanabhapuram Puthenar. On that great occasion in the history of South Travancore, His Highness said :

> "When events shall have proved that, after the waters of the Paraliyar have been economised to the utmost extent, they have fallen short of the demand of the agricultural population, it will be time to woo her twin sister the Kodayar, and to consider at what point and in what manner she might be best coaxed to yield up her treasures into the common coffers which these headworks constitute."

The State Chief Engineer who finally brought to

Relics of the eighth to ninth century murals in the Thirunandikkara Temple

Courtesy: Sri Chitralayam (State Art Gallery of Travancore)

shape the scheme for the construction of the Pechippara Dam was Mr. A. H. Jacob. The project was developed to its present proportions by his successor Mr. W. Jopp. The scheme was further revised by Mr. Cecil A. Smith who followed Mr. Jopp as Chief

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Engineer. Then the project was practically completed under the auspices of Mr. A. H. Basto who succeeded Mr. C. A. Smith. The imposing cross over the grave of one of the European engineers associated with the Project, who died in full harness at Pechippara, and who was buried at the entrance to the Dam, is a monument which evokes great feelings.

THE KODAYAR PROJECT

The Kodayar Project as finally adopted was to throw a dam across the Kodayar at Pechippara with two feeding channels. The right bank channel was dropped after further investigation. The left bank channel taps the Kodayar and supplements the Paraliyar over the Puthen Dam. The irrigation system starts at the Puthen Dam. At this spot the combined waters of the Kodayar and Paraliyar are distributed, one through the P. P. Channel and the other through the Pandyan Kal. The 141 miles of main channels have a number of subsidiary channels running to 184 miles with a syphon five feet in diameter, several bridges, an aqueduct and two tunnels. The paddy fields that are irrigated are brought under blocks surrounded by natural boundaries controlled by sluices at the ridge. The Pechippara Reservoir and its net-work of channels are open for purposes of irrigating the paddy fields in Nanjinad and Edanad from the 20th of May to the 15th of February every year.

PECHIPPARA RESERVOIR

The Pechippara Reservoir is a magnificent str of water. Thickly wooded, terraced hills rise abru from its shores. The Government Camp Shed perc on a pretty eminence on the shores of the Reser overlooks the lake of 3,230 acres. Situated in heart of forest-clad hills, this artificial reservoir of one of the finest sights in the world. Clusters dead trees are seen in the lake with their withe heads raised above the water level, and their slen dried arms spread out. All round the vast reser of rain-water is the virgin forest-land, the home the tiger, leopard, bison, elephant, and other w animals, and full-blooded aboriginal tribes, especi the *Kanikkars*. Not infrequently do wild anim rove on the margin of the lake and come down the lake to drink. A cruise over the placid waters the reservoir is a rich experience and a splendid re lation.

A beauty spot where nature has lavished charms and man has displayed his engineering sk Pechippara affords a rich diversity of attractions the carefree tourist, the keen *shikari*, the enterpris student of engineering and irrigation, the talen painter, the expert cameraman, and the painstaki anthropologist.

—:O:—

PRESERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE BECOMES A COMMUNITY PROJECT

FOR three days each October the town of Waterford, Virginia, holds "open house" for visitors who come by the hundreds to tour old homes, to buy ru lampshades and painted trays made by local craf men, and to enjoy the rural char of a community which has fou satisfying rewards in working c operatively for its own se improvement.

Visitors leaving the old Red Barn, one of the several historic buildings open each day during the annual Waterford Fair

Waterford's first "open hous ahd exhibit of local handicrafts w held in 1944 as a project of t Waterford Foundation, Incorpor ed. This non-profit organizati had been established by local re dents the year before for t purpose of reviving and stimulati local arts and crafts work, and, a long-range objective, to ra funds to preserve some of the m interesting Waterford buildings.

So many visitors found their w to Waterford for that first exhib in 1944 that the Foundation decid to make the "Waterford Fair", a annual event which would clim the year's production of handicra by puttihg them up for exhibit a

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sale. Now the Fair has become so popular and well-publicized that it draws approximately 3,000 people to the old town each year.

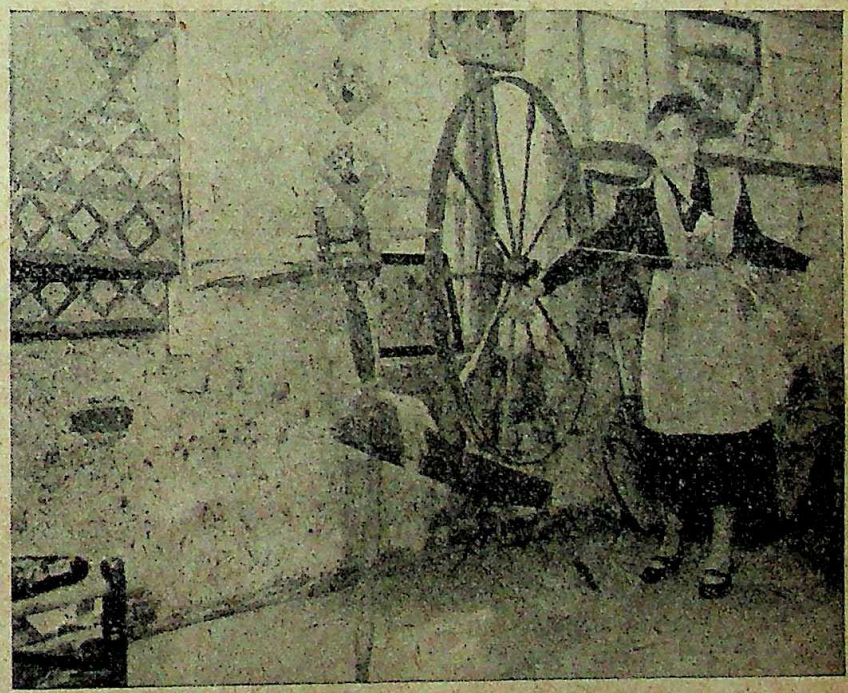
An exhibit of the work of local artists, now a popular feature of the annual Waterford Fair, has attracted these visitors to the old Red Barn

Waterford is located in Loudoun County, some 40 miles north-west of Washington, D.C., in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Accessible only by private transportation—no railroad or major highway enters the town—the community has remained much the same since it was founded by a group of representatives of the Society of Friends (Quakers) early in the eighteenth century.

Houses of the original Waterford settlement fan out from the old brick mill built in 1733 and used as an exhibit hall today. While all these old houses have a distinctive charm, perhaps the building of greatest historic interest is the Friends' Meeting House, now converted into a private home. This spacious stone building was erected in 1775 and used for religious services and as a civic centre until 1929.

In a Virginia newspaper of 1834 Waterford was described as "a fine flourishing little village" with 70 dwelling houses and industrial activity centered in two mills and two small cotton factories. By 1938 the mills and factories had closed down. Rich in history, local culture and civic spirit, but limited in economic resources, Waterford remained a country hamlet that during the nineteenth century turned to handicrafts as a source of income. For several years the area was famous for the quality of its hand-made items—a fact which influenced establishment of the Waterford Foundation in 1943.

Purpose of the Foundation is to revive the arts and crafts that once flourished in Loudoun County and to promote their development. It sponsors classes in handicrafts and encourages local people—many of whom need additional income but lack job opportunities in their rural community—to put their time to profitable employment by making rugs, quilts, lampshades, decorated trays and other things for sale under Foundation auspices. Ten per cent of the proceeds of each sale goes to the Foundation, for purchase and restoration of historic Waterford buildings, while the individual craftsman receive the remainder. With its proceeds from such sales the Foundation already has bought and restored the old mill for year-round use for exhibit and sale of handicrafts.



A Waterford craftsman demonstrates the art of spinning flax into fine thread for visitors to the handicrafts exhibit in the old mill

Rug-making classes were the first organized under

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Foundation sponsorship. Local women who were interested and well-informed in the craft volunteered to serve as instructors to small groups, showing them how to braid and hook rugs or how to improve their technique and get better color and design into their work. The first exhibit showed such a demand for hand-made rugs of quality and originality that rug-making became a mainstay of the Waterford craft program.

Built in 1733, the old mill in Waterford has been partially restored

In 1946, the Foundation launched an experimental class in lampshade-making, exhibiting and selling lampshades at the October Fair with such success that the "Lampshaders" became a second permanent craft group. Members meet regularly for class instruction and for help in planning and designing shades. Materials are furnished at wholesale prices, and most of the actual work is done in spare time at home. Craftsmen design shades to fit a customer's special requirements and the group has also collected a variety of lamp bases, enabling it to offer comp lamps for sale.

The hand-decorating of tin trays is another ha craft revived by the Foundation. Waterford ar following techniques employed by American English craftsmen in the eighteenth and ninete centuries, use gold bronze stenciling and oil pain reproduce antique designs on trays, small boxes, wa baskets, jardinieres and other metal pieces.

An Art Department, operating under auspices the Foundation, has done much to encourage deve ment of the arts by sponsoring classes for children adults, arranging exhibits and providing a year-ro program of activities for art-lovers.

In 1941, a group of Waterford residents revi the old custom of singing carols through the str on Christmas Eve. Out of this grew the Water Choral Club organized in 1944 and later renamed Waterford A Cappella Chorus. The Chorus still vides Christmas music but has extended its activ to offer many recitals through the year.

Square dancing was revived by Waterford chil in the summer of 1948 and a demonstration of sev dances was given that year at the October Fair. Yo and adult groups dance regularly through the year the school auditorium and, during the Fair, demonstration dances on an outdoor platform adj ing the old mill.

The October Fair culminates a year of work the part of all Waterford residents. It is a commu project in the fullest sense since the entire popula co-operates in arranging exhibits and entertainm Various women's groups serve lunch. Home-m cakes, candy and canned goods are offered for Children and adults join together in serving entertaining visitors, and owners of historic old ho throw open their doors to all visitors. The village streets are filled with strollers savoring old-world atmosphere of a town rich in history alert and throbbing with life.

As one visitor expressed it:

"To visit Waterford during the annual when it exhibits the works of local artists craftsmen, is to be convinced that it has a pre in which its citizens find real joy in creative liv and a future in which there is a promise continuously richer life for all. Waterford found a way to use its fine traditions as a spr board rather than as a hitching-post."—*USIS.*

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SURREALIST FREEDOM OF CONTENT AND DISCIPLINE OF SHAPE

By BRYAN ROBERTSON

The theme of violence has played an inescapable part in the iconography of British art during the past decade. Its causes and effects and its myriad disguises have created a powerful mythology and there has

Henry Moore at work in his studio on *The Madonna and Child* which was commissioned from him for a church in Northampton

been a concerted attempt to analyse *the formal structure* of violence rather than its more obvious appearance. The comparatively recent discoveries of surrealism, with its liberation of the irrational, have given this analysis an added point and flavour and the acceptance of abstraction has given it an additional clarity and universality.

Given this preoccupation with violence, there has also been a widely shared attempt to synthesize the classical and romantic movements of the nineteen-thirties: to incorporate the surrealist freedom of content with the abstract or constructivist discipline of shape. The many facets of British art cannot be completely incorporated into this summarization but it is applicable to the work of the five sculptors and three painters so discerningly selected by the German authorities to represent England at the Documenta exhibition. In general, these artists have either accepted violence as a theme or have reacted against it; and surrealism—less of a dated vacuum than we once suspected—has considerably affected their imagery.

Barbara Hepworth

One painter and one sculptor, however, have reacted wholeheartedly against this obsession: Ben Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth, whose work and development have been linked for many years both by marriage and by closely shared interests. The desire to entirely transcend reality and to evade tragic expression, to maintain serenity and equilibrium in terms of the purest refinement—all this can be found in Hepworth's carvings. Keen technical and intellectual discipline is here imposed upon a conception of sculptural imagery which is basically primitive and sensual.

Prevision by Barbara Hepworth

Deriving from Gabo and from Branousi, her best work contrives to equate humanism with geometrical balance and finality and she has, technically, exploited the tactile possibilities of wood and stone more than any other sculptor. Formally, Hepworth has also explored the potentiality of landscape sculpture; reclining shapes, hollowed and pierced, with rhythmic counterpointing of cavity and swelling curve. The

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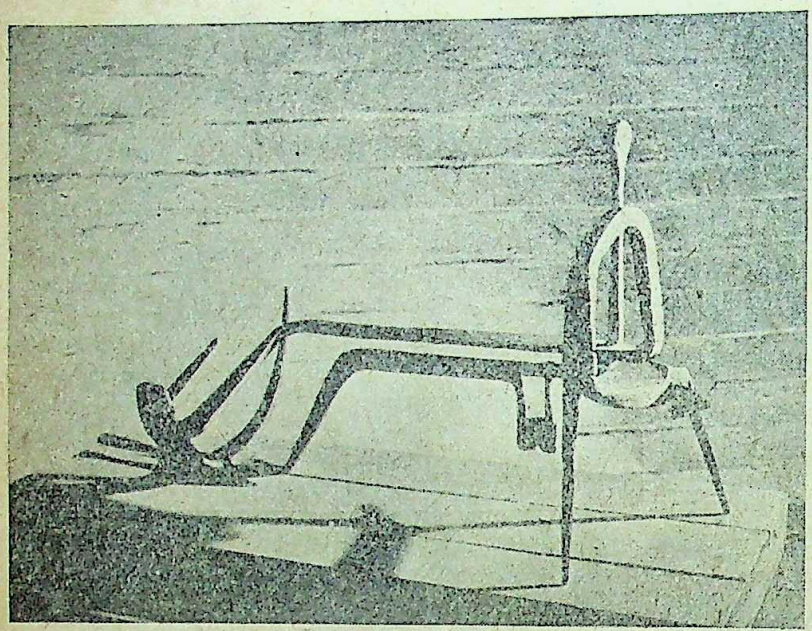
vertical shapes soar into space with unusual lightness and poise, often abruptly terminated by a sharp horizontal line.



Reclining Figure (1948) by Cotterell Butler

BEN NICHOLSON

In his painting, Ben Nicholson has also continually eliminated all vestige of morbidity: cool, detached and aristocratic, his work is at once international because of his kinship with early Braque, Miro and Mondriaan and provincial because of his identification with the light, the textures and the clearly etched contours of the Cornisr coast, where Nicholson lives. Radiant and good-humoured, the only tension in Nicholson's work is achieved by the bite of the pencil on the shifting, evanescent texture of his elaborately wrought surfaces, or the subtle juxtaposition of squares, circles and rectangles.

Nicholson's highly personal sense of form, enveloped in a delicate luminosity, needs a personal, humanised interior to bring it fully to life. His work is often related to the new architecture, and the rather clinical light and atmosphere of a public gallery make many demands upon the spectator's imagination when confronted with painting that is so free from illustrative or literary ideas.

HENRY MOORE

The most remarkable English artist to emerge since Turner's death in 1851, however, is unquestionably Henry Moore whose magnificently forceful vision reflects an intense optimism in the human being's stoic capacity to survive and conquer the forces of conflict and aggression. His original, anthropological sources of inspiration were greatly fortified by the formal researches of Arp, Gonzales and Zadkind as well as the tonic influence, so widely felt in the sculpture of the nineteen-thirties, of Mexican and Mayan sculpture. Gradually surrealist in feeling, Moore's invincible humanism stabilized itself later in a long series of family groups in which an almost representational manner of treatment was monumentalized and given intense mobility by Moore's unfailing sense of scale and his gift of discovering new formal relationships in all his subjects, which are often very simple as in *Bird on Egg* of 1934.

An unusual tapestry design by Graham Sutherland executed at the Dovecote Studios, Edinburgh, Scotland

The grave and invincible reclining female figures in stone, wood or bronze are perhaps his best known works; in these he has discovered a timeless human landscape. Pagan and humanist by implication Moore's best sculpture seems to communicate with

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all kinds of people in many different countries and recently a Rodinesque richness of modelling and patina has given his work an increased vitality. His recent *King and Queen*, however, shows a definite similarity of feeling with English cathedral sculpture of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries; and it is Moore's very special triumph to have selected freely, like Picasso, from these periods of art which have meaning for him and never to have allowed their characteristics to submerge his identity.

Moore's sculpture is also being used by an increasing number of architects to enrich and humanise new buildings and here he has shown an instinctive capacity to integrate his forms with their architectural framework as well as to enliven the terse prosaic areas of steel or concrete with carved screens or single figures of great potency.

Graham Sutherland

Like Moore, Sutherland, the painter, is conscious of violence but his pictorial images are less ennobling although they transcend actuality by sheer imaginative compulsion. His paintings nearly always contain ambiguous images of landscape, plant, animal or insect life which are projected with the maximum drama as tragic symbols for our time.

Originally a distinguished draughtsman and engraver, Sutherland did not begin to paint until about 1938 and was then interested in the underlying structure of English landscape, more particularly the strange Pembrokeshire coast with its fossils and remains and fierce rock formations. Since then, Sutherland has been stimulated by the glaring heat and light of the South of France into intensifying his colour range and extending his imagery. Nearly all his pictures contain a single image or a series of images set against a simplified background, and this sparse sense of design follows through into his recent portraits of Beaverbrook, Somerset Maugham and Churchill.

Cotterell Butler

Of the younger generation, Butler, the sculptor, is the best known and the most gifted. He is concerned with the plight of the human being caught up in the inexorable machinery of pain and oppression but so far Butler presents this plight without comment.

Wonderfully inventive in technique and highly articulate in his command of form, Butler has made one sculpture recently of a *young girl* which shows a new tenderness, although the characteristic tension is still present. *The Oracle*, a blind, menacing personage shows his continued debt to surrealism.

Lynn Chadwick

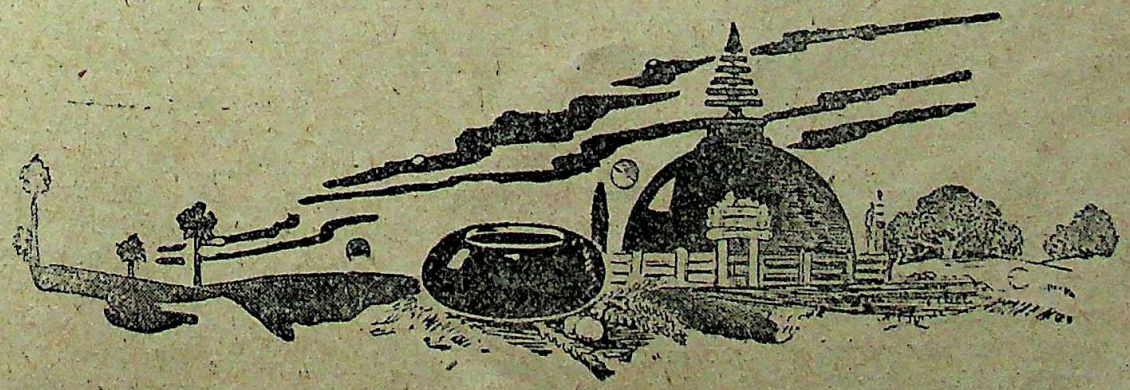
Chadwick, by contrast, is lighter in mood, more buoyant and often elegantly whimsical. He has shaken off an earlier link with Calder and the world of mobiles and is now creating very solid standing sculpture of great liveliness and invention. His work is very experimental in its use of material.

Kenneth Armitage

For Armitage, the other young English sculptor represented at Kassel, the state of *being* for a man or woman seems enough: his people simply exist in space or join hands and are unified by a fragment of wall behind them or are caught up, formally and psychologically, in the transforming movement of the wind. Armitage shares a current tendency to fuse sculpture with painting and can make the slightest quiver or ripple of form seem charged with meaning.

William Scott

This is also true of the painter, William Scott, whose heroically attenuated and puritanical canvases do not conceal a passionate sensibility and one of the truest tactile senses in England. A steady development through simple still-life arrangements in very brilliant or very sombre colour has given place to non-representation, for the time being; great significance being given to the individual brush marks and quality of paint.



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INDUSTRIAL FINANCE CORPORATION

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By Prof. DEBAJYOTI BURMAN, M.A.

Industrial Finance Corporation has completed seven years of its life. In 1953 it came under fire or severe criticism in the Press as well as in the Indian Parliament. At first, it refused to disclose the names of the Loanee Companies. Specific allegations were then made in the Parliament saying that the resources of the Corporation were being utilised by a group of capitalists headed by Lala Shri Ram, Chairman of the Corporation, and concerns in which he was directly interested had been granted loans by the Corporation exceeding Rs. 166 lakhs. Particular references were made to the Bengal Potteries Ltd., Orissa Textile Mills Ltd., Jay Engineering Works Ltd., and Sodepur Glass Works Ltd. On 17 December, 1952, Shri C. D. Deshmukh made a statement in the Lok Sabha on the subject in which he said that "a very strong demand was voiced for the disclosure of the names of the Industrial concerns to which the Corporation has given financial accommodation," and agreed to appoint an Enquiry Committee. On 30 December, 1952, the Committee consisting of Mrs. Sucheta Kripalini and five other members was announced. The Committee submitted its Report on May, 1953. In its Report, the Committee said:

> "We have ascertained that while Lala Shriram has substantial direct interest in the Bengal Potteries and Jay Engineering Works, his financial interest in the Orissa Textile Mills and in the Sodepur Glass Works is limited to the holding in the Share Capital of the Companies in the name of Messrs. Madan Mohan Lall Shri Ram & Co., Ltd. This company is a family concern of Lala Shri Ram and his share in the Company is worth As. 2-3 in the rupee. According to Lala Shri Ram's statement, the above firm has shareholdings in 8 concerns which have been sanctioned loans by the Executive Committee."

Shri V. R. Sonalker was the Managing Director of the Board of I.F.C. and the Chairman of the Executive Committee. The Audit Report on the Accounts of the I.F.C. for the year 1953-54 reveals a series of financial irregularities committed by the Managing Director involving the I.F.C. in huge losses.

The revelations made by the I.F.C. Enquiry Committee had led to several amendments in the I.F.C. Act. A Central Committee is to be established in place of the Executive Committee. The Chairman and the Managing Director are to be paid men. The Corporation is permitted to hold any Stock, Share, Bond or Debenture, with the permission of Central Government, for any period of time in fulfilment of its underwriting liabilities. It is also permitted now to underwrite securities of new concerns.

As a result of the I.F.C. Enquiry Committ the I.F.C. now discloses in its Annual Report names of the Loanee Companies and the amou granted to them but many other defects yet rem to be removed. Some such defects may be mentio

Rate of Interest

The rate of interest charged is high and dis mination is often made between companies. T World Bank's rate of interest is 4 per cent. T I.F.C.'s rate is 5 per cent in the minimum s sometimes going as high as 6½ per cent with a co mitment charge of ¾ per cent on the unavail amount. The cost of preparation of mortgage dee in respect of a loan of Rs. 30 lakhs comes up Rs. 75,000, *i.e.*, 2½ per cent of the loan amount. F smaller sums it is higher. Actual rate of intere therefore, comes to about 7 per cent. Rs. 30 lak minus Rs. 75,000 comes up to Rs. 29.25 lakhs whi is the actual available amount on which the rate interest calculated at 6½ per cent, works at 7 per ce with a stipulation of compound interest from t beginning in case of default in payment of intere on due date. The audit report says: The most impo tant term and condition of the sanction of the lo is the rate of interest to be charged. Different ra were charged in the case of loans sanctioned on t same date or about the same time; *vide* instanc given below:

> "Kirlosker Oil Engines Ltd. and the Natio Electrical Industries Ltd. were sanctioned loans Rs. 10 lakhs and Rs. 6 lakhs respectively on t 14th October, 1948, but the rate of interest w fixed at 6 per cent with a rebate of 1 per cent the first case and 6 per cent with a rebate ½ per cent in the second case. . . . A loan Rs. 20 lakhs was sanctioned to Bengal Potter Ltd., on the 3rd November, 1948, at 6 per cent l 1 per cent rebate while in the case of Standa Batteries Ltd. a loan of 20 lakhs was sanction on the 26th November, 1948, at 5½ per cent l ½ per cent rebate. In the case of Bengal Chemi & Pharmaceutical Works Ltd., the rate of intere charged is 6½ per cent less ½ per cent rebate interests are paid regularly to schedule. The Au Report says that until 20th July, 1951, the Bo or the Executive Committee did not specifica lay down the rate of interest to be charged. T Board at their meeting held on 21st July, 19 decided that in view of the prevailing conditio in the Capital Market, the rate of interest 5½ per cent with a rebate of ½ per cent sho continue. From February, 1952, the rate of inter was raised to 6 per cent with a rebate of ½ per ce and subsequently to 6½ per cent with a rebate

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½ per cent from October, 1952, but no specific resolution of the Board was available."

The Audit Report comments:

"It was pointed out in the Audit that an important matter like the fixation of the rate of interest should not have been left to the discretion of the Managing Director but should have been decided by the Executive Committee/Board of Directors."

After the Audit objections the Executive Committee, in their meeting held on 30 October, 1954, regularised the matter, by confirming the rates fixed in the past and also decided that in future important matters like change in the rate of interest should be reported to the Executive Committee and their resolution recorded in the minutes. It may be mentioned here that the Karnafuli Paper Mills of Chittagong secured a loan of Rs. 1½ crores at 3 per cent interest from World Bank. The paid up capital of the company is Rs.1½ crores.

Appointment of Directors

Sec. 25(2) of the I.F.C. Act provides for the appointment of "a Director" on the Board of Directors of the loanee concern to protect the interest of the Corporation. Instances of discrimination in the application of this provision are known. The Audit Report says, "It was noticed that in the case of Bengal Potteries Ltd., no such clause was inserted in the Mortgage Deed." The Enquiry Committee in paragraph 20 of their Report had remarked that no representative of the Corporation was appointed on the Boards of Directors of the Bengal Potteries and the Jay Engineering Works.

The Audit Report discloses that out of 26 companies, the Corporation did not exercise their right to nominate Directors on the Boards of seven companies up to the end of 1949, namely,

(1) Kirlosker Oil Engines Ltd.
(2) Bengal Potteries Ltd.
(3) Surat Textiles Ltd.
(4) Mukund Iron & Steel Works Ltd.
(5) Bharat Starch & Chemicals Ltd.
(6) Calcutta Electrical Manufacturing Co., Ltd.
(7) Jay Engineering Works Ltd.

Out of 70 companies to whom loans were advanced up to 30 June, 1954, the Corporation appointed its nominees on the Boards of Directors of 24 Companies only. The Audit Report named two Companies and said, "As the financial position of the following Companies was not sound, the Corporation may consider the appointment of their representatives on the Board of Directors of these Companies."

In the case of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Ltd., however, a Company with a paid up capital exceeding Rs. 66 lakhs, and assets exceeding a crore of rupees provision for two Directors has been arbitrarily incorporated in the Mortgage Deed. It betrays an astonishing anxiety on the part of the I.F.C. to protect an interest to the extent of Rs. 30 lakhs. It violates Sec. 25(2) of the I.F.C. Act itself which provides that "a Director" shall be appointed. Kirlosker Oil Engines Ltd. was given a loan of Rs. 37 lakhs, Mukund Iron & Steel Works Rs. 33 lakhs, and Jay Engineering Works Rs. 36 lakhs, but not a single Director was appointed on their Boards.

Proportion of Security

Loans to Sodepur Glass Works came in for bitter criticism. The Enquiry Committee devoted one full chapter to this episode and concluded:

"In the ultimate analysis, the following facts emerge—

(*i*) In view of the drawbacks of the project, as pointed out by the Expert Committee the Corporation should have been more circumspect in sanctioning the original loan of Rs. 40 lakhs.

(*ii*) The Capital requirements of the project had been grossly underestimated and the Corporation seems to have made no serious attempt to properly assess, at any stage, the long-term requirements. The single factor is the major contributory cause for the present state of affairs of the Company.

The Corporation must now estimate closely the long-term capital requirements, which have been variously estimated at Rs. 15 lakhs to Rs. 35 lakhs. The economics of the present plate glass plant need be looked into carefully. If it cannot be run as an economic unit, the question of installing the figured glass and bottle-plants should be considered. As Bhurkunda does not provide any special advantage, the desirability of installing these plants at Sodepur may be examined.

(*iii*) The Corporation should have, in collaboration with the Managing Agents, devised ways and means for accelerating the construction of the factory which was of paramount importance both in the Company's and the Corporation's own interest.

(*iv*) The technical organisation of the factory was weak and the appointment of a non-technical General Manager on behalf of the Corporation aggravated the situation.

(*v*) Conflict of personalities and dual control seemed to have complicated matters resulting in mismanagement.

A total loan of Rs. 63 lakhs was granted to Sodepur Glass Works till June, 1954. The Corporation took over the management of the Company on 19 March, 1953, under Section 28 of the I.F.C. Act. During the period 19 March, 1953 to 30 June, 1954, the Corporation incurred an expenditure of Rs. 32,80,000 which increased to Rs. 35,08,481 up to 19 October, 1954. The total amount outstanding on 30 June, 1954, was as under:

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Principal	Rs. 95,72,538- 2-9
Interest	Rs. 7,56,284-11-9"

The Audit Report reveals that a sum of Rs. 5,70,254-10-0 on account of interest for the year ended 30 March, 1954, was not included in the total outstanding, as it was stated by the Board that the said interest was not likely to be realised, the available security being insufficient for that purpose. Thus the entire advance remained without interest for the year ended 30 June, 1954.

Apart from the above, certain expenditures were incurred by the Head Office of the Corporation and were debited to their charges account instead of recovering the same from the Company. A few instances are:

(*i*) Expenditure on salaries of extra-staff employed,

(*ii*) Expenditure on travelling, etc., of the Corporation staff,

(*iii*) Several telephone calls made by the Head Office to the Calcutta office conveying instructions, etc.

These charges were debited in the discretion of the Managing Director. There was audit objection to these debits.

The pro-forma Balance Sheet of the Company as at 31, December, 1953, disclosed the following:

(*i*) The loss had gone up to Rs. 44.23 lakhs without provision for any depreciation. Thus the capital of the Company and a part of the loan amount of the Corporation was wiped out.

(*ii*) The value of raw materials, stores, goods in process and finished goods was Rs. 15 lakhs.

(*iii*) The loan was guaranteed up to the extent of Rs. 50 lakhs only. The remaining amount was not guaranteed.

(*iv*) The outstandings were in excess of the securities pledged by the Company to the Corporation.

The lavishness of expenses may be understood from the fact that a technical expert was appointed on a salary of $1250, free of Indian Income-tax Act. The tax liability of the company on the salary of this Expert for the period 15 April, 1953 to 7 April, 1954, amounted to Rs. 1,26,685. The Board of Directors of the Corporation sanctioned payment of this amount.

After these revelations in the Audit Report, the I.F.C. sold the Sodepur Glass Works to a Japanese firm for Rs. 62 lakhs, and granted this Japanese concern a loan of Rs. 62 lakhs in order to enable them to take over and run the factory. The transaction may be called granting a loan against a cash memo of equal amount. In the news of this transaction published on 12 September, 1955, it was stated that the "loan is on good security." The total amount sunk on this doubtful enterprise thus comes to about Rs. 110 lakhs.

Sodepur Glass Works is not the solitary inst The Audit Report says, "A number of companies closed down and the possession of their assets been taken over by the Corporation." One shoul inclined to believe that deliberate negligence by Board, the Executive Committee and the Man Director is responsible for the loss of Corpor money.

Loans to Tax Evaders

The loan application form requires the comp to give information regarding liability for income The Enquiry Committee in their Report said: "T sistent with the present practice under which inc tax clearance certificate is required to be produced applicants for import and export license and tenderers for Government contracts, we suggest Government consideration whether applicants loans to the Corporation should not also be requ to produce similar certificates when applying to Corporation. In addition, the applicants should certify that their names are not before the Inc tax Enquiry Tribunal." (Paragraph 55.)

The Enquiry Committee Report was submi on 1 May, 1953.

The Government of India in their resolu dated 23 December, 1953, had stated that the C panies who are known to be evading taxes should be eligible for finance through the Corporat Neither any rule nor any directive has been specific issued by the Government to the Corporation on subject. The resolution, therefore, remains infructu

The Audit Report points out that in Governm of India, Ministry of Finance letter No. F2 E.III/54, dated 3 April, 1954, there was no ref rence to the recommendation made in paragraph of the Enquiry Committee Report. The Audit Re also confirms the view that "even when the Dire or any partner of the Managing Agent of the ap cant Company happens to be a person whose case been referred to the Income-tax Investigation C mission, the Company's application for loan sho not be sanctioned by the Corporation."

Misuse of Public Money

The I.F.C. Act was amended on 29 Decem 1952, to bring the Corporation under the audit p view of the Comptroller and the Auditor-General. resultant audit has revealed a number of defects the working of the Corporation which involved p use of public funds. It has been revealed that crimination was made in respect of the follow items:

(1) Grant of loan.

(2) Utilisation of the loan amount.

(3) Personal guarantee of the Managing Ag and modification of the terms of the Ma ing Agency agreement.

(4) Insurance arrangements.

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(5) Appointments of Directors.

(6) Terms of repayment.

Wide discretionary powers were exercised by the Managing Director in respect of all these matters. The Audit Report says that in regard to items (2) to (6), "the terms and conditions were finally settled by the Managing Director and not reported to the Executive Committee before the execution of the Mortgage Deed and the disbursement of the loan amount."

Lavish expenditures were detected in respect of the following:

(1) *Law Charges*: "A sum of Rs. 2,000 was paid on 30th July, 1953, to an advocate of the Bombay High Court for drafting a reply to Chapter VIII of the I.F.C. Enquiry Committee Report dealing with the loan of the Sodepur Glass Works Ltd. The amount of the fee was not settled in advance and the payment was made on an indication of the law officer of the Corporation that Rs. 2,000 was reasonable."

(2) *Staff Car*: A car was purchased and the Executive Committee was informed of the purchase. At no stage the Executive Committee was informed of the probable or actual amount spent. The car was purchased at a cost of Rs. 20,000 and was being used by the Managing Director. "He stated that it was primarily meant for the use of one officer only. The maintenance of the car by the Corporation for the exclusive use of the Managing Director amounted to a concession which apparently was not included in the terms and conditions of his appointment."

(3) *Travel by Air-conditioned Class by Officers of the Corporation*: Senior officers travelled by air-conditioned class and were also allowed the incidental fare at the air-conditioned class rate, *i.e.*, they drew the incidental at a higher rate, if they travelled by air-conditioned class instead of by first class." Overpayments on this account were made and detected.

(4) *Air-conditioned Travel by Members of the Board*: By the resolution of the Board dated 7th July, 1948, members were entitled to first class travel if the journey was performed by rail. They were, however, allowed railway fare and incidental half fare at air-conditioned class rate. Overpayments were detected.

(5) *Establishment Expenses*: During the six years of the existence of the Corporation the expenses of establishment have been steadily increasing. During the year ending June 1953, the increase was Rs. 60,801 and during the year ending June 1954 there was a further increase of Rs. 62,935.

On the Building Account, a large infructuous expenditure was made.

"In pursuance of a scheme for constructing its own building, the Corporation purchased a piece of land in May 1952 at a cost of Rs. 7,76,732 subject to payment of ground rent at Rs. 19,418-5-0 per year. The places for the proposed building were approved by the Executive Committee at their meeting held on 26th July, 1952. On the 14th February, 1953, tenders for the construction of the building were invited. But the Executive Committee in their meeting held on 11th July, 1953 decided that it would not be profitable for the Corporation to invest a large sum of Rs. 64 lakhs (inclusive of the cost of land and air-conditioning) on the construction of the building and the Managing Director was asked to negotiate regarding disposal of the land and hiring of suitable accommodation.

"As regards the disposal of the land the Managing Director informed the Executive Committee on 14th February, 1954, that the Corporation had already paid Rs. 22,184-12-0 as ground rent up to 14th July, 1953, and Rs. 54,366 to the architects. He estimated that the loss on the sale of the plot up to 31st December, 1954, besides the expenditure of Rs. 76,550-12-0 already incurred, would be Rs. 5,02,084."

The infructuous expenditure besides loss on sale of land was calculated in audit as follows:

Fees of the Architects	Rs. 1,56,899-4-6
Fees of the re-inforced concrete specialist.	„ 25,325-0-0
Cost of inviting tender and miscellaneous other expenditures	„ 23,465-4-3
	Rs. 2,05,689-8-9

This is the Audit Comment: "It is also questionable whether in view of the financial position of the Corporation in which Government guarantee for the minimum return on capital had to be repeatedly invoked, it was prudent to have embarked on a project of this magnitude for housing the offices of the Corporation. It is also not definite that this organisation is to be permanent in character and therefore such a proposal should not have been entertained. In any event there is no justification for reconsidering the question merely because a loss is likely to be incurred."

Audit Report

The result of audit may best be summarised in the words of the Audit Report itself:

(a) The Managing Director exercised powers in excess of those delegated to him;

(b) The terms and conditions of loans more particularly the rate of interest chargeable were varied by the Managing Director, even in respect of contemporaneous transactions;

(c) Loans were granted in many cases where, *prima facie*, the issue of a share capital or deben-

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tures should have been possible, having regard to the financial position and the standing of the concerns;

(d) Loans were granted in some other cases where the financial position of the concerns did not justify the risks taken;

(e) The recommendations of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry were disregarded in making loans available in certain cases;

(f) While the Corporation was running at a loss and the Government guarantee was being repeatedly invoked for payment of the minimum dividend, the Corporation had embarked on a scheme costing approximately Rs. 64 lakhs for the construction of office accommodation. Preliminary action for this purpose has involved the Corporation in a possible loss of Rs. 6 lakhs;

(g) The growth of administrative expendi is out of proportion to the business transacted;

(h) All the irregularities and exercises power in excess of delegation, in which the Man ing Director was involved, were approved *ex-po facto* at a meeting of the Corporation held October 1954 after the I.F.C. Enquiry Commit and also audit had drawn pointed attention these lapses;

(i) Rules have yet to be framed by Gove ment in accordance with Section 42 of the I.F Act, defining clearly the questions which specifically reserved for the Government. In absence of such rules, the Corporation had und taken responsibilities and decisions which sho have been normally submitted to Government approval.

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CAPITAL FORMATION IN INDIA

By Prof. Miss BELA BOSE, M.A.,

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Capital formation has become one of the most acute problems in India specially in relation to the financing of the Second Five-Year Plan. It has therefore become a subject for deep and exhaustive study.

When a society does not apply the whole of its productive capacity to the needs of current consumption, but directs a part of it to the making of capital goods, capital, in the economic sense, is said to be formed. Thus capital formation presupposes an act of saving on the part of the community which in its turn is implicit in the income level of the country. In view of our present low productivity, which in itself is due to a lack of capital, by far the greater part of the available resources is employed to produce the current consumption goods. It is very difficult to spare any resource for the production of capital goods. We are, in the words of Prof. Nurkse of Columbia University, in a vicious circle of poverty. It implies a Circular Constellation of diverse forces acting and reacting in such a way as to keep a poor country in perpetual poverty.

A small capacity to save results from the low level of real income. The low level of real income is a reflection of low productivity which in its turn is due to a lack of capital. The lack of capital is a result of the small capacity to save and so the circle is complete.

The disparities that exist in the level of real incomes of the different countries of the world will neverthel help us to understand the position of under-develop countries. A report from the United Nations reve that 67 per cent of the World's income goes to hi income countries comprising 18 per cent of the world population. This group consists of U.S.A., Cana Western Europe and Newzealand. Secondly, 18 p cent. of the World's income goes to the middle inco group consisting of 15 per cent of the population. T group includes Argentina, Uruguay, South Afri Israel, and some countries of Eastern Europe, especia Russia. Lastly, the lower income group earns o 15 per cent of the World's income but consists of per cent. of the population. It covers most of A South Eastern Europe, and Latin America, *i.e.* whole block of under-developed countries. Out of 15 per cent income the basic requirements of 67 cent. are to be met. It is not difficult to imagine saving is practically non-existent in under-develo countries.

Thus the problem of capital formation in In is inherently a problem of increasing the income the majority. Mass of the population here have li or no margin between receipts and expenditure. O a small minority are in regular receipt of an inco which permits saving. The divergence of econo social and political conditions of developed and und

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developed countries makes inevitable the adoption of a completely separate policy for their problem. In under-developed countries capital shortage cramps all progressive aspiration while in advanced countries the problem is to secure profitable outlets for the investment of capital. The traditional process of capital formation, *i.e.*, the process with which we are nurtured under western influences, will not be effective. India requires a separate solution suitable for her own pecular economic conditions. The western theory of capital formation which depends on the theory of liquidity preference, cannot *ipso facto* be applied to under-developed countries where wide-spread liquidity of money is conspicuous by its absence.

The deficiency of appropriate financial institutions constitutes a serious handicap to capital formation in India. The banking system is inadequate. They are designed mainly to serve the commerce of the country. They prefer to lend to plantation, mining and trading activities.

Most of the banks are concentrated in cities and towns. Rural credit system is so under-developed that it is not possible to bring whatever small savings the villagers have, into banks so that such money could be profitably invested. The importance of interest rate as a regulator of investment, doubted even in industrial countries, is comparatively small here as production is more labour-intensive. Fluctuation in wage-rate influences the cost structure more than the variation in the interest rate.

The unorganised nature of the Indian money market is a great handicap against the success of the machanism of Bank Rate and Open Market Operation. More than 50 per cent. of the total money requirements of trade and industry specially in the rural sector, is still supplied by the indigenous bankers. And these bankers seldom come within the controlling power of the Reserve Bank.

Joint-stock company and the security market in India have not yet been fully capable of drawing the substantial part of the savings. Frequent company failures and wide-spread illiteracy are responsible for discouragement of investment in joint-stock companies which in its turn encourages hoarding in species and bullions. The traditional process of capital formation through voluntary savings and individual private investment would not be effective in India where the basic conditions for capital accumulation are absent. If any attempt be made along that line, it would be a faulty measure. A review of an account of capital formation estimated by the Planning Commission would explain the point.

According to an estimate prepared by the Planning Commission the volume of capital formation amounted to Rs. 719 crores in 1953-54 as compared with Rs. 589 crores in 1950-51. Thus there has been a net improvement of Rs. 130 crores in three years. Out of this Rs. 791 crores, the public sector accounts for Rs. 277 crores while the private sector records an investment of Rs. 443 crores.

Under the private sector Rs. 204 crores have been invested for the construction of buildings in towns and villages—urban construction amounting to Rs. 123 crores and village construction to Rs. 81 crores.

Construction of building as a factor in capital formation depends on the purpose for which it is built, if it is for dwelling purposes it is definitely not a capital. In the above estimate of the Planning Commission, no indication of the purpose is given and therefore it is not clear how far this investment would help capital formation. Expenditure made for the improvement of land, irrigation, agriculture and implements of small industry and for mining and manufacturing enterprises should be regarded as real investment. These involved a total outlay of Rs. 209 crores. The actual capital invested on private account thus amounts to Rs. 209 crores and not Rs. 443 crores as stated by the Planning Commission. This amount would be still more reduced if deduction is made for depreciation.

The bulk of the capital has been supplied by the Government. But the different heads under which investment is made has not been separately shown in the estimate. Construction of dams, canals, wells, etc., has been included under capital formation while defence and others have been treated as consumption expenditure. To what extent these investments have induced capital formation is difficult to ascertain. Any estimate of capital formation by western method will not truly represent the Indian condition.

Capital formation through monetary policy and budget surpluses has become essential in recent years. The realisation of the inadequacy of voluntary saving has led many under-developed countries to adopt deficit financing for raising the capital for development plans. In India the Planning Commission has accepted deficit finance as an essential measure for raising finance for the plan. When the largest part of the new money is likely to be spent on inelastic consumption goods, the risk of creating an inflationary spiral becomes manifest. Prof. Shenoy has pointed out in his note of dissent to the Second Plan that the success of this policy depends on an administrative efficiency which may be found only in a totalitarian state. Deficit finance through note issue is bound to be risky and is very likely to lead to inflation in a democratic state like India.

The revenue surplus in Government budget is an important stimulant to capital formation. The First Five-Year Plan estimated to raise Rs. 569 crores from General budget surplus but realised Rs. 321 crores only during the first 3 years of the plan period. The Second Five-Year Plan estimates a surplus of Rs. 5,200

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crores within the plan period. But it seems to be a very ambitious expectation. The success of the Budgetary Policy depends primarily on the reduction of expenditure and also on an increase in revenue. There is little tendency for reduction in expenditure, rather Government expenditure of an unproductive nature is on the increase. The only way to create the surplus will therefore be to increase the income either through earnings of state enterprises or through taxation.

In a welfare state, during a normal period, Government seldom imposes high and regressive tax as it reacts heavily on the income and standard of living of the people. Most of the modern states, no matter whether they believe in socialism or capitalism, try their best to create a surplus in their budget by earning through different trading activities, such as nationalisation of coal, gas, electricity foreign trade and communication. Not only Soviet Russia but capitalist countries like Great Britain, France, South America and others have nationalised some of their most prosperous undertakings and earn large profits annually. In India also the Government has invested about Rs. 60 crores on nationalised industries. The First Five-Year Plan expected to realise Rs. 132 crores from the profits of state-owned enterprises. But actually a loss of Rs. 46 crores has been incurred within the three years of the plan. In the States, however, all except West Bengal have been successful to earn profits. Failing surplus from state enterprises, the Government have now adopted a policy of increasing taxation and deficit finance.

According to Prof. Colin Clark there is a critical limit to taxation. In peacetime this amount should never be more than 25 p.c. or in some countries 20 p.c. or less of the national income. In a less developed country, however, such a limit is found long before the Clarkian limits are reached. In India the limit of taxation has been estimated in the Second Five-Year Plan as 9 to 10 P.C.

The justification of this estimate depends on the distribution of the burden of tax on different sections of people. In calculating the incidence of taxation sectorwise calculation has been made either by the Taxation Enquiry Commission or by the Planning Commission. The imposition of tax therefore is being made without any scientific basis and any fresh taxation is therefore quickly becoming a source of public irritation. Tax evasion is also becoming wide-spread. Mobilisation of finance through this channel is rapidly tending to reach the limit.

The prospect of public debt also is not very promising in India. The First Five-Year Plan expected to raise Rs. 215 crores from the public. But in spite of strenuous effort on the part of the Government, it was not able to realise more than Rs. 34 crores.

Loan, taxation, and deficit finance are the different processes of tapping the same source of national saving. The whole problem thus boils down to the fact that unless individual income is increased all attempts at captial formation become futile.

India requires quite a different approach to her problem. We require such a plan that it would provide opportunity of earnings to the vast population. Income, instead of being concentrated in the hands of the few, needs be diffused throughout the country. Saving would then be easy and would expand spirally as the multiplier extends.*

* Address delivered at the Rotary Club, Asansol on November 7, 1955.

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INDIA AND THE SOVIET UNION

By Prof. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

The visit of the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Bulganin and the Communist Party Secretary, Mr. Khruschev, to India only a few months after the visit of the Prime Minister Nehru to the Soviet Union is an event of great international importance in the cause of world peace and co-operation. This is, perhaps, the first time since the Russian Revolution that the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union has moved out of his country to another country on a mission of goodwill and friendship. It is, indeed, a glowing tribute to the successful policy of non-alignment followed by our great leader, Shri Nehru, that India is the first country which is being visited in this manner by the Soviet statesmen. The reception that was accorded to the Russian leaders on the first day of their arrival in India was an unprecedented one; about a million people lined the twelve-mile route from the Palam airport to Rashtrapati Bhawan. The civic reception on the following day was also unique in the annals of India's capital city. Prime Minister Bulganin declared that India and the Soviet Union are building their relations on "stable and reliable" foundations of *Pancha Shila*. He fervently hoped that the lasting friendship between the two countries would pave the way for a lasting peace in the world.

The Soviet leaders have praised India's efforts for her economic and industrial development. Referring to several big projects like the Bhakra Dam, Mr. Bulganin observed in Bombay:

> "During the few days that we have been in this country we have seen a good many magnificent things made by the ordinary people of India."

Mr. Khruschev, for his part, remarked:

> "When we visit the cities and villages of India, we see in their eyes a beam of joy at the progress Independent India is making."

Donning the white *khadi* caps, the two Soviet leaders assured:

> "People of Soviet Russia greet warmly your success."

They also paid a tribute to the Indian scientists:

> "We in Russia have many things to learn from you. Indian science is ancient and it has produced a number of eminent scientists. Your scientists have maintained peace with progress in the rest of the world."

The Soviet Prime Minister, in the course of his speeches, has been laying great stress on developing closer ties between India and Russia on the economic front. At the civic reception in Delhi, he said:

> "All the necessary conditions have been created for the development of trade and economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and India on a basis of genuine equality and mutual benefit."

Addressing the Members of Parliament, he observed:

> "We are prepared to share with you our economic and scientific experience."

At Nangal, Mr. Khruschev said with emotion:

> "We shall share our last piece of bread with you."

He offered all technical "know-how" and training facilities to India. Russia has already agreed to set up a Steel Plant in Madhya Pradesh. Soviet oil experts have also arrived recently in India for helping us in prospecting oil resources in the country. We, no doubt, welcome technical help from the U.S.S.R. in building up India on sound economic foundations. In fact, we are, always prepared to welcome such help from any country in the world, provided it is free from any kind of political strings. We, on our part, do not intend exploiting any country for our economic progress. Nor can we allow any other country to exploit us economically in any manner. Further, we desire to develop our country on the basis of self-help and our own inherent strength, we do not desire to rely too much on any foreign country for our economic development. We are fully conscious of the fact that too much reliance in economic matters on other countries leads to all kinds of political complications which may threaten to endanger the very foundations of Independence. As Dr. Radhakrishnan observed in the course of his opening remarks prefacing the Soviet leaders' address to the Members of Parliament:

> "A nation's prosperity depends not so much on foreign aid or assistance or acquiring other people's technical intelligence as on its own inherent strength. Its own capacity, moral character, and capacity for creative work in a co-operative manner."

The visit of the Soviet leaders has, indeed, been very helpful in fostering closer economic and political

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ties between India and Russia. There is also much in common between the two great countries. Both stand for world peace and co-operation on the basis of the Five Principles or *Pancha Shila*. Both are eager to improve the economic lot of the common man by eliminating exploitation and brining about greater economic equalities. But it must always be remembered that the means or methods employed for the achievement of these objects are fundamentally different in India and the Soviet Union. While Russia has followed the totalitarian method of class war and a highly centralised administration, India is wedded to the method of peace, democracy and maximum decentralisation.

"India," said Dr. Radhakrishnan, "was trying to bring about a socialistic pattern of society in a peaceful and non-violent way. India's path was consistent with her tradition arising out of her background through non-violent democratic process."

Welcoming the distinguished Soviet visitors, our Prime Minister said:

"We in India have been conditioned by a Master Spirit of the present age, Mahatma Gandhi, who told us to get rid of hatred and violence and to make friends with all, at the same time holding to our convictions and principles . . . That is the approach we venture to make even with those who differ from us . . . It is in this spirit that the people of India approach the great Soviet people and seek their friendship and co-operation. We are simple people and have no sense of rivalry against any country. But we are bent on rebuilding our country along *the Socialist path of our choosing* so that everyone in India may have full opportunities of progress."

We are glad to find that the Soviet guests are also fully conscious of the basic differences in our social, economic and political systems. After tracing the history of Russian Revolution and stating the economic achievements of the Soviet Union, Prime Minister Bulganin told the M.P.s:

"You are following your own road. You also have the objective of converting your Motherland . . . into an advanced State with a developed national economy and a high enough standard of living. It is with complete understanding and sincere sympathy that the Soviet people regard your efforts directed to the achievement of these objectives."

At Bombay, Mr. Bulganin said:

"We, the Soviet people, had our great le Lenin who opened a new path for the ha future of our people. You had your great le Mahatma Gandhi. Though these great leaders b longed to different philosophies, both had m points in common. Both taught their people to free the country and build up its independen

Needless to mention, there is fundamental di ence between the philosophies of Lenin Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi, in accordance w the ancient traditions of India, firmly belie that the means were as important as the e and that wrong and impure means polluted nobility and purity of the end itself. It is t Gandhiji insisted on Truth and Non-violence du our struggle for political freedom. He always adv us to follow the same moral principles for achievement of social and economic freedom. M and Lenin followed a very different path. There be no compromise between the ideologies of Le and Gandhi. We have, however, not the sligh intention of interfering with the ideologies of o countries. Nor can we afford to allow any o country to interfere with our way of life. We sincer believe in the philosophy of "Live and Let Live" of "Co-existence."

In the joint Declaration signed at Moscow at time of Prime Minister Nehru's visit to the So Union, it was made very clear that there would no interference with each other's internal matt even in the *ideological* sphere. Speaking to the Ind M.P.s, Mr. Khruschev observed:

"We are not rarely accused of trying to ex the ideas of Communism to other countries . Marching along the chosen path of socialism, Soviet people have achieved great success in th development. But we have never compelled a body and are not compelling to accept our id of the reconstruction of society."

We do not know how far this is true of the p But we do believe that the U.S.S.R. has now gi up the policy of "exporting" Communism to o countries. So far as India is concerned, we firm believe that the Gandhian or the Sarvodaya way the best way for us. As the Father of the Na himself remarked:

"It is my implicit faith that India will not able to imbibe Communism and that Lenin's will not take root in this soil."

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A NOBLE LIFE

By Dr. JADUNATH SARKAR, Hony. M.R.A.S., Eng.

A life filled with work of amazing variety and sterling worth, accomplished in silence and self-effacement, ended when Pramatha Nath Bose passed into the eternal silence on 27th April, 1934, only a fortnight before he could complete his 79th year. And it is only today that a full biography* of him has been written, thanks to the collaboration between Jogesh Chandra Bagal (the established authority on the Renaissance in Bengal, its men and institutions) and the family of the deceased, who have supplied their reminiscences.

Born in 1855, Pramatha Nath came just one generation after the first heroes of New Bengal, Michael Madhusudan Dutt and Bhudev Mukherji, and only fifteen years after Bankim and his group, while Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray followed him by five years. Each of them belonged to the "new aristocracy of academic distinction" which has dominated Indian thought and through our thought the national life of New India ever since. But to P. N. Bose belongs the unique honour of having been the progenitor of the greatest industrial undertaking in India,—the Tata Iron and Steel Works of Jamshedpur. His own share in the origin of this great national institution was long forgotten, and it was only in 1938, when Pramatha Nath had been dead for four years, that his marble bust was set up at the Indian Essen, to proclaim to the world that a Bengali Baboo could be something other than a *Graeculus esuriens* in other provinces of India.

Born to a respectable middle-class family of Gaipur (Gobardanga, then in the Nadia district), Pramatha Nath passed the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations, standing 2nd and 5th respectively in order of merit in the whole University (1871 and 1873). Then after securing the top place at the Gilchrist Scholarship competition early in 1874, he went to England on a scholarship of £100 a year tenable for five years. His six years' stay in England was most fruitful. After taking the B.Sc. degree at the London University (1878) with a place near the top and a First Class First at the Royal School of Mines (Biology, July 1879), he carried on research work on Indian Geology among the specimens in the British Museum, and had the honour of seeing his papers printed in the learned journals of Geology (1880). In May 1880, the Secretary of State for India appointed him to the covenanted rank of the Indian Geological Survey, the first Indian so chosen.

In his 23 years under the British Government he carried out very valuable geological explorations in virgin jungles and desolate hills,—the Vindya range, Gondwana, Darjeeling, Chota Nagpur, Rewah, Assam, and even Burma, amidst indescribable hardship and danger. A long list of published papers records the fruits of his labour. But in 1903 he retired prematurely from Government service as a protest against his being superseded by a European junior for the post of the head of his department.

But, happily for us, such precious talent was not lost to the country. He was soon afterwards engaged by various Indian Princes to explore the geology of their States,—Mayurbhanj, Patiala, Rajpipla, Kashmir and Tippera (1903—1911). What he achieved here is best illustrated by the location of the Tata Iron Works in the Mayurbhanj State.

Thereafter he settled at Ranchi, where he had built a house (1908), and here he spent most part of his remaining life (1912-1934), in many-sided beneficence to the townspeople and by his writings to the world at large. He lived (along with his friend Satyendra Nath Tagore) as the patriarch of the upper society and his home there was the centre and rendezvous of the men of light and cultured visitors in the evenings. (I heard S. N. Tagore, I.C.S., recite or rather act, Kipling's poem *Ganga Deen* there!)

The many-sided and fruitful activity of his life in retirement baffles description. It was equalled only by his puritan simplicity, purity and strength of character. Sorrow and loss came too thick and too early to him and his life's partner Kamala (the eldest daughter of R. C. Dutt, I.C.S.), whom he had married young in July 1882. But their patriotic and benevolent work did not cease, even after they had passed the span of life assigned to man by the Psalmist of Israel. Two things stand out prominent among Pramatha Nath's labours in office and out of it, namely his efforts to improve the education of our people by directing them towards science and modernism, while retaining their ancient spiritual heritage, and

* *Pramatha Nath Bose*: By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Foreword by Dr. Meghnad Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S. The Elm Press, 63, Beadon Street, Calcutta-6. Illustrated. Pp. xxxiv + 256. Price Rupees Six.

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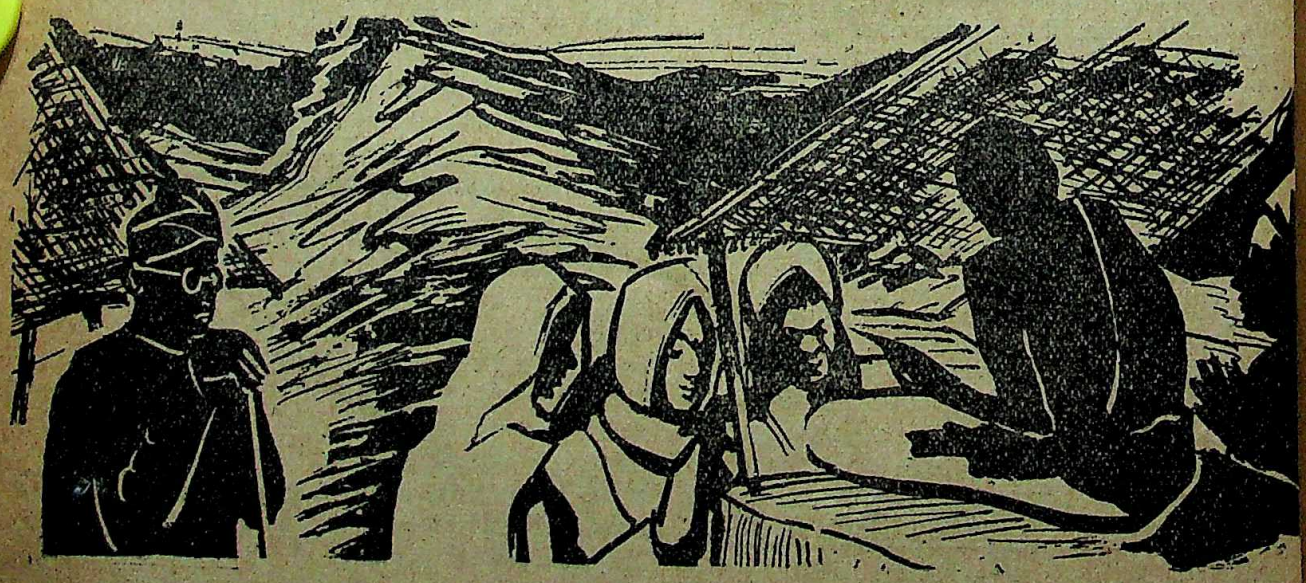
his sermons and practical experiments to make us take to industry and production rather than conventional literary pursuits or "white collar labour." In this he was the yoke-fellow of Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray. The reader can easily believe that Pramatha Nath never smoked nor visited a cinema! So also did our chemist-saint.

Pramatha Nath's greatest achievement, though unrecognised in his lifetime, was the exact location of the Tata Iron Works. The geographical factor alone saved the infant, absolutely novel, pure Indian but extremely modern and mechanised industry from dying at its birth. It was founded before World War No. I (1914—1918). It had then to fight in the competitive world market without any State help in the form of subsidy, protective duty, control of imports, concession rates of transport and other aids familiar to the modern socialistic State. And therefore it could stand only because the site was so chosen that the production cost was reduced to a minimum, and the best and richest iron ore and coal deposits were found close to each other, and a vast cheap labour population was within call. If Sheffield's success was due to coal and iron ore being close together in the "Black country," the same was true in a still greater degree of Jamshedpur. And the selection of this area in Mayurbhanj-Chota Nagpur for the Tata factory was due entirely to Pramatha Nath's persistent advocacy, which overbore the Tata Company's earlier and less profitable choice of the Sambalpur district for the location of their Works. This fact is hardly known to the general public, and the story must be told here:

"The Tatas selected Padampur near Sambalpur as a possible site for their steel-works. It was at a considerable distance from the coalfields of Jharia and Raniganj . . . One morning a letter came from P. N. Bose, drawing their attention to the iron-deposits of Mayurbhanj . . . Then Tata's experts visited the iron districts of the Mayurbhanj State.

"In the lofty Guru-Mahisani Hill they found enormous deposits of iron ore. They further found hundreds of acres of rich 'Ore-float'—ore lying loose on the surface, which simply had to be picked up by unskilled labour. The explorers were in the presence of a treasure-house far more potentially valuable than most gold mines." This inspection left no doubt that Mayurbhanj offered advantages superior to those of the Sambalpur area. It was far nearer the sea and nearer the coal-fields. Its economic advantages were enormous. The Sambalpur Scheme was abandoned, and the terms of mining rights were soon settled with the Maharajah of Mayurbhanj,—for whom Pramatha Nath acted as negotiator, on terms favourable to both parties.

We must thank Sri J. C. Bagal for crowning his pile of valuable and highly accurate books on the history of the men and movements of New India and the noble colleges of this province, with a biography of such a patriot written in so clear and readable style. The world can now see his stature.



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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE GOSPEL OF ISRAEL: *By Duncan Greenlees, M.A. (Oxon). The World Gospel Series, Volume XI. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1955. Pp. cxliv + 377. Price Rs. 7.*

The plan of this monograph follows that of other works in the above valuable series, some of which like *The Gospel of the Guru-Granth Sahib* and *The Gospel of the Pyramids* have been reviewed by us in previous issues of *The Modern Review*. Its main portion (308 pp.) consists of extracts from the Jewish scriptures (claimed by the author to be translated mostly for the first time from the original works written in Hebrew, Greek and other languages) which are accompanied with an excellent synopsis and a running commentary as well as short footnotes. This is prefaced by a Historical Introduction and explanatory notes as well as the usual brief catechism (100 pp. nearly) throwing light upon the fundamental doctrines of the faith. An Appendix (60 pp.) consists of extracts from the Apocrypha and Rabbinic literature with easy cross references for tracing the development of the ideas in the early centuries of the faith. The author's approach to his subject is expressed in the Preface in words which deserve to be quoted here. "The two religions," he says (p. xiv), "which sprang from the Israelite mother, Christianity and Islam, have by material force and effective propaganda drowned their parent's message to the world, changing it to fit their own ideas. The prejudice of centuries, diligently stirred up against the Jews from time to time, has dubbed this glorious religion a tribal cult, blaspheming its noble portrait of the Universal Father with vile caricatures, slandering His people as jingoes because they know themselves called to be His servants, to work and suffer for the universal brotherhood of righteousness on earth." Altogether this is a learned, accurate and comprehensive account of what has rightly been called "The Gospel of Suffering" "because running through the Jewish Bible, as through the long history of its people, we can trace the scarlet thread of pain" (p. xv) and it fully sustains the noble ideal of this series which is based on the conviction "that all the great Religions and their Scriptures come from one Divine Source, in varying degrees of purity of transmission." A good index and a valuable bibliography bring this volume to a close.

U. N. GHOSHAL

SELECTIONS FROM THE NAGPUR RESIDENCY RECORDS, Vol. IV, 1818-40: *By Dr. Harnarayan Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Nagpur Mahavidyalaya. Published by the Government of Madhya Pradesh. 1954. Pp. 24 + 592.*

Thanks to the liberality of the Madhya Pradesh Government, the fourth volume of the Nagpur Residency Records covering the period from 1818 to 1830 has been brought to light. The bulk of these letters relate to 1818-19 A.D., with, of course, a sprinkling of letters from 1821-1830 in the different sections. The letters of 1831-39 would not exceed more than half a dozen. A separate section entitled *Confidential Newsletters of 1840* covers the last hundred pages (459-560) but they deal with the External Affairs and have hardly any connexion with the Nagpur Government. Their incorporation into this volume is a matter which the reviewer fails to understand.

The first three sections deal exclusively with Nagpur affairs: (*i*) State of Bhonsla dominion after the third Maratha war, (*ii*) State of Bhonsla dominion under the British administration, (*iii*) Appa Saheb's doings after 1818. Most of the correspondence in Sections 2 and 3 deal with a resistance movement led principally by the Gond chiefs against the British power, the romantic escape of Appa Saheb, his wanderings across the country to Bikaner and then to Lahore and the account of two Bengalis, one named Ramratan Babu of Vrindaban, arrested on suspicion of his secret dealings with Rao Ganga Singh, agent of the Bhonsla Raja, Appa Saheb (pp. 339-340) and their being set at liberty. A very interesting letter in Section II, refers to Captain Fell's attempt to copy and decipher the ancient epigraphs in the Chhatisgarh district, 217-19. Section III throws new light on British attempts at pacification of the conquered territories. An *arzi* (statement) made by Raghunath Ingle, Subahdar of Jubbulpore, about certain taxes current under the defunct Hindu Raj merits attention. The taxes are as follows:

1. "All persons of the caste Koormi and Lodhi wishing to marry a second time, to pay a sum proportionate to their circumstances and means, to the State for its sanction to their second marriage."
2. "All persons betrothing, but not performing their contract to pay a fine to the State proportioned to their means of payment."
3. "All persons intriguing with the wives of others or quarrelling or exciting quarrels on account of women, to be fined."

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4. "The effects, etc., of all persons, dying without issue or heirs, belong to the State."

5. "The fourth of the purchase money of all houses sold, to be paid into the treasury."

6. "All lands not held by any individual or to which no rights or title can be substantiated by any person belong to the State."

7. "All widows to be sold and the purchase money to be paid into the treasury."

8. "All persons selling their daughters to pay one-fourth of the purchase-money to the State." (*Vide* p. 27 of this volume.)

Four other Sections deal respectively with the Pindaris, Peshwa's affairs, Sindhia's affairs and Confidential News-letters already referred to.

As regards the standard of editing, the attention of the reader is drawn to certain features from which he will form his own conclusions.

(a) *The lacunae in many letters are so numerous,* from pp. 305 to 335 that whole *passages remain obscure in meaning*. The editor writes in the summary to letter No. 32, p. 316, and again on page 320, as follows: "Many passages of the letter and proclamation are blurred and cannot be read and hence blanks have been left to indicate these." The reader might well ask, "Why print blank letters?"

(b) *The printed summaries cover sometimes a complete page,* pp. 70-71, 377, 400.

(c) (*i*) *There are sentences in the body of letters which are very difficult to follow*: For instance, p. 283, "I also detached a party of infantry to Ramgarh with orders to move upon *any point they might ruin of him,*"

(*ii*) "This affords a faint hope that he may be apprehended on that intelligence, may be obtained of the fugitives by a detachment, etc." (p. 285).

(*iii*) "*Dillern Raja,* the only Gond entitled to that appellation, was on the cession of the valley the first to come *into* me, etc." (p. 291).

(*iv*) "I have desired Lt.-Col. Popham to reinforce Capt. Cruickshank to *kive him* a disposable force to act against the Gonds." (p. 313).

(*v*) "That in five trips he brought into the hills not less than five or six hundred *alturs* to flock to Appa Saheb's standard." (p. 315).

(*vi*) "The Hirkara were (should be 'was') proceeding . . . and met at Lartnic by Gondee." See also p. 310. "with a view to *receive* the apprehension and suspicion," pp. 291-2, "in the *valley and joining* (adjoining) the hills."

(d) Proper names are spelt variously, throwing the reader into confusion. For instance,

Rajaji on page 316, Rajojee (p. 312), Ragojee (p. 306).

Seetoo on page 318, Cheetoo (p. 312), Seeto (p. 306).

Likietoolie on page 314, Lokur Tullaie on the same page.

(e) Such sentences as the following in the editorial notes perplex the reader:

(*i*) "Capt. Jones has a skirmish *within party* of Hindusthanees and Arabs, following the Raja." (p. 313).

(*ii*) "What policies and methods should be adopted for running the administration of the districts and province . . . . the management of Raja's household . . . and many other similar matters of Government are suggested." (p. 142).

This is stiff and ponderous English.

(*iii*) "He had been negotiating with Jaswant Rao to give up Appa Saheb and failing that *had* proclaimed him a traitor and public enemy." (p. 320).

(iv) What is meant by "Wars has an claim" (summary on page 237). In the editorial note page 217, Captain Fell is described as Secretary the Hindu College, Benares, and of the General Committee of Public Instruction. But in the annexure the letter, p. 218, H. H. Wilson is mentioned Secretary to the General Education Committee Calcutta.

(f) No uniformity in spelling is maintained even in the editorial notes, *e.g.,* on page 189, Kamptee written in the second line; and on the same page 'Komptah.' Punctuation marks are not adhered and sometimes wrongly put, *e.g.,* "Capt. Fell, Secretary, to the Hindu College." Place-names are not identified. This could easily have been done, *e.g.,*

Page 20 Bhautkoli—Bhatkuli, 10 miles from Amraoti.

Page 150 Puteera (summary to L. No. 79)—probably Pitihra, Sagar district.

Page 153 Bordehi (summary to L. No. 81)—Bordihi, Betul district.

Page 15 Babye—Babai, Narsinghpur district.
Batkurgarh—Batkagarh, Chhindwara dt.

Misprints:

Page 292 Vengence, *should be* Vengeance.

Page 298 designs impute *should be* designs imputed to.

Page 305 ordered him to put to death *should* ordered him to be put to death.

Page 333 on outlaw *should be* an outlaw.

"SUFI"

INDIA: NEW PATTERN: *By Lady Mabel Hartog. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London. Price 12s. 6d.*

The authoress, the late Mabel Hartog, lived in India from 1921 to 1930 when her husband was first the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca and then, a member of the Public Service Commission, Delhi. She revisited India in 1953 on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the All-India Women's Conference. The book under review is among the results of this second visit.

Lady Hartog writes with sympathy. She has a good word or two for everything praiseworthy in India today. Indian life, according to her, is as rich and varied, the Indian scene, as bright and colourful and the Indian people, as warm and generous as before. New India, in her opinion, "which has deliberately chosen the British pattern of democracy, the new India of adult suffrage, high income-tax and estate duty, National Savings Weeks and flag days is closer in spirit and in sympathy with the Britain of today than ever was the India of the past."

The twelve chapters of Lady Hartog's book describe, among others, what Free India is like and the efforts made by her to develop her resources through the Five-Year Plans, to improve the condition of the masses in general and of the backward classes in particular. The attempts to solve the vital problems of food, population and the refugees are referred to sympathetically. The changing pattern of social life does not escape the notice of the authoress. She is not unaware of the valuable contribution made by women to the building up of new India.

The authoress is full of admiration for India's foreign policy which has been defined as "the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major

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power or group of powers, but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue; the liberation of subject-peoples; the maintenance of freedom both national and individual; and the elimination of want, disease and ignorance which afflict the greater part of the world's population." Prime Minister Nehru, the architect of this policy, and the infant Indian Diplomatic Service too have their shares of praise. The former has been rightly described as one of the great figures on the world stage, respected by all for his integrity and high-mindedness, the champion of a renascent Asia."

Lady Hartog, sympathetic as she is, does not, however, mince matters and tells quite a few home-truths, which might not be relished by our neo-patriots. She notes, for example, the deterioration in the standards of administration and the corruption prevailing in many of the Government departments. She, however, believes that "India's greatest safeguard lies in the quality and integrity of her leaders and the mounting force of public opinion." The authoress does not see eye to eye with the zealots who are eager to see English replaced overnight by Hindi and regrets that "while educationists favour a policy of gradualness, politicians wax impatient."

The volume at places reveals how shrewd an observer the late authoress was. She thus points out to the "*undenying* cleavage in the Congress Party itself between those who wish India to develop strictly in accordance with Gandhian principles, and those who, like Nehru, see India's future in large-scale modernisation and scientific progress." She further points out, and rightly at that, that the lower middle class is the new poor class of the Indian society and that the faults for the progressive deterioration in the Indian Universities "are not all on the students' side." Instances may be multiplied.

An admirable volume so rich in information and observation unfortunately makes a few mistakes here and there. Pandit T. N. Kunzru (p. 38) *should be* Pandit H. N. Kunzru. Sindri is not in Bengal as stated by the authoress (p. 50). It is in Bihar. These and similar other mistakes should be corrected in the next edition.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

THE DOGMA OF REINCARNATION (A critical inquiry): *By Sri J. E. Sanjana. Published by New Book Company Ltd., 188-189, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 157. Price Rs. 4.*

This book contains a lengthy monograph and an interesting paper on the ancient doctrine of rebirth. The paper is given as an appendix and named the rationale of the dogma of rebirth. It was read before the Philosophical Society of Bombay in September, 1953. The monograph, which covers the bulk of the book, is a masterly study of this very difficult subject. The erudite author had been seriously thinking about it for about fifty years and before writing this book read nearly a hundred outstanding works on this subject. As many as 83 volumes have been referred to or consulted for this purpose. In 1905 he formulated the doubts about the dogma of reincarnation that had arisen in his mind in the shape of some fifteen questions to believers and got it published in a Guzarati paper. In 1907 he wrote in English a carefully documented essay entitled the Belief in Transmigration and brought it out in the *Kurtosti*. In 1912, he wrote miscellaneous paragraphs in Gujarati in the *Journal of the Iranian Association*. At last he undertook the task of writing this monograph which is the outcome of his life-time research.

The author seems to be very hard upon the Theosophists and exposes their shallowness and silliness about this doctrine. He has quoted many original scriptures to show that reincarnation is a very ancient doctrine. He has tackled the problem from various angles in the pure light of reason and logic. He believes that this doctrine was quite unknown in the Vedic Sanhitas and Brahmanas but makes its first appearance in the Upanishads. In the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, Rishi Yajnavalkya treats it as a secret doctrine not to be given out in a mixed assembly; but only to the fit few. So far so good. But when the author observes that the doctrine is a primitive one and originated among the aborigines we beg to differ from him, since philosophical enquiry did not begin in the primitive society. Whatever that may be, this book bears marks of extensive study and profound thinking and amply repays a perusal. The monograph not being chapterised proves monotonous reading. There should have been at least marginal sub-headings to enhance readability.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

CO-OPERATIVE MANAGEMENT: *By S. T. Mong and Rewi Alley. Published by the Industrial Co-operatives Organising Committee, 9, Bake House Lane, Fort Bombay. Pp. 100. Price Rs. 2.*

Unfortunately co-operative movement has not taken its root much deep in Indian soil as it should. But not so in countries which have forged ahead in struggle for freedom. The examples of Ireland and China are instances to prove that co-operative movement must precede all successful movements for national independence. This book relates to co-operative movement of China and phases of the movement have been described in a thrilling manner. Co-operation—organisation, membership, education and training, planning, production, technical improvement, finance, marketing and supply, rules and regulations, federation, managership, promotional agency and local relationship, all the possible aspects of co-operation—is being successfully experimented in China which is passing through disturbance and unrest for three decades. The present-day China of so-called Communism can only be understood in the light of her co-operative progress in social, economic and political life. The book will be an illuminating study to all co-operators of our country.

AN INTRODUCTION TO MONEY: *By Kasturchand Laluani, M.A. Published by Messrs. A. Mukherjee and Co., 2, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Pp. 141. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The author who had already written several books in Bengali and English, does not claim any originality for the subject-matter or treatment of this book. His attempt is to clarify some aspects of the study of this complicated subject which bewilders a beginner. As a student and also as a teacher of Economics he knows the difficulties of students and teachers alike and the present attempt is to solve these difficulties. Besides the introduction, the book has six chapters, *viz.*, Value

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of Money, Monetary Standard (I & II), Foreign Exchange, Trade Cycle, Future of Monetary Policy; and in each chapter the author has explained the subject-matter in a manner that will be of considerable help to young undergraduate learners. No public man can do any useful service to his country without a clear knowledge of economic problems; and of these problems, the problems of money are the most important because of recent post-war price movements. Besides being useful to students, the book will be of use to general readers.

INSURANCE: Principles and Practice: *By Prof. R. S. Sharma, M.Com. Published by Messrs. Vora and Co., Publishers Ltd., 3, Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay-2. Pp. 400. Price Rs. 6-8.*

Insurance is a subject in which besides the members of the public, the students and the men in the profession are interested equally. In spite of the progress and growth of Insurance in the country the knowledge on the subject is possessed only by a few who have made a special study and it is really astonishing that even professional men, such as agents and organisers, often betray such lack of knowledge as are detrimental to their calling. The author's is an attempt not only to help the students but the would-be insured and the men of the profession of insurance.

The book is divided into six parts—Part I deals with the subject-matter of the book in a general and introductory way, Part II which is divided into nine chapters, deals with various aspects of Life Assurance business, its technicalities, Law and Practice, Part III which is divided into eight chapters, gives not only the history but various types of Marine Insurance including the Phraseology used, Part IV which contains six chapters, gives origin, nature, conditions, rating and re-insurance, etc., of Fire Insurance, and lastly, Part V which again is divided into four chapters gives particulars in short about Motor Insurance, Workmen's Compensation Insurance, Personal Insurance and Miscellaneous Insurance, such as war risk, third party, guarantee, burglary, crop, livestock, rain, baggage and other kinds of social insurances. Part VI gives a short history of Insurance in India and some important sections of the Insurance Act, 1938.

The author has covered a wide area in a small compass and has avoided intricacies and technicalities which might frighten an ordinary reader, but has not sacrificed the essentials he desires to present. We would call this a successful attempt on the part of Prof. Sharma and recommend the volume to all interested in the subject. A good index, a bibliography and short appendices have made the book more useful.

A. B. DUTTA

POEMS OF CHANGE: *By Irene Coates. The Fortune Press, 15 Belgrave Road, London, S.W.I.*

Some of the poems included herein were published in English periodicals and were well received. 'Let not one man' won the English laurel, Pan-European poetry prize, 1950.

There are twenty-four lyrics in all. In certain expressions here and there they remind us of 'changed times' but in their spirit and sentiment they do not revolt against the traditionally accepted standard of poetry. Poems like 'Persephone' and 'Harappa Incident' are likely to be appreciated by all, poetically minded.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

SHELLEY: *By Yatendra Kumar. Published Bharat Prakashan Mandir, Aligarh. Pp. 57 + Price Rs. 2-8.*

A highly commendable achievement, indeed young translator has rendered skilfully into thirty-seven of the well-known shorter poems Shelley—the great romantic English poet—incl his "Ode to Intellectual Beauty," "Liberty," and the Skylark," as well as selections from his l poems like "Revolt of Islam," "Prometheus Unbo "Alastor" and "Adonais." In addition, there biographical sketch of the poet together wit insightful essay on his devoted service to the and on the magic of the spirit and style of his po Shri Yatendra Kumar deserves sincere congratula on opening a window into the wisdom and wond one of the immortals of world literature for Hindi-knowing public.

SANJH: *By Narayan Sinha Bhato. Publishe Pithal Prakashan, Jodhpur. Pp. 93. Price Rs. 2.*

The publishers' present undertaking is pr worthy. They have planned to bring out, under competent editorship of Shri Komal Kothari and Vijaydan Detha, a series of books on modern sthani literature of which the one under review is first. The poet has given, in the true Wordsworth style, in one hundred and fifteen quatrains, a and many-sided description of evening that terious and magical hour of twilight in a villag Rajasthan, in the colourful language of the people in the idiom of their tradition and culture. The inter-action of Man and Nature, both vibrant with pathos, poignancy and poetry of life, is particu striking. The spirit of the original is clearly gracefully expressed in the running Hindi transla *Sanjh* is a poetical work of the first water.

DESH-BHAKT NARTAKI: *By Sayyad K Ali, Sahityalankar. Available from Sushama Sa Mandir, Jawaharganj. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 3.*

This is a historical play, woven round the e of Nadir Shah's invasion of India. It is ful passion for the liberty of the land one lives in loves,—a passion which cannot and should no dimmed by one's loyalty to a particular churc creed. For, "breathes there a man," as Scott "who never to himself said this is my own n land?" *Desh-Bhakta Nartaki* is a sincere and worthy play.

GANDHI AUR SAMYAVADA: *By K lal Mashruwala. Navajivan Prakashan Ma Ahmedabad. Pp. 132. Price Re. 1-4.*

A penetrating survey and study of the o objectives of life, individual as well as collectiv represented by the patterns of conviction and duct, respectively, called Gandhism and Commu The difference between the two is as great as i difference between the sword and the spirit as and substantive basis for the creation and co dation of human society and civilization. The mate victory of the spirit, however delayed it be by man's cultivated impervious insensitivity the vision and ways of the spirit, however, is Shri Vinobaji's introduction to the book is, as is with whatever he writes or says, illuminating.

G.

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GUJARATI

(1) PUNARJANMA : *By Sane Guruji. Translated by Jayant Parmar. Published by the Bharati Sahitya Sangh, Ahmedabad. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 196. Price Rs. 3.*

(2) ASTIK : *By Sane Guruji. Published by the Bharatiya Sahitya Sangh, Ahmedabad. 1951. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 199. Price Rs. 3.*

Both are Sane Guruji's books written while in jail at Nasik in 1933. They are of superior order and have been very well translated by Shri Jayant Parmar, who has, so to speak, entered into the spirit of the original and reproduced it in his own works. The first depicts a domestic tragedy, a meek wife and libertine husband, reconciled through a common friend, whose intentions did not go without suspicion. The second novel is taken up with personalities on the higher spheres, where Brahma and other divinities figure, and the triangle of Astik Bhagavan, Janmejaya and Vatsala concludes a tragedy which but for Astik Bhagwan would have enveloped the whole world, as Janmejaya had started on a *jajna* where the whole of the serpent world Nagloke was to be sacrificed. That legend has been taken as a background to this story.

PRATYUSH : *By Jashbhai K. Patel. Published by the Charutar Prakashan, Anand. 1950. Thick card-board. Pp. 102. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This collection of about eighty pieces of poetry is conceived on a high poetical level. Some of them are inspired by what the poet read, some by what he saw, and observed and some purely by the spirit of *Bhakti* (Devotion). In them lies a promise of something higher and more poetic coming out in future.

PRAVASH DARSHAN : *By Tarachandra P. Adalja, Baroda. Published by the Baroda Rajya Pustakalaya Mandal, Baroda. 1951. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-baord. Pp. 218. Price Rs. 2-4.*

Shri Adalja is a known writer. He happened to visit Kashmir, North India, Abu, Rishikesh, Delhi, etc., and has set down his own observations and impressions of those places. As a rule such observations are always interesting and informative, as they partake of personal narratives.

ARYA-ADITYA CHAKRABARTI BAPPA RAVAL : *By the late Narayan Vasanji Thakkur. Published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay-1. 1951. Thin paper cover. Pp. 210. Price Rs. 4.*

As usual, the old well-known weekly *Gujarati* has presented this book to its readers as the 68th Annual Gift. Bappa Raval of Mewad needs no introduction to students of Indian history. He was on the throne of the Sisodias and upheld their name and fame in every respect. A great protagonist of Hindu religion, he found the famous Shiva Temple of Eklingji in Rajasthan and in that capacity defeated Muslim invaders of his time. The novel is written in the usual racy style of the late writer and bound to become popular.

K. M. J.

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ADVAITA ASHRAMA

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Vedantic Cultivation in 'The Waste Land'

V. A. Thiagarajan writes in *The Vedanta Kesari* :

The poetry of T. S. Eliot is of vital significance to our troubled times. In his own personality, Eliot represents a veritable league of Nations. Thomas Stearns Eliot, born of New England protestants, many of whom had held the office of the elders of the church, had received as his intellectual heritage that faith that removes mountains. But he was born in a questioning age and no one can escape the spirit of his age. This spirit of enquiry took him as an adventurer through time and space, through the Universities of America, France, Germany and England and made him the heir to the wisdom of all the ages.

That is why, as one Indian writer puts it, Eliot is among the Arjunas of the Age, valiantly fighting with the conflicting tendencies of an acquisitive or of a materialistic civilization, battling for the sublimation and the ennoblement of life. Perhaps we cannot do better than follow the line of his thought, as suggested in his famliar poem, 'THE WASTE LAND.'

The title of the poem is suggested from a book by Miss Jessie Weston, entitled 'From Ritual to Romance.' The book is of anthropological significance, and points out how romance arises out of rituals which represent man's sympathetic magic. There is a parallel instance found in one of the Hindu epics.

In the Ramayana we are told that when once the land suffered from drouth, the king was told that the fertilizing showers would descend on the land if the king's daughter were to be given in marriage to the sage Rishyasringa. This fertility rite thus represents man's sympathetic magic of fertilizing barren soil, water being in the language of Psychology, the symbol of life itself. The waste land that Eliot represents is the arid desert, the mind of the modern man. The waste land is therefore no particular spot on earth, it is rather like Butler's Erewhon, not a no-where, but everywhere. The waste land is the mind of the modern man in any modern city. It lives waste, so long as he does not go in quest of his own soul.

Excitement, dissipation, the rush and turmoil of life, may overload life, like the litter of broken bits of paper or like the refuse which the dustman carts away. It may make us drown uneasy questionings, but in itself it is no subsitute for life. It is as though one should read the columns of a newspaper from one column to another in a straight line, without going deeper into the significance of any particular column.

If modern life is to be redeemed from the chaos of our impulses, where shall we seek that wisdom which brings us unutterable peace? Wherefrom shall the fertilizing stream descend to redeem life from decay? The poet finds in the fire sermon of the Lord Buddha an apt symbol of life wasting away like a forest on fire consumed by the passions, objects of sense-enjoyment. The Buddha said that his doctrine would quench that fire which consumed life, like quenching a forest fire. While Eliot accepts the si he seeks for light in the wisdom of the Upanishad that part of his poem, WHAT THE THUNDER SAID, W the Lord speaks with the voice of thunder, as in Book of Job all doubt is at an end. But the thu speaks here, not to convince man of his error, bu illumine his soul. It is said in the Brihadaran Upanished that gods, men and the demons, all de dants of *Prajapati*, lived with him for a time students. Prajapati taught them only the syllable 'D then he asked them to explain what they had unders The gods, who lead a life of unrestrained enjoym completed the sound they heard by saying that meant '*Damayata*' or 'Be self-controlled.' The men the other hand, said that it meant '*Datta*' or 'Be c table,' for the simple reason that men are the victim an aggressive acquisitive instinct, and are lacking conspicuously in the sense of charity. The demons the nether world, violent and aggressive by nat felt in turn that they were asked to cultivate which they most lacked. So the imperative must been, '*Dayadhwam*.' 'Be compassionate.'

To all of them, Prajapati said, 'You have un stood.'

The storm-cloud thunders: 'Da! Da! Da!- self-controlled! Be charitable! Be compassionate!'

Eliot wants to point out that just as the peal thunder is the precursor of the coming rain, so als what the thunder said should become ingrained human nature, and if man, who is the meeting gro of the gods and the demons alike, should cultivate himself the triune virtues of self-restraint, charity, compassion, he can redeem life from becoming a st place where the hollow men go round and round prickly pear at five o'clock in the morning. The is at once an exhortation and a challenge. The England puritan preachers must have preached Hell their congregation, as the simplest way of driving t towards Heavens; Eliot, who is their descend points out to us the Inferno in which we live, and sires that we should work against this Infe so that we may rebuild the Paradise of our shatte hopes and ideals. His poetry is a clarion call to kind. It is not altogether written in despair, for tragic view of life which it takes is only an int evaluation of life. He shares our hopes and fears makes us participants in the quest of the ages. the poet's vision always shine before us.

Shakespearean Plays in Indian Languages

Professor C. R. Shah writes in *The Path* :

Of the thirty-seven plays of Shakespeare twenty have been either translated or adapted into Ind languages. The plays which have been adapted int large number of Indian languages are: *The Merc*

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Venice, Cymbeline, Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet, Othello d *Macbeth*. A tragedy has a greater appeal to the dian audience than a comedy. And yet two early medies of Shakespeare—*The Comedy of Errors* and *he Taming of the Shrew*—have been adapted in arious languages. There are some six stage versions f *The Comedy of Errors*: *Jodiya Bhaiyo* (Twin Brothers), in Parsi Cujarati, written and produced by . R. Ranina in Bombay (1865); *Bhul-Bhulaiya*, in rdu, by Feroz Shah Khan (1896); *Rama Ratan*, in ujarati, by N. K. Vaidya (1903); *Gorakh-Dhandha*, n Hindi, by Narayan Betab (1912) and one or two rose versions in Marathi, not written for the stage.

The Taming of the Shrew achieved great success on e Marathi stage. Its theme, the beating up of a rewish wife to teach her good manners, seems to have ad a general appeal in India, where such a practice not uncommon. There are three popular versions of is play in Marathi: *Tratika* by V. B. Kelkar of oona (1892); *Chaudaven Ratna* (with several songs terspersed in the text) and *Karkasha Damana*.

There are some prose versions of Shakespeare's ays in Marathi which make good reading but are not uite suitable for the theatre: *Venice Nagarcha Vyapari* The Merchant of Venice), by K. B. Bulsara (1910); *haturgadchya Vinodi Striya* (The Merry Wives of indsor); *Premagumpha* (As You Like It), by V. S. atwardhan; *Sumati Vijaya* (Measure for Measure) by N. Apte (1911); *Pranaya-Mudra* (The Merchant of enice) by V. S. Gurjar (1914); *Tuphan* (The Tempest) K. B. Bulsara (1903); *Premacha Kalasa* (Romeo d Juliet) by K. B. Bulsara (1908); *Vikara Vilasita* Hamlet) by G. G. Agarkar (1883); *Ajit Sinh* Othello) by Kolhatkar; *Manaji Rao* (Macbeth) by M. Paranjpe (1896); and *Saudagar* (The Merchant Venice) by M. Agashe.

Urdu adaptations of Shakespeare's plays appeared the Indian stage and achieved remarkable success etween the years 1890 and 1910. These Urdu versions ere very free and at times crude renderings of hakespeare's text. At the performances of these rdu plays, the programmes which were sold in the eatre for two or three annas were printed in Gujarati ript and gave the cast, the synopsis of the action of e play, scene by scene, and the full text of the songs ith the names of the persons who sang them. Some the popular Urdu versions are: *Dil-Farosha* (The erchant of Venice) and *Shahid-e-naz* (Measure for easure), by Aga Hashra Kashmiri (1900); *Mitha-ahar* (Cymbeline) by Munshi Mustafa Saidalli (1900); *arid-e-Shak* (The Winter's Tale) by Munshi Hassan 898); *Bazm-e-fani* (Romeo and Juliet) by Meher ssan; *Zahari Samp* (Hamlet), *Shahid-e-vafa* (Othello) Munshi Meher Hassan (1898); *Har-Jit* (King Lear) Munshi Muradalli (1905); *Khun-e-nahak* (Hamlet) Munshi Mhradalli (1905): *Khun-e-nahak* (Hamlet) Cleopatra), 1906.

Shakespearean plays in Gujarati appeared somewhat er on the Bombay stage. The box-office draw of the rdu versions was probably their main inspiration. Not like the Urdu plays, the Gujarati versions, too, are y free and at times travesties of the original plays: *ma-Ratan* (The Comedy of Errors) by N. K. Vaidya 03); *Jagat-Sinh* (1904) and *Vibudh-Vijaya* (The rchant of Venice); *Chandrahas* (The Winter's Tale) V. A. Oza (1894) and *Champraj Hando* (Cymbeline) V. A. Ozn (1900); *Saubhag-Sundari* (Othello), *undhara* or *Bedhari Talwar* (Macbeth) by N. V. kkur (1910).

There are very few literal translations of kespeare's plays into Gujarati. A few years ago Mrs. Hansa Mehta wrote a good prose version of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

This craze for Shakespearean drama on the Bombay stage was not, however, due to any special regard for Shakespeare's poetry or his dramatic genius. The Indian dramatist chose these plays because they provided a good story with a few romantic and thrilling situations. There seems to have been much in common between the taste of the Elizabethan groundlings, who flocked to the public theatres in London in Shakespeare's time, and the taste of the cosmopolitan crowd who patronized the Bombay stage about the beginning of the present century. Shakespeare's plays provided plenty of spectacles, swift-moving action, noise, scenes of blood-shed, music and song, and dialogue in artificial and rhythmic language. All that and much more was given to the Indian playgoers in these vernacular versions.

The Indian playwrights who were induced to take liberties with Shakespeare's text were, sometimes, perturbed and apologetic for having tampered with the orginal. Indian people love music and song on the stage, and so each of the versions of Shakespeare's plays had introduced into it a large number of songs, sometimes as many as forty. The dramatic tradition of ancient India did not encourage pure tragedy in the theatre; consequently the tragedies of Shakespeare had to be changed considerably in order to give them happy endings. Each one of these plays was also given a sub-plot usually of cheap comedy quite detached from the main theme. The action of the sub-plot was mostly modern in atmosphere and local in its setting; it dealt with a situation which enabled the dramatist to satirize the new-fangled ideas of fashion and social behaviour in the rich and educated classes.

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There are a few good prose versions of Shakespeare's plays in Bengali but they were not produced on the stage: *Hamlet* (with the same title) by Hari Raj; *Macbeth* (with the same title) by Girish Chandra Ghosh; *Romeo and Juliet* (a true version) by Hemchandra Banerjee; *Bhranti* (The Comedy of Errors), *Nalini-Basanta* (The Tempest).

In the preface to his version of *Romeo and Juliet* Hemchandra Banerjee, with his characteristic modesty, writes that his work is but a shadow of Shakespeare's great play, and not a literal translation, because the literal translation of an English poetic play into Bengali would sound harsh to Bengali ears. These earlier Bengali writers, brought up in the Victorian tradition, show an unbounded respect for Shakespeare. Hemchandra Banerjee in his preface further writes: "Kalidasa is for India, but thou art for the world."

Of Hindi versions and translations there is little to be said of special interest. Shri Lala Sitaram wrote several Hindi translations of Shakesparere's plays in simple prose and obviously they were not meant for stage presentation. In 1915 in the prefece to one of these plays he wrote: "I propose to publish Hindi versions of all thirty-seven plays of Shakespeare." But only ten of these Hindi versions have appeared so far.

Two versions of Shakespearean plays, already mentioned, one in Urdu and the other in Gujarati, which were extremely popular on the Bombay stage are: *Zahari Samp* (Hamlet) and *Vasundhara* or *Bedhari Talwar* (Macbeth).

The hero of the first play, Naharsinh (Prince Hamlet), in voluntary exile, is the leader of a gang of reckless, dashing outlaws discontented with the regime of the usurping Nawab Bakar (Claudius). Bakar has treacherously killed his master, the real Nawab (Naharsinh's father) and has possessed himself of the kingdom. Naharsinh knows about Bakar's crime and he is brooding on revenge. In the Indian version Naharsinh has a younger brother, Salim, who is ignorant of Bakar's crime and serves as a faithful treasurer to the murderer of his father. He is married to the daughter (a poor substitute for Ophelia) of Shariff, one of Bakar's accomplices in the murder. Naharsinh finds in Akbar (Horatio) an old faithful servant of the old Nawab, a friend and counsellor in his plan for revenge. There are several characters added and each young man is paired off with a young lady. The ghost of Hamlet's father has no place in the Indian version. Ophelia has a small romantic part in the play and sings a few songs. Gertrude, too, has lost her queenly dignity and her maternal concern over her mad son. There is neither Polonius with his tedious rigmarole nor the grave-diggers in the churchyard with their witty dialogue. Even Hamlet's madness (real or feigned) is left out in the Urdu play. The play opens with a scene in the cemetery with Naharsinh holding a skull in his hand (evidently that of his dead father) and brooding on revenge in a long monologue full of sound and fury. The scenes of the main plot are, as usual, alternated with scenes of the comic interlude, which has nothing to do with the main theme. Here, we have a typical adaptation of a Shakespearean play, an almost unrecognizable version of Shakespeare's great tragedy.

The other specimen mentioned one can justifiably describe as a good version of *Macbeth*. This Gujarati play is named *Vasundhara* (Lady Macbeth) and its subtitle (The Double-edged Sword) is obviously meant to point a moral. The writer of this play wa literary artist who had written several historical no in Gujarati. The play opens with a magnificent sc —the camp of Minketu (Macbeth), who has achi a great victory over the neighbouring chief Jayadhw The defeated enemy, heavily chained, is dragged Minketu's presence. Minketu boasts loudly of achievements and humiliates his victim with a st of insults, hurled at him in an arrogant manner. captive chief, like a defiant, caged tiger, still bares teeth at the conqueror and taunts him by sa that, in spite of his boasted valour, he is onl dependent, a mere slave of the old king, Agnim (King Duncan); that Minketu is no ruler, like him for all his splendour and arrogance. Stirred to depths by these stinging words, Minketu kills captive chief in a fit of wild rage. But the te sets him thinking and he broods in anguish over means to achieve the crown. Vasundhara (L Macbeth), too, has heard the chief's words and reminds him of them again and again till he is drive action.

This is a remarkably good dramatic opening to story of Minketu's murder and usurpation, much m convincing than the opening scenes of Shakespea *Macbeth*. The crude supernatural does not norm appeal to the Indian people and hence the w business of the three witches is dropped. A n character, Yakoob, Minketu's accomplice in the mur is added, who, later on, becomes converted to vir This innovation provides a skilful dramatic situa which is reminiscent of Hubert in *King John*. Yak becomes, later in the play, an avenging spirit, a plaus substitute for the element of fatality in Shakespe weird sisters. Banquo and Macduff are rolled into character, Vasantsinh. Macbeth has a daugh Meenakshi, a spirited young woman, who is in love w Virkant (Malcolm), and she helps her young lover escape from the clutches of his formidable enemy, own father. Here we have the conflict, so typical of English Restoration tragedies, between love, on the hand, and filial duty, on the other. The sleepwalk scene is given great prominence in the Indian play, w probably accounts for its title. The men in the p are provided with ladies to achieve plenty of interest, quite necessary on the Indian stage. H too, we have the comic sub-plot which is ent detached from the main theme. The scenes of com are sandwiched in from time to time with an u disregard for dramatic consideration, to satisfy popular demand for comic relief. The comic inter deals with the matrimonial adventures of a mid aged, brifless barrister, his young mischievous co an elderly rich spinster who desires a young fashionable husband, and a pretty young widow, a seventeen. The characters belong to the fashion world of modern Bombay and move in an atmosphere pure farce. Their foolish activities give rise to sh and biting satire, from the orthodox point of view late marriage, on widow remarriage and also on follies of gentlemen returned from England with t pipes, their poverty and their hankering after Eng ways of living. And we have, here, as is usual in Indian play, songs and dances which serve no dram purpose.

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The Church and Foreign Personnel

Rev. R. M. Bennett writes in the *National Christian Council Review*:

I would like to see where we are going as 'foreign missionaries,' at least in general direction, and what is our place in the set-up of the Church in India. That is my primary concern. 'Where there is no vision the people perish' is just as applicable to the foreign missionary as to any other category of the human race. Indeed it is even more applicable, since the missionary, more than anyone else, must be an enthusiast.

Foreigners and Nationalism

To begin with I ask myself whether the missionary from abroad has indeed a place in the new India. We live in a new age, and with the outgoing of the old age went many fine things as well as many of doubtful value. But long before Independence came to India, say some thirty years before the old time, 'pioneer type' of missionary left these shores, or passed on the Glory. In the main over the last twenty-five years the missionary forces in India from abroad have been more ready to hand over what little authority they have possessed than the Indian Church has been willing to receive. There is a great difference between being in a place of leadership and possessing authority (whatever that greatly over-used word may mean). It was often true of the missionary from abroad that he was more expectant of national independence than was his national collegue. There were, of course, splendid exceptions within the Indian Church and many less admirable within the missionary group.

But for all this, do we fit into the New India? Personally I am an enthusiastic 'nationalist' both as a Canadian in Canada and for India while I am here. Being a Canadian and living in a country that is dominated by a giant of a neighbour, I appreciate what it is to have the best intentioned visitors come and then forget to go home. We have too many examples of that in our own Canadian business world of nice people who come, and do not become citizens, but by virtue of their position dominate their immediate situation. We try to be polite, and usually we are, but most of us very much disapprove and resent the situation which allows foreign capital to maintain its hirelings in situations which Canadians could handle just as well. Could it be that as a non-Indian missionary I myself am in the same position of being the target of the resentment (although politely veiled) of the people amongst whom I came to work? I can be genuinely sympathetic with that stoutly nationalist view that wants to see the Indian Church truly Indian, and if my presence here is an obstruction to true nationalization of the Church, then it were better that I went home. Were my Indian colleagues as a people able to conceive of us as colleagues and our position one purely of spiritual partnership, whatever our particular branch of service, perhaps I could see my place better. As it is, as long as I have to administer money, or be in a place where my 'authority' is the deciding point, then I begin to wonder whether my presence here in India is more of a hindrance than a blessing.

Government Policy

Nor can we expect that the Government of India will continue to be happy about the presence of a large number of foreign missionaries. Religious freedom, religious tolerance and the right to propagate our religion to others has been guaranteed in the Constitution of India. We are proud of that clause. It means that the Christian sadhu who is holding a meeting a hundred yards away from where I am writing will have the law of the land behind him when he preaches—at least the law will say he has the right to preach in the way he is doing. But the Government of India may quite rightly insist that that clause is primarily applicable as a right to Indians, and as a privilege to non-Indians. One official not long ago in talking about this matter said, 'If Christians in India want to evangelise this country, that is their right under the Constitution, but let this be done by Indians, not by foreigners'.

There is quite a mass of evidence to show that the Government does not intend to go on for ever admitting non-Indian missionaries, *e.g.*, the new regulations being framed in regard to Commonwealth missionaries, the difficulties of non-Commonwealth missionary societies to secure *visas* for their missionaries, the continued cutting down of missionary numbers in places like Assam, Kashmir and Agency or Hill Tribe Areas, regardless of national origins. Where sections of the country are disturbed, or the area is of strategic military importance, as in Kashmir, this is understandable. In some other areas, however, where some missionaries from abroad have been refused re-admission or permission to enter, the reasons, if ever given, are particularly unconvincing except to anyone who is anxious to attribute doubtful motives to the Christian cause. In some other places, particularly in 'tribal areas' one cannot help but wonder if effectiveness is one's mission is not the criterion in determining that the bar be lowered.

The evidence adds up to the fact that as a group of missionaries from abroad our days in India are numbered. We may wish to think otherwise, but in this writer's opinion the sooner we face up to it the better for us all whether in the sending countries or in India.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Peace Atom Has Bright Future

Geneva.—The United Nations International Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy has ended on a note of gratification with what has already been achieved. It has been called the greatest scientific conference in history and is regarded by observers as the most successful ever held.

In his final address at the two-week Atoms-for-Peace Conference, the President, Dr. Homi J. Bhabha of India, said the meeting had succeeded beyond all hopes and expectations.

Paying a tribute to President Eisenhower for proposing the conference in an address before the United Nations two and a half years ago, Dr. Bhabha also noted the President expressed the hope during the conference that another such meeting will be held at a later date to discuss interim progress.

The final session also was marked by a discussion on general aspects of world co-operation in the field of atoms for peace in which the United States and the Soviet Union were principal speakers. For America, Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) member Dr. Willard F. Libby reported on the wide-ranging programme for international co-operation in atoms-for-peace that the United States has undertaken and on plans for expanding it.

Soviet Plans

Prof. A. N. Lavrishchev spoke on Soviet plans for aid to seven Soviet bloc countries in the nuclear field. He added that Moscow is prepared to consider expanding this assistance to non-Soviet bloc nations.

While the conference did not produce specific resolutions, declarations, or formal recommendations, there were during the past two weeks some general results that have been stated—without significant challenge—so often that they can safely be said to be conclusions. Among them are:

1. Fusion power is the next major frontier for atomic scientists. While spokesmen for three major atomic powers, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and the United States, declined to commit themselves on when atomic fusion would become practicable as a source of energy for power, they acknowledged that their countries were working on the problem. Meanwhile others guardedly estimated that it might come within 20 years. Scientists here generally agreed that the problem of harnessing the H-bomb principle for peaceful purposes was largely an engineering challenge. They expressed faith that the engineers will solve the problem just as they did the problems of converting atomic fission into power for peace. In fact, the 20-year estimate to which many responsible scientists subscribe is based on the time it took nuclear physicists and engineers to put the atom bomb principle to work in reactors—about 13 years.

2. The major immediate benefits of the atomic era for mankind will be found in the extensive and ever-increasing use of radioactive isotopes in fields of medicine, agriculture and industry. It is generally agreed that plant mutations which can be induced by radiation with inexpensive isotopes—and, possibly, with radioactive wastes from reactors—might well prov the answer to man's need for larger food supplies keep up with the world's growing population.

3. The conference made available to all wo scientists an impressive proportion of new informa in the field of atomic science. These findings, hith not made public were included in the more than 1 papers presented to the conference. This, combi with the opportunity the conference gave to scien to exchange ideas and compare data, and to chart paths of nuclear research prompted the French H Commissioner for Atomic Energy, M. Francis Perr to comment that this conference marks the end of secrecy in the field of atomic energy. He predicted t the veil of secrecy can never be reimposed on atom scientists.

4. There was general agreement among scient engaged in atomic research that they have all achie roughly the same results, though they sometimes us different methods. The conference, by giving scient an opportunity to compare results based on vary methods of research, enabled them to reduce substa tially the degree of error in some findings.

5. While the world is on the threshold of atomic power era, nuclear power plants are not goi to sprout all over the world immediately. The peri of further experimentation to settle upon the m efficient reactor system and to fully master technolo of materials and reactors is generally estimated about five years.

The United Kingdom, the United States and Fran told the conference that widespread export of pow reactors to industrially less developed areas will n come for at least five years, partly because of the ne for further experimentation and partly because mo technicians and scientists must be trained in the oper tion and control of the intricate machines. The thr Western nations and the Soviet Union announced, how ever, that they have large-scale domestic power dev lopment plans.

There is ample fuel in the earth to mount a worl wide power development programme when react techniques have been completely mastered. Scientis learned here of vast new discoveries of uranium dep sits and were told that the cheaper and more abu dant thorium might replace uranium ultimately as r actor fuel.

7. Dangerous reactor radiation is veing effe tively controlled and hazards should not be great power development programmes are well manage However, a note of caution was offered by geneticis at the conference who pointed out that little yet known about the genetic effects of even minu doses of radiation on humans. The geneticists call for a concentrated effort to fully examine this prob lem.

Other conference highlights were:

(a) Establishment by the Ford Motor Compan of a $1,000,000 fund from which ten annual awar will be made to groups or individuals making th greatest contribution to harnessing the atom for peace ful uses.

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(b) The United States announcement that it would sell normal uranium and heavy water at cost prices and that it would lease enriched uranium. U.S. Delegation Chairman Lewis L. Strauss made it clear to the conference that fuel would be made available to countries with practical atomic research programmes.

(c) The seven technical exhibits—offered by the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Canada and the Scandinavian countries. The most popular of these exhibits was the full-scale "swimming pool" research reactor installed by the United States in a special building on the grounds of the Palais des Nations and transferred at the end of the conference, to the Swiss Government. The reactor, part of the U.S. technical exhibit, attracted 65,332 visitors in the two weeks the conference lasted. The main U.S. technical exhibit was seen by 32,000 visitors.

The conference heard 451 scientific papers, out of more than 1 000 accepted for publication in the official record of the conference.

The 73 nations which participated in this largest of all scientific conferences sent 1,400 official delegates and 800 observers.—*American Reporter*, August 31, 1955.

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1955 : Big Year of Decision for TV

Henry Cassirer writes in *The Unesco Courier*, No. 6, 1955 :

The spread of television throughout the world has been phenomenal. Today there are some 60 "television countries." Of these no fewer than 38 are operating regular or experimental television services, and another 20 are planning to introduce them, or taking proctical steps toward that end.

Television can carry a visual image across the North American continent and can bring programmes from London to Rome or from Copenhagen to Paris. The viewer can be "on the spot" for an event taking place hundreds of miles away. In Morocco and the Philippines, in Japan and the Soviet Union, on the American continent from Alaska in the far north to Argentina in the south, television is opening up new fields.

In what directions is this enormous expansion of television leading? A survey made by Unesco in February 1955 (1) shows that the power of attraction intrinsic in TV is so great that sooner or later every modern State contemplates its introduction. Although obstacles may exist, such as lack of economic resources, industrial under-development, mountain ranges, vast distances and dispersed populations, nevertheless the slogan "we must have television !,' can be heard from the Chilean Andes to the deserts of Iraq and from the mountains of Yugoslavia to the plains of India. If in Costa Rica or Egypt, or in Portugal or Australia, television may not yet be here today, present plans indicate that it will certainly come tomorrow.

Television is part and parcel of the modern world and those who still believe that can close their eyes to it are liable to find themselves overtaken by developments. They may ignore television but it is sure that television will not ignore their countries. This is not to say that television must necessarily be welcomed. Its influence can be benefical and it can be the reverse. The pertinent question in most countries today is not whether to have television but to what purpose and to what extent. The issue is, therefore: on what lines will television develop and what will be its impact.

Closer examination of today's world television picture suggests that 1955 will be the "year of television," for many countries hitherto on the fringe of its development. To use a military term for a medium which can vitally contribute to peace, the "infra-structure," that is the network of transmitters and relay systems, has made great strides during 1954.

In Europe, the number of stations increased from 25 in 1953 to 75 in January 1955 while for the first time eight European countries (2) were joined by temporary relay facilities which are now gradually being turned into permanent links. The German Federal Republic is covered by a network from Hamburg to Munich; Italy's television extends from the northern frontier to south of Rome at present, and it will cover the entire country, including Sardinia and Sicily, by the end 1956; France, which for years had been marking t with transmitters at Paris and Lille, now has its e eastern region covered, from Metz through Strasb and Lyons right down to Marseilles in the south. M smaller countries are similarly caught up in the t to expand the scope of television by building transmitters and relay links.

The result of this expansion is reflected in the and production of television receivers. Monthly produc in Germany was four times as large at the end of 1 as at the beginning; in Italy, the advance of televi is no longer marked in tens but in hundreds of thous of receivers. This development, of course, falls short of the United States or the United Kingdom, their 35 million and 4 million receivers respecti But the important point is that in many countries, w in 1954 it was still regarded as a questionable no television has "caught on" in 1955, and is now read go forward in "snowballing dimensions" within limitations of national powers of production consumption.

In 1954 receivers in Canada exceeded the mi mark, and it thus became the third country to r this figure after the United States and Great Brit In 1955 a fourth country—the Soviet Union—will added to this list according to present plans for re output.

This year will also be singnificant in another as it will bring to an end the monopoly of non-comme television in Europe, and of commercial television in United States. The first commercial Europen televi station went on the air in 1955 in the quickly followed by statioss in Monte Carlo Luxembourg. This commercial development will its apex in September 1955 with the inaugu of telecasting by the Independent Television Auth in England. In the United States educati television has to struggle against great fina political and organizational odds. Nevertheless are today already 14 educational stations on air serving a potential audience of 20 million pe and many more are construction.

The stakes in the future of television are so that questions of ownership and organization have rise to bitter controversy. Television was the s of some of the most animated sessions in the Br and French porliaments. It has led to rivalry be Swiss cities and in Belgium between regions. E tional television is a political factor in Washington in every state of the Union. Practically every country touched by television has had its sha conflict.

Why all this heat? Because the pattern whic adopted today will undoubtedly shape the future. sighted men are aware that a control on stations may mean a hold on the eye of the public tomor and that the purposes of television programmes are now better developed will determine the char of telecasting for a long time to come. A race i

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nd it is open to question how the supporters of ducational and cultural television will fare.

If television programming is examined, the first mpression gained is that television can accomplish verything—from spectacular variety shows in the United tates, priced at over $100,000 to simple but effective elecasts for school children in Japan; from full length rama in the United Kingdom to instructional broadasts to French farmers; from classical ballet in the oviet Union to songs and folklore in Venezuela.

UNCANNY POWER OF PERSUASION

There can be no doubt that the social anl cultural onditions in each nation impress themselves upon its levision system. In the United States a competitive conomic system and the federal state structure have ontributed to the rise of hundreds of television stations, ith different patterns of programmes and of ownership hich give viewers in many cities a choice between more han seven different stations.

In the Soviet Union, where not only television but l entertainment media are functions of the state, it an bring to the viewer the latest films, theatre and pera performances, or any public sports event, without egard to legal or contractual restrictions. In Germany, levision faithfully reflects the federal structure of the ederal Republic. Here programmes are originated from greater number of places than in any other country the world.

In France and Britain, on the other hand, television xpresses the centralization of much of the cultural life n the capitals, though the provinces constantly seek assert themselves. While television is mass ducation in Colombia, it's mainly middle class ntertainment in Mexico. There is no rigid and nmutable structure and it can and must be adapted to ational needs and traditions.

With due regard to national differences and the fforts made to enhance educational programming, it emains true to say that television is being developed rimarily as a source of mass entertainment. There is o doubt that this will always remain a fruitful field as much of this entertainment can make a cultural ontribution and bring joy and relaxation to working eople caught in the monotony of modern life. But here is more to television than mere entertainment. Its se for education of children and of adults alike, its ower to make knowledge of science or geography, history r economics visually accessible to the many. Here is field for fruitful exploitation and development.

Television is taking root today in countries where iteracy and utter poverty, ignorance of healthy living nd of modern methods of production, are widespread mong large sections of the people. Advertisers have ng realized television's uncanny power of persuasion nd demonstration. Cannot these same powers serve ndamental education and change our entire approach the problem of informing people in less developed untries on ways to improve their conditions of e? This is a subject, rich in promise, to ich Unesco is now giving particular attention. re is a challenge for constructive forces to bring their fluence to bear upon the future shape of television.

Another trend which has shown significant advance 1954, is the use of television as a link between all tions. International co-operation between stations relay, film, or adaptation of programmes, is gradually coming normal practice. In Europe, individual untries frequently find themselves unable to cope with vast demand for programmes, because television ours money, talent and facilities. Through interational exchange by direct relay, these countries increase their resources and enrich their programmes. Film telecasts flow out from the United States or reach viewers there from foreign countries.

DANGER OF STANDARDIZEND IDEAS

Herein lies both danger and opportunity. The danger is that this most centralized and costly of all communication media will further subject national and regional cultures to the standardization of ideas and tastes of a few world production centres. The opportunity lies in the possibility of hearing and seeing on television the people of another nation and another culture. Here television may serve peace by narrowing the gap between man's public life whose fate is in the hands of world-wide forces, and the circle of his personal experience, which is confined to the narrow range of the individual. World Television in 1955 stands at the threshold.

John R. Mott (1865-1955)

It is with deep regret that we record the death, on January 31st., 1955, of Dr. John R. Mott at the age of eighty-nine, at this home in Orlando, Florida.

At the time of his death Dr. Mott was Chairman Emeritus of the International Missionary Council, an office to which he was appointed in 1942, when he retired from the chairmanship of the Council. Since Dr. Mott was the first chairman of the International Missionary Council, upon its formation in 1921, the whole history of the I.M.C. has been, right down to the present day, under his guidance and inspiration. The depth of the I.M.C.'s obligation to him is therefore something which is almost impossible to put into words.

From his early manhood Dr. Mott accustomed himself to think and act in world terms, in the cause of Christ. To use his own words: 'From 1886, when I had a vision of the world as Christ sees it, I have made every decision in the light of the whole world.' From the very outset he was a passionate advocate of world evangelization, seeking to devise the means by which 'the Christians of this generation are to give every person of this age an opportunity to accept Jesus Christ,' to use his gloss on the slogan: 'The evangelization of the world in this generation.' It began with his decision made while a student at Cornell University, during a mission conducted by the late Sir Kynaston Studd; it received a fitting recognition in the award of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1946.

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Passionate evangelism and a sense of world-need were combined in Dr. Mott, in a degree almost unequalled in any other person of his lifetime, with a feeling for strategy, a gift for organization (with a capacity to use the organizing abilities of others) and an ability to co-operate with and adapt himself to people of other races and communions. He concentrated from his early days on the strategic group of the student class in many countries, through such organizations as the Student Volunteer movement, the Y.M.C.A. and the World's Student Christian Federation, and it is noteworthy how much of his later oecumenical activity, both in regard to personal leadership and to forms of organization, stems from these earlier groups.

In the world missionary conference held at Edinburgh in 1910, of which Mott was the progenitor and chairman, there was realized an idea which had originated in the mind of William Carey and which was to prove, as is now commonly acknowledged, the main source of many of the oecumenical developments of our time. Here, again, was a vision, a sense of timing, a gift for organization combined with a sensitiveness to the movement of the Spirit, which were to prove creative. Out of the Edinburgh conference came not only a world-wide call, but also the continuation committee, the formation of national Christian Councils, a variety of interdenominational missionary projects and finally the formation of the International Missionary Council. Dr. Mott, not only by inspiration, but by ceaseless travel, largely in collaboration with Dr. J. H. Oldham, took the most active part in creating these new bodies.

Dr. Mott presided at the great world meetings at Edinburgh in 1910, Jerusalem in 1928 and Tambaram in 1938; each of these meetings recorded fresh developments in missionary thought, action and outreach. At Amsterdam in 1948 his position was justly recognized in his election as Honorary President of the newly formed World Council of Churches. He lived to see the World Council of Churches firmly established in its second Assembly at Evanston in 1954.

We may epitomize Dr. Mott's efforts in words which he used when he received the Nobel Peace Prize: 'My life might be summed up as earnest and undiscourageable effort to weave together all nations, all religious communions in friendliness, in fellowship and in co-operation.'—*International Review of Missions.*

"Great Books" Play Unique Role in Adult Education

H. B. Garland writes in the *News Feature of USIS*:

A Reporter for the Boston daily newspaper, the *Christian Science Monitor*, recently came across a remarkable scene as he was driving through the farm region of the State of New Hampshire. It was not unusual to see a farmer driving a tractor which cut long furrows in the ground. But the man—while guiding the tractor—was also reading a book.

This figure of the farmer reading a book as he ploughed the field fascinated the reporter from Boston. He stopped his car, got out, and spoke to the man. He discovered that he belonged to a group in his area which was interested in the "Great Books" program. The book he was reading was Plato's "Republic."

The "Great Books" programme, which occupies a unique place in adult education in the United States, includes those books in which much of the world's thought, religion and philosophy have their roots. In the first year of the course one reads works by Plato, Sophocles, Plutarch, Machiavelli, Shakespeare, Mill, Thoreau, Tolstoy and others—altogether 16 books. Readings for the advanced courses include works by Homer, Lao-tse, St. Augustine, Spinoza, Darwin, Dante, Montaigne, Confucius, Kant, Rousseau, Goethe, Melville, Kierkegaard, Nietzche, Freud, Dostoevski and the Bhagavad Gita and the Old and New Testament.

The "Great Books" programme began in France, when an American university professor, John Erskine, headed an American study centre at Dijon during the first World War. For young soldiers whose education had been interrupted by the war, for others whom participation in war had made thoughtful, and for still others who had interest in the origins of their culture had increased, Prof. Erskine drew up his list of the "Great Books." When he returned to Columbia University in New York after the war, he persuaded the faculty to establish a two-year course for exceptional students who would participate in informal seminar discussions of the selected books on his list.

This course, which went contrary to the main stream of American college education of the day, both in its unspecialised content and its informal method of teaching, proved successful for limited groups.

The idea and its methods spread to two other colleges—a very large one, the University of Chicago, and a very small one, St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland, where the "Great Books" course was transformed into an entire curriculum.

St. John's devoted itself to the few who wished to pursue this type of study exclusively. The University of Chicago gave courses for those who wished to supplement their regular studies with intensive reading and discussion of selected volumes from among the world's masterpieces of thought and literature. It was through this type of adult extension service in many universities that the "Great Books" courses began to be presented to man and women of all ages, professions and abilities, throughout the United States.

Inevitably, the next step was the formation of groups of adult laymen who met in one another's homes or in neighbourhood public schools to discuss the great books. A conservative estimate is that no fewer than 25,000 adults will this winter participate in such discussions. Others will read the books at colleges and universities or will be stimulated to read the "Great Books" on their own.

Typical groups who participate in the "Great Books" programme are about 75 per cent college-trained, but include members who never went to college at all. The participants come from various occupations, including housewives, doctors, factory workers, farmers, secretaries and engineers. They all find stimulation and refreshment in the study of the great minds and the great books which have moulded their culture. They feel it helps them to become better human beings.

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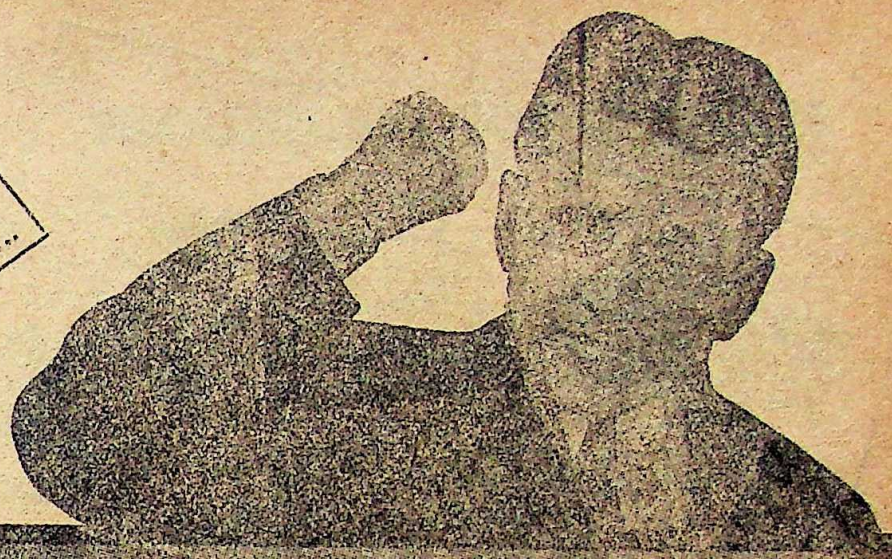

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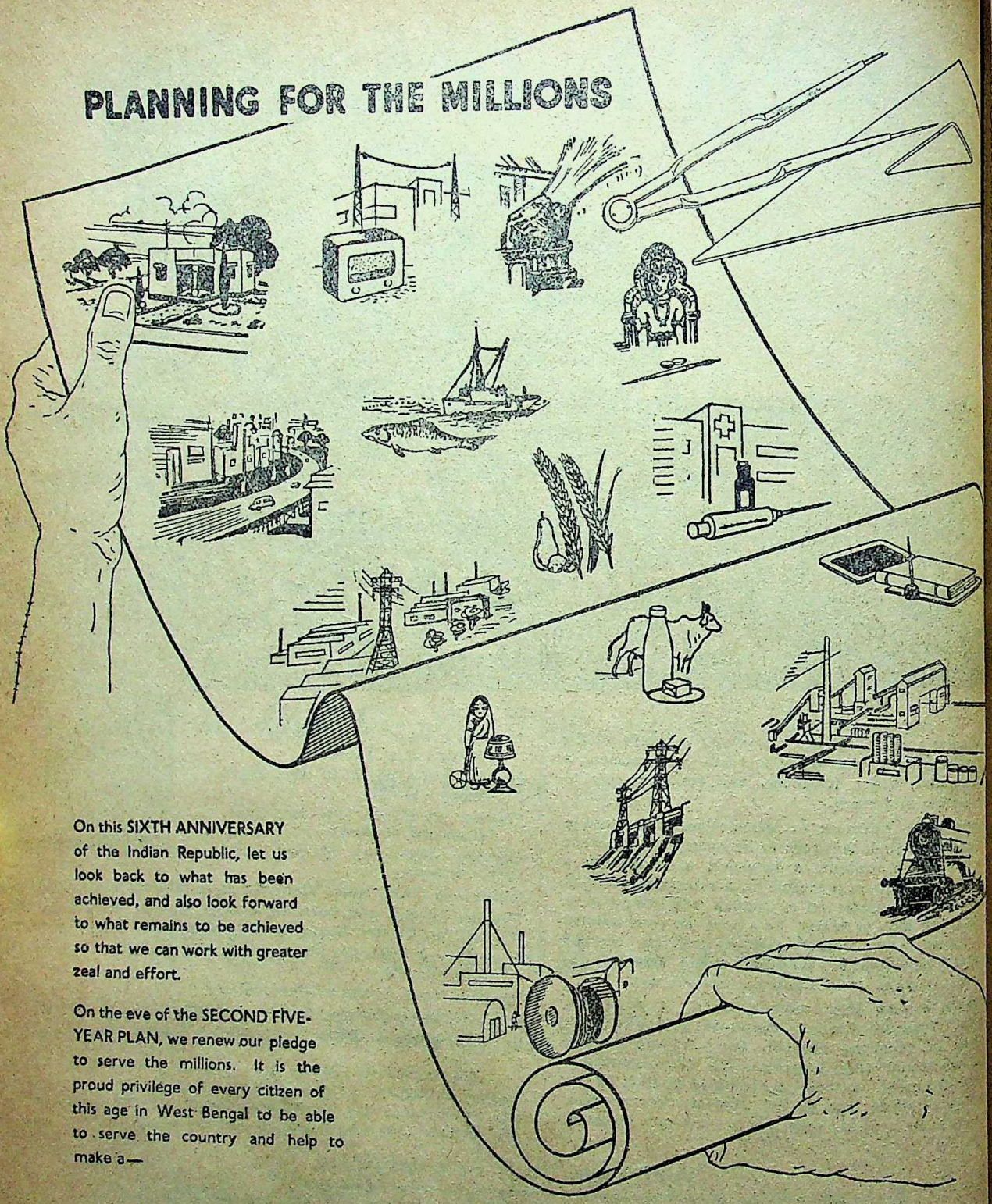

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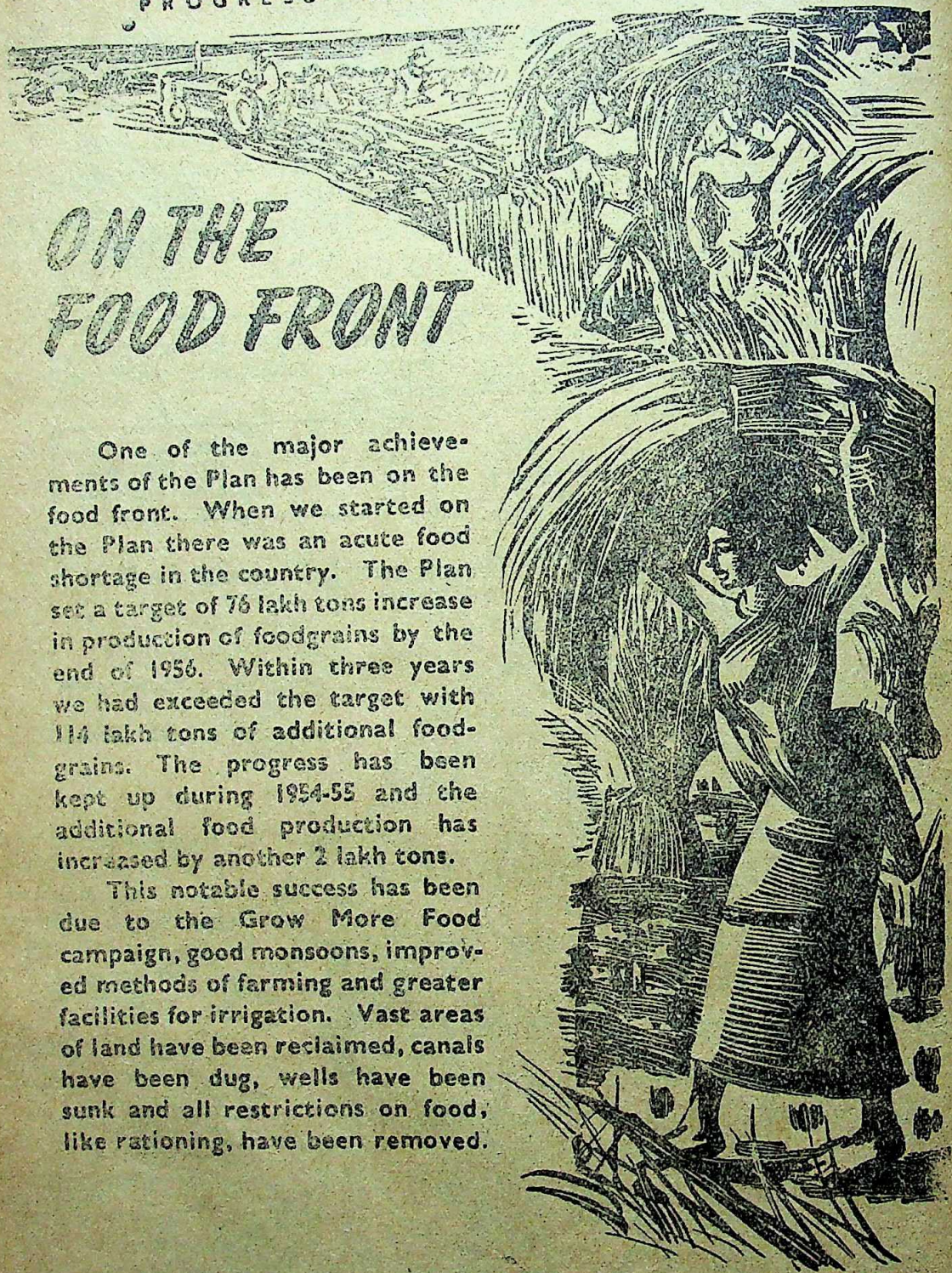

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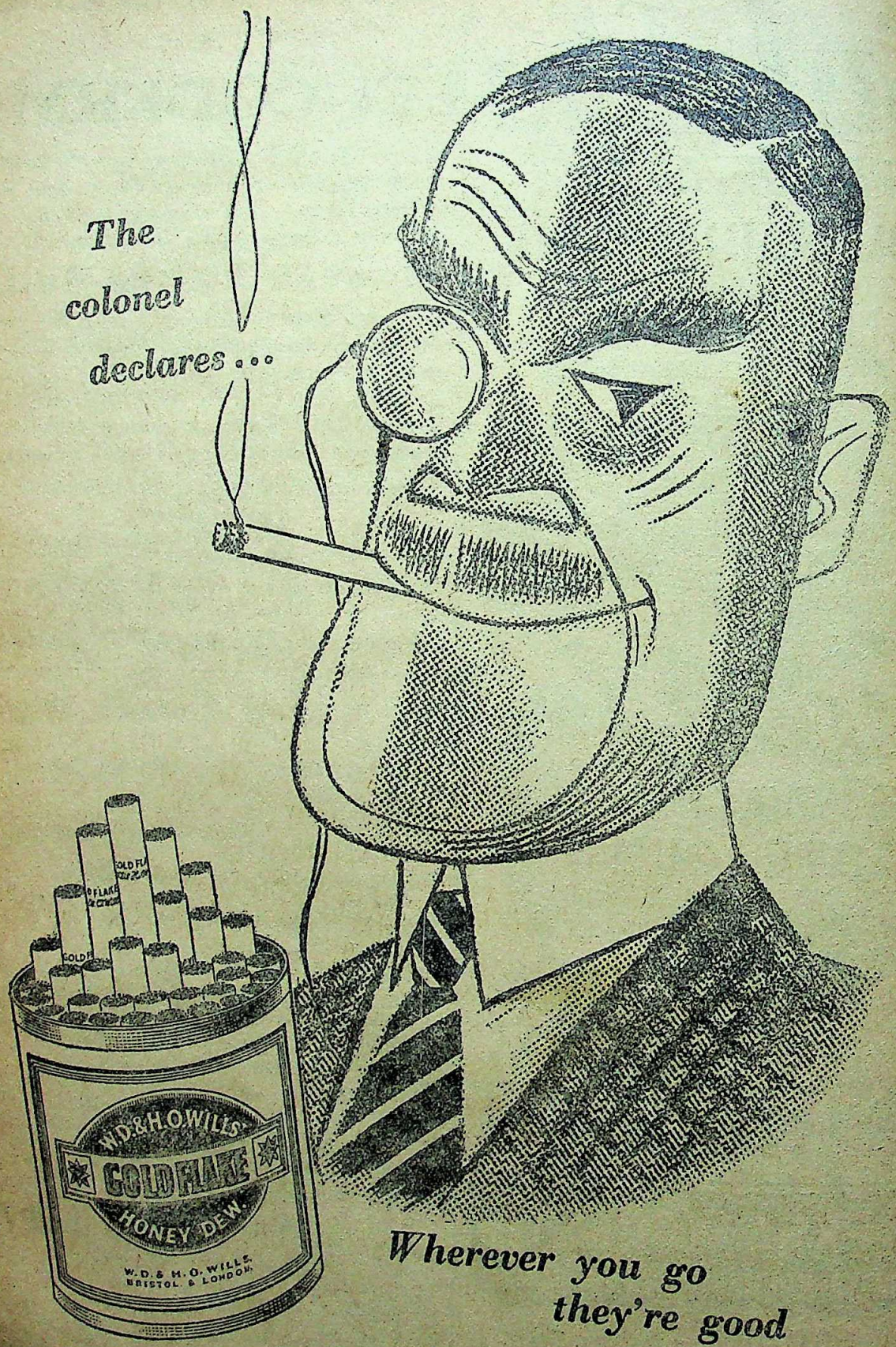

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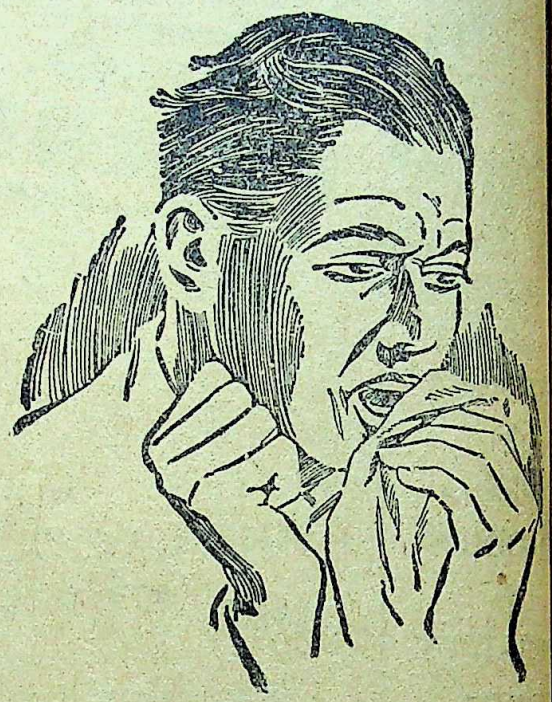

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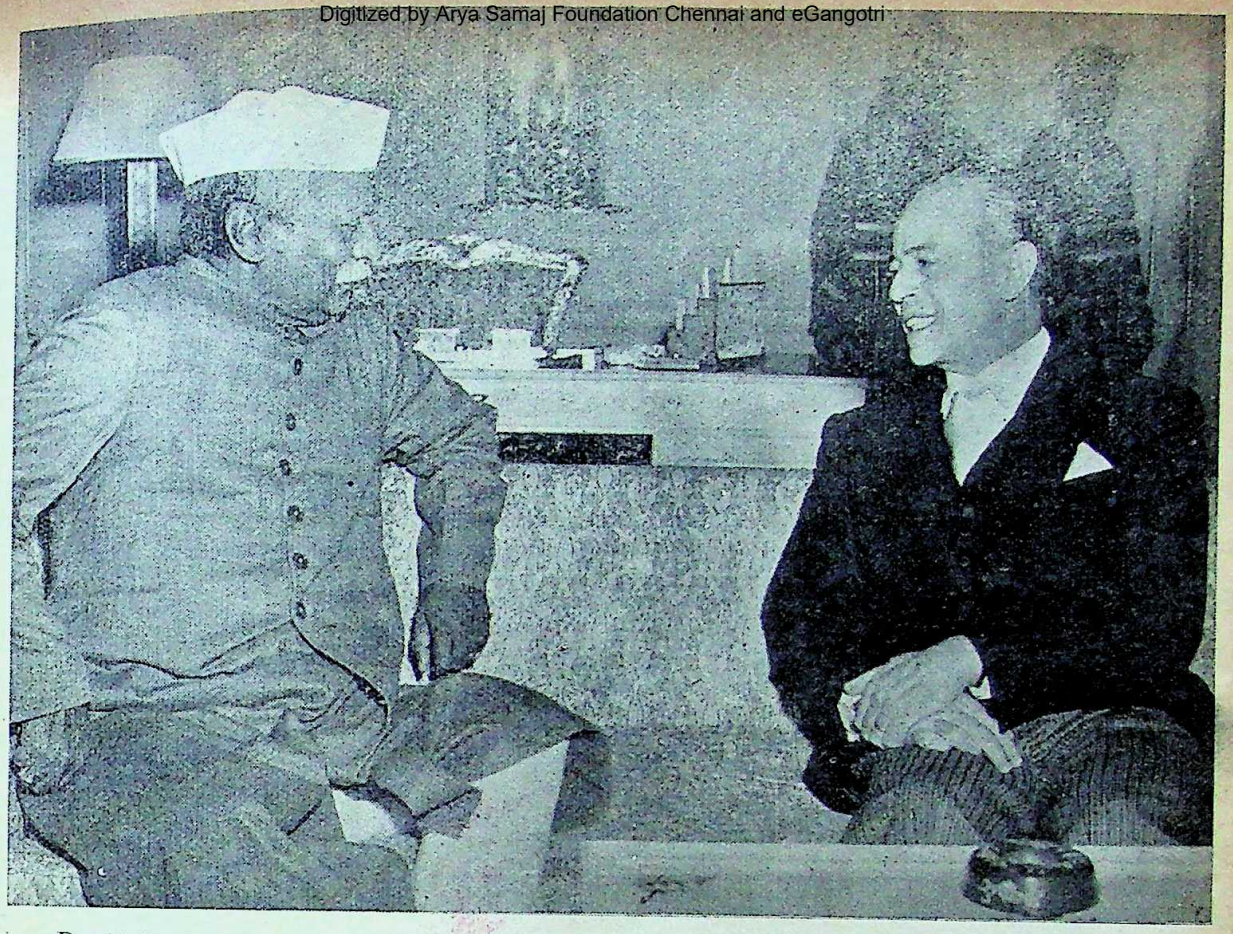

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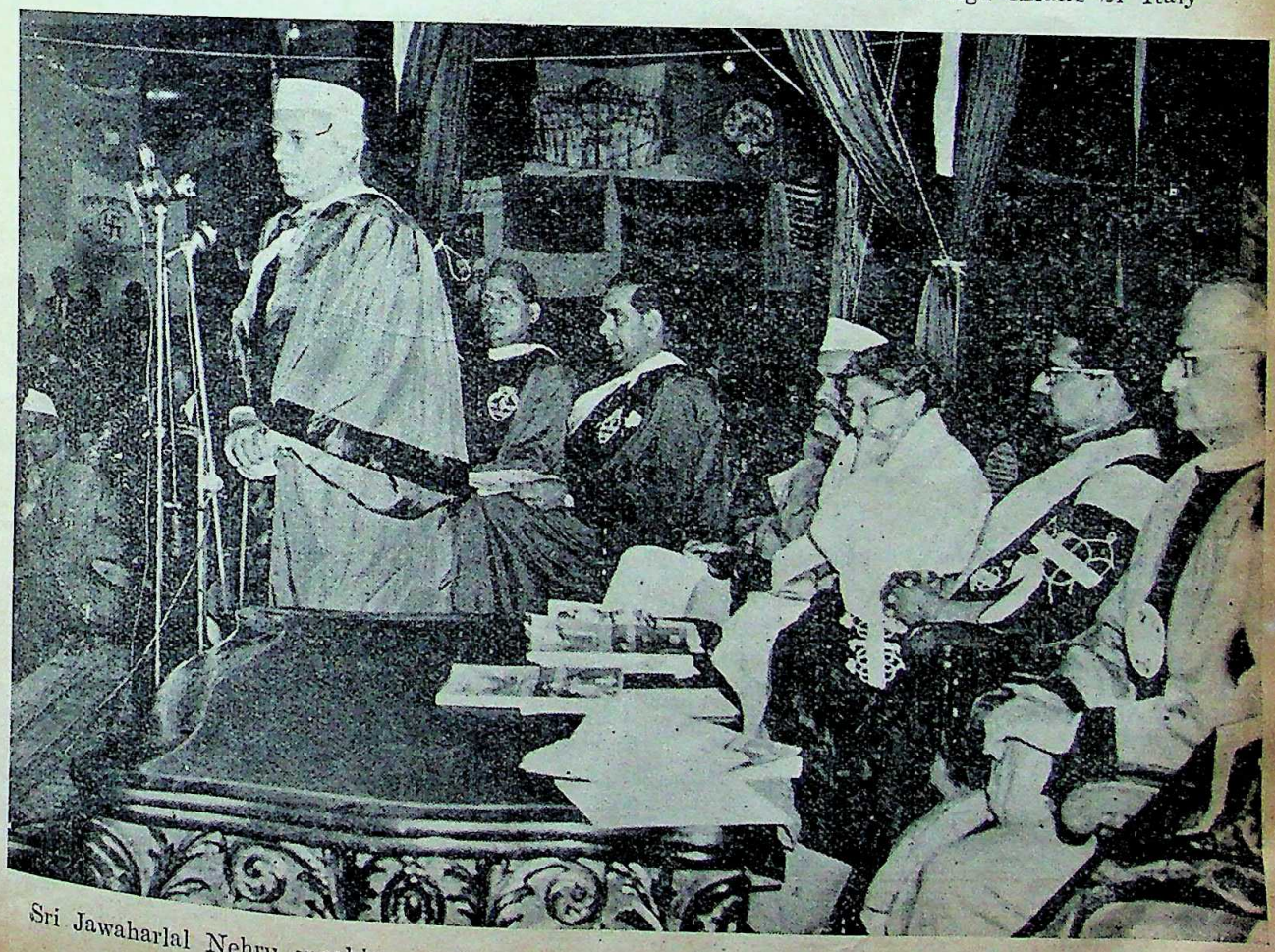

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru speaking at the inauguration of the 43rd annual session of the Indian Science Congress, held at Agra.

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BENGAL VILLAGE
By Asitanjan Bose

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THE MODERN REVIEW

FEBRUARY 1956

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NOTES

The Aftermath

For a considerable period now, we have been repeatedly writing in these columns about the degeneration that has set in the public mind regarding moral values. Our leaders at the top have confined themselves, like so many silk-worms, in cocoons spun out of stuff of which dreams are, completely oblivious to the plunge into the boiling-pan of disruption, which is inevitable if this moral degradation of the nationals of the Union continues at the present frightful rate.

The total disregard of the social and national responsibilities of the individual and the group, to the safety, well-being and progress of other individuals and groups in the same or different strata of life within the Union, that we see today, is an outcome of the distorted view of rights of the individual or the group. This distortion justifies the victimisation of the weak by the strong, the poor customer by the rapacious seller, the helpless unorganised man-in-the-street by organised labour, the general public by the men-in-power and so on and so forth, in accordance with the law of the Jungle. Corruption has become rife as a result, and the average man has begun to take a cynical view of all that used to be held as the highest attributes of human mental and moral processes.

Parochialism has been condemned time and often, by all of our leaders, and quite rightly so. But in actual practice we find that the man who prates the loudest in condemnation of the besetting sins of parochialism and nepotism in public, practises both of them in the most vicious form in his private capacity as an individual. Furthermore, party-politics has brought into play corrupt practices and illicit methods of gaining power and wealth, on a scale never known in the history of India. The unprincipled rogues and totally debased knaves that formed the "Nabobs" of the "Honourable" East India Company, coined a new term, namely, the "Shaking of the Pagoda Tree" for obtaining sizable loot from their unfortunate and helpless victims, the Indians, by methods most foul. We wonder what new terms will be coined by our own "Nabobs" for parochialism, nepotism and illicit gain. The same age-old process is in practice at the Centre and in the States, although Pandit Nehru and the very, very few honest politicians like him that are still with us, seem to be completely unaware of the fact.

The common national, therefore, cannot be blamed if he takes the exhortations of his leaders, about self-sacrifice, honesty, truth, etc., with a large pinch of salt. He sees majorities crucifying minorities without let or hindrance, he observes that honest folk are being slowly pushed out of existence by the corrupt with impunity, and that the powerful are openly defying all the moral laws of society for private and parochial gain. Can he be blamed if he then takes a distorted and cynical view of all moral precepts ?

Indeed, he has very considerable justi-

BENGAL VILLAGE
By Ashutosh Bose
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fication in considering Truth and *Ahimsa*, the twin guiding beacons of Mahatma Gandhi's life, as shadowy material, marked "For Export only."

The recent events, in Bombay and Orissa, have high-lighted all the above. It is easy to be wise after the event, but even so we must say we were not surprised. We really have not the heart to go into the details of the mad orgies of violence and destruction that took place in Bombay and Orissa, though through the grace of Almighty things have quitened down at the time of writing. The loss of property is beyond measure and the loss of life grievous, though in Orissa it was limited down to the rioters and the keepers of law and order. It is enough to say that the rioters in both of these areas, particularly in Bombay, have effectively blackened the fair name of India, as can be seen from the following extract taken from the *Time* news-magazine for January 30, 1956 :

"*Smash, Burn, Kill.* It was a moment the Communists had been preparing for, a fact well known to Chief Minister Morarji Desai of Bombay State, who is often spoken of as Nehru's heir apparent. Before dawn, on Desai's orders, police arrested 435 Communist, Socialist and United Maharashtra Party leaders. The Communists had prepared for this eventuality, too. Secretly trained alternates swiftly swung into action. At their direction, hundreds of thousands of Maharashtrian workers dropped their work and swarmed out of dockyards, textile mills and railroad shops into the streets, shouting "Death to Nehru!" The rioters blocked streets with boulders and gasoline drums. tore up lamposts, ripped down fences. They smashed statues of Mahatma Gandhi (a Gujarati himself), burned Desai in effigy, flourished pictures of Nehru hung with old shoes as a gesture of despisal. Mobs, sometimes 10,000 strong, stormed police stations, looted Gujarati shops, flung electric light bulbs filled with nitric acid in the faces of police and passers-by. Saboteurs derailed trains, hurled stones at buses, set fire to cars.

Waving black flags of protest and flourishing improvised spears, mobs roamed Bombay's streets. One grey-bearded Gujarati shopkeeper hastily tried to bar his shop door. He was too late. One rioter knocked the old man down, beat his head in with a large rock. The shopkeeper's little daughter ran screaming to her father's The rioter smashed the rock into the child's and she collapsed in a small heap over her b body.

On major corners, embattled police dr their trucks in a tight circle, like so many c wagons in a western movie, and fought p battles with stone-throwing rioters. Fro circle's protection, they launched quick c into nearby alleys and houses, scooped up of rioters, and retreated with their prisone the corrals.

At the end of six days' rioting, 56 were by official admission; unofficial estimates nearer 250. Thousands were injured, other sands in prison."

Murder, arson, loot and insane destr of public and private property ! Does P Nehru see the shadow of the moving fing the wall, or does he have to wait till all our forbears dreamt of turns into a nigh and the fruits of all their endeavours ours—become as Dead Sea Apples? Is time that all the energies that he and th other true men round him, powers are de to the re-adjustment of our own destinies

The Universities are all running dow waste. Santiniketan can be cited as an ex Where the noblest ideals of one of the m sons of India were to have flowered, tod have a stinking morass of low intrigue, de ideals and the poorest of academic instruc

The Congress? Do we have to te world how tarnished and shoddy looks Shining Mantle, that the Father of the N left to his inheritor? Indeed, we are like a show, where loud blows the trumpet bravely rolls the drum, to attract the ou to the cavalacade dressed in glittering and behind the tent are hidden the no cages of the wild beasts.

There is still time, if honesty and int and real self-sacrifice is accorded the honour as was given in the days before consciousness clouded the political horizo

West Bengal and Bihar

Some light has penetrated the smok dust thrown up by the controversies over recommendations of the States Reorganis Committee and a possible way-out has indicated by the Chief Ministers of West B

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and Bihar. The proposal is for a merger, the details of which are given later on in these columns.

But when we say possible, we mean that there are conditions precedent, the details of which have to be worked out with sincerity and good faith. There is a great deal of mutual distrust and there are too many axes to be ground by unscrupulous persons in both the areas. Therefore, the question of safeguards and the machinery to implement them have to be determined in detail without leaving anything to chance or on pure good faith. The nation has degenerated so far that mere enunciation of noble ideals and principles would be as nought. In truth, good faith alone will mean that the more corrupt will overwhelm the less corrupt—to say nothing of the honest.

These safeguards will mean that the *status quo* in the administration, the allocations in the budget, the awards in jobs and contracts will be maintained. That no unfair advantage will accrue to any individual or group, and would prevent unhealthy political jockeying for power.

If these can be worked out, and there is no reason why they could not be, then undoubtedly such a union will be greatly to the advantage of both the States.

The advantages are manifold. First of all, with the removal of artificial barriers, there can be a far more efficient exploitation of natural resources, such as land, water-power, minerals, forest wealth, etc. Transport, police work, postal communications, etc., can be better co-ordinated, giving improved service at lowered pro-rata costs. Indeed, in the exploitation of resources and the utilization of man-power, the gains would be significant beyond question.

Secondly, the growing enmity and feuds between two neighbours, who lived together for centuries, would be liquidated, thereby increasing the strength of both in the Union and also enhancing the stability of the Union itself. This in itself will be a long-term gain, of immense value in itself and likewise as an example to others.

Thirdly, as frontier States both have liabilities and severe responsibilities. As a solid single unit, the capacity to bear the burdens will be increased far beyond the present divided strength.

Fourthly, in many spheres, the surplus in one State will be naturally absorbed by the demand of the other. The potential of both will increase thereby, as it happens elsewhere in this world. The viability of both States would be thus changed radically.

There are many more points in favour of this union. Indeed, apart from mutual fear and distrust, there is hardly any cogent reason against it.

But it is useless to ignore this fear. Indeed, unless an agreement is reached by both sides on safeguards against the misuse of superior numbers on the part of the Bharees in the legislatures, etc., and against the depriving of the Bihari from a fair share of jobs and careers due to the superior training and mental equipment of the Bengali, there can be no Union. We reiterate that these safeguards have to be worked out in detail and agreed upon by the majority of both the legislatures before any further progress can be made. Good faith counts for little in this sordid present day world of ours.

The Bengali Hindu has had a bitter experience of unfair and dishonest use of superior numbers in voting when the ill-famed Moslem League was in power in Bengal. Similarly, the Bihari has unpleasant memories of the tactics of the Bengali in the days prior to Lord Curzon's anti-Bengali campaign. Both are realities and it would be disastrous not to provide fully against the repetition of either.

Many other reasons have been trotted out by the opponents to the scheme. We have gone carefully in all such as have been reported upon in the newspapers or which we have listened to, as in the case of the Calcutta University debate. We confess we have not been able to find any substance in any of them beyond the fear complex.

We can understand the stand of the leftist groups. Their sole consideration is the party-interest; the welfare of the public in general is, and always has been, a minor and secondary detail to them. The most prominent amongst them is a party that is inciting the Bengali to reject the Union and to claim large tracts from Bihar, and also exhorting the Bihari not to yield an inch of ground!

The spokesman of the second biggest party has issued a shameless statement against the

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proposal. Perhaps, he believes that everyone has forgotten his own declarations against the claims of West Bengal, on the linguistic basis. He made them after a visit to Manbhum while Chief Minister of West Bengal.

The fears that Bengal would be culturally submerged could only be made by people who have little knowledge of the cultural history of West Bengal. They do not know that at least two of the Bihari languages, Maithili and Bhojpuri, are far more akin to Bengali than to Hindi. Those who know Vidyapati and his influence on our own Vaishnav poetical treasures, would readily acknowledge it. In any case, a culture that has withstood the onslaughts of Pathan and Moghul and the insidious policy of Macaulay, can laugh at all these fears, unless the people have degenerated beyond measure.

There has been a lot of balderdash uttered against the plan, "Unity in diversity" and so forth. It is curious that most of the objections have been made by persons whose origins are not in West Bengal. But even then, there are many from East Bengal, who have faith in the stout hearts of their own children, who consider the move to be an excellent one, provided constitutional safeguards are put down in black and white against misuse of powers against the fundamental rights of individuals or linguistic groups, on the basis of caste or mother-tongue.

We append an analysis of the data, as given in the 1951 Census:

	Bihar	West Bengal and Chandernagore
Total population	40,225,947	24,860,217
Hindi speakers including Urdu	34,817.133	2,038,705
Bengali speakers	1,759,719	21,039,601
Urdu already included in Hindi	2,736 303	457,981
Muslims	4,564,466	4,927 287 (19.8%)
After Merger		
Total population	65.086 000	
Hindi speakers	36,856 000	56.6 per cent
Bengali speakers	22,800 000	35.2 "
Muslims	9,492,000	14.4 "

In this connection we like to sound a note of warning to the fanatics of Hindi language. Had these Hindi fanatics allowed cultural and linguistic freedom to the linguistic minorities in their territories, then much of the bickering and ill feelings that have now generated would not have ensued.

The Union of Bengal and Bihar

The following is the full text of Dr. B. C. Roy's statement on the merger :

"The Chief Minister of Bihar and I issued a statement a few days ago regarding the merging of Bengal and Bihar. This statement had obviously led people to think furiously about the condition of affairs in these two States and in India generally. A large number of letters have appeared in the Press; discussions are taking place in various organizations and opinions are being freely expressed about this problem by people belonging to different groups.

"This is as it should be. It is obvious that when the proposition was placed before the public, as was indicated in the statement, no details were given regarding the proposal, nor could they be given at short notice. As regarding the discussions, and hearing the arguments, both for and against, I feel that it is desirable that I should indicate, even vaguely, what our suggestions amount to.

"When the States Reorganization Commission's report was published, every State was dissatisfied with the recommendations. This is nothing very unnatural. There were States which were claiming to expand and there were neighbouring States which were opposing such claims. As I have indicated previously and I repeat again, that while the Indian National Congress had up to the date of achieving independence considered the question of reorganization of provinces on the basis of language, *i.e.*, creating States with similar language affinities, the Congress after independence found it difficult to implement this principle. Since 1947, various committees and sessions of the Congress have from time to time expressed the view that the security, unity and economic prosperity of the country are much more important considerations than regrouping of the States on a linguistic basis. Such grouping may be satisfactory to one State and may produce dissatisfaction in other and, as one of the correspondents has just pointed out, such linguistic grouping is repugnant because it 'savours of clannishness and provincialism.'

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"As a matter of fact, even the question of reorganization of States on a linguistic basis can only be a means to an end, the end being the unity and development of the country as a whole. If by such linguistic distribution the country is developed, there can be no question about it. But one has to remember that in this world every action has a reaction. Bengal cannot ask for the merging of the areas contiguous to Bengal where Bengali-speaking people are in a majority without Bihar making similar claims with regard to areas in Bengal where the Hindi-speaking people are in a majority. The result of this tussle would be that there will be a continuous demand on the one hand for extension on a linguistic basis and resistance to it on the other.

"India cannot develop, its security cannot be ensured, its safety cannot be put on a firm basis if such wrangling continues to take place between the component States of the Union. It was because of this spirit that was prevalent in the different areas of India that we felt it was necessary for us to place a different viewpoint before the public, namely, to ask for union rather than disunion, to provide for working together as far as possible in amity and concord instead of trying to group people in warring camps on the basis of language.

"Every right-thinking man will agree that any effort made to divide the country on a linguistic basis will mean separatism and sooner or later a form of 'apartheid'. The recent events in Bombay and in other parts of India have uncovered the dangers facing India today and showed the rapid deterioration almost everywhere in the approach to the basic problem of Indian unity. It was clear to me that over the creation of linguistic provinces the basest passions have been aroused and people have forgotten the lesson that they had learnt during the days of national struggle. It was clear that if this process continued it would split up India, injure greatly the national organization and almost lead to some kind of civil conflict in different parts of India. When this joint statement was issued, there was a sense of relief in the minds of a large number of people that after all approach to union has been discovered.

"A critic has pointed out that the word which should have been used in the statement is not 'merger' which may connote a compulsion, or the use of artificial forces resulting in loss of identity. Perhaps the word 'reunion' would be more correct. 'Fusion or merger,' says the critic, 'may come, as come it must one day, through a process of evolution and a wise democratic rule. An artificial fusion, however ingenuously conceived or achieved, cannot last long.' It has been said by a friend that I had used the word 'catalytic' in the sense that it means a chemical compound or in the sense that one body is going to stomach another. The word 'catalytic' was used by me in the sense that this approach to the problem of the development of the country, as has been mentioned in the statement, would act as a catalytic agent and would create similar movements, we hoped, in other parts of the country. It is difficult at this stage to give details regarding this 're-union' but it is possible to lay down some general outlines such as :

"(1) The united State may be called 'The United States of West Bengal and Bihar' like the States of Travancore and Cochin.

"(2) That there should be an assurance that the culture and the language of each State should be protected; that the United States will have two official languages, Bengali and Hindi. Both the languages will be official for the entire State. It may be that in practice certain pre-eminence may be given in one State to a language, *i.e.*, in West Bengal, Bengali would have pre-emnience in educational affairs with Hindi as a compulsory second language and in Bihar Hindi will be the prominent language with Bengali as the second language. But in border areas the two languages would be equally encouraged.

"(3) No such union would be viable if there is any attempt on the part of one State to dominate over the other. In many ways each State will continue its own life subject to a common approach to major problems. The development projects in each area of the two States so united and the Five-Year Plan proposed by each State and approved by the Planning Commission will continue to be implemented by the respective States. The resources which would be developed by each area as approved by the Planning Commission will continue to be raised and employed in that area, although in future, development may be a common objective of the two States.

"It so happens that the richest area in India from the point of view of mineral resources is the area which comprises part of West Bengal, part of Bihar and part of Orissa. If properly

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developed, this area will become the heart of industrial India. Any scheme of development of this area must involve the closest co-operation between West Bengal and Bihar so that both States might benefit fully. There should be no delays in drawing up schemes of developments as well as implementing them. Such delays are almost inevitable if the two States function separately or if there is a feeling of rivalry and conflict between the two. In such cases, both will suffer and the areas will not be developed as they should be.

"(4) It has been asked, will such a union come in the way of political, economic or cultural life of the two States? Economically, as has been pointed out, it is quite clear that it would be advantageous to both. Politically also the union should prove beneficial because in some ways West Bengal and Bihar are complementary to each other and by coming together, the spirit of conflict will be removed. Culturally, there is no reason why either State should suffer. With the growth of economy, rapid cultural advancement would take place and protection of such culture in either State will be ensured.

"(5) In this united State there should be one Governor and one Public Service Commission. Rules may be framed so that while recruitment to the higher posts in the combined State might be thrown open to residents of either State, recruitment to the lower posts in each area might ordinarily be made from amongst the residents of that area. There is no reason why the two High Courts should not continue to function, as their work is sufficiently heavy.

"(6) There will be one Cabinet and one Legislature. In addition to the Chief Minister belonging to one region, it may be desirable to have a Deputy Chief Minister belonging to the other region. A convention may grow for the Chief Ministers to be choesen alternately from the two regions.

"(7) There might be two Regional Councils, one for each of the major language areas. Each Regional Council will consist of members elected to the Legislature from that particular region. The President of this Council will be a Minister from that region. The special duty of the Council will be to look after the interests of that region in regard to the subjects dealt with by the Council. The subjects will be mainly those of development under the Five-Year Pl Education, Health and other social ser These Regional Councils will not have legislative authority. They will advise and recommendations about the subjects allotted each Council to the Cabinet or to the Legislature and by practice and convention advice will be accepted. In case of co between the two regions or between the Co and the State Cabinet some provision may made by appointing an authority to give its decision on the points at issue.

"(8) Generally speaking, therefore, internal structure of the two regions sh continue as it is and would not be inter with. For example, the land system, the ten laws, the modes of taxation, the raising of rev and provision for social services may contin be distinct in one State as against the other. schemes for these have been framed on particular basis in each State and it would be wise to interfere with them immediately u it be by common consent.

"(9) It is obvious that the principal ca of the State should be Calcutta. Patna may second capital and the Legislature may me either place. The Law and Order Depart in both States should be common.

"While some of the ideas that I have in mind and that have been suggested to me friends have found place in the statement a it is obvious that they do not cover al points. We have in the beginning to agre the principle of union and then we can sit and work togethor the details. Expressio public opinion in this respect will be g appreciated. It is obvious that in some ma as mentioned above, there will be full co of the Cabinet and of the State. In matters each region will have full play attempts at co-ordination in these matters sh be made. If any additional resources are in a particular region, that money shoul common consent be utilized for that region

"At present one can give only the outline of the proposal and wait for acceptance by the people before we can sit to work out the details. I only request people to consider the matter in all serio and not to reject the scheme without se thought. All suggestions for improving scheme will be welcome."

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ndustrial Policy and the Second Plan

In its draft memorandum on the Second Five-ear Plan, the Planning Commission has sug-ested that industries will receive the highest prio-ity in the Second Plan. In its view the indus-ial policy of the country has to be governed the objective of bringing about a socialistic attern of society. This implies close adher-nce to the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948, nd Government incursions in field where deve-pment had been inadequate. Definite steps ust also be taken to expand the sphere of co-perative enterprise so that, in due course, the enefits of industrial development are transmit-d in increasing measure, to the primary produ-rs of raw materials or the consumers of indus-ial raw materials without the intervention of iddlemen or of private industrial undertakings.

In view of recent developments in the indus-al policy of the Government, the 1948 policy s become out-dated. The 1948 resolution on dustrial policy was made on the basis of mixed onomy. At present although the basis of dian economy is mixed economy, still however, e industrial outlook and policy of the Govern-nt stands modified in effect by the course of ents. In December 1948, the Lok Sabha opted a resolution to the effect that the goal of dia's economic policy is socialism. Obviously ixed economy is not socialism, had it been the se the Indian Parliament need not have passed resolution on economic policy. Further, when industrial policy of 1949 was enunciated, there s no cconcept of planned economy, or if it was, was in a nebulous form. Under the Second ve-Year Plan, the State has taken upon itself task of providing employment to the teeming employed, and the State's share of responsi-ity in the matter is much larger than that of private sector.

It is rather perplexing to reconcile the appa-tly conflicting viewpoints of the State over its nd on the industrial policy. Since 1948, India steadily drifting towards socialism with planned nomy. The new company law has given an addi-al weapon to the Government to forge ahead ards socialism. The nationalization of life in-ance has widened the scope of State enterprise his country than what was hitherto envisaged. the life Insurance Ordinance, the scope of the lic sector has been extended to include part ernment ownership of a large number of other private industries and business concerns. About Rs. 24 crores of the total assets of life and general business of Indian insurers have been invested in ordinary shares of Indian companies. In addition, the total investments of life and general business in debentures and preference shares of Indian companies exceeds Rs. 32 crores. As owner of these equity shares, the Government acquires all the rights devolving upon shareholders, including the right to vote, in respect of such capital, on every resolution placed before the company.

Thus it is obvious that the 1948 industrial policy resolution stands modified in effect. The private sector is not inviolable nor can it be thorougly relied upon in the task allotted to it. The State should step in whenever the private sector fails to make progress to the desired extent. Constant watch is needed to be kept on it and short-coming must be made good by State enterprise. As for example, the establishment of new sugar industries should be the responsibility of the State so that the people and the country may not have to depend on the sweet will of the private owners of this industry. The record of the sugar industry since independence is the blackest. It is time the authorities define a new industrial policy in the light of recent developments, keeping in view the aims of the Second Five-Year Plan.

World Steel Output

The world steel output is progressively increasing. The total output in 1955 is estimated at 260 million tons, as compared with 113 million tons in 1945 and 98 million tons in 1935. The output of world steel in 1955 is expected to rise by 20 per cent above that of 1954 and 15 per cent above that of 1953. The American estimate of world output of steel is even higher, being placed at 293 million tons. The production of the USA is placed at 116.5 million tons, as against 88.3 million tons in 1954. The output of pig iron in 1955 is estimated at 183.0 million tons, as against 154.7 million tons in 1954.

In Europe, West Germany is making rapid strides in the production of steel. Ten years ago, the German steel industry was virtually flat on its back. Most of the plant which had survived the repeated assaults of the Allied bombers was dismantled and carried away by the triumphant forces of the victorious nations. German steel industry restarted virtually from a

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scratch, yet, in 1955, the Federal Republic of Western Germany expects that production will surpass the highest levels attained in the old German Reich in the pre-war era, as in fact, it has already exceeded that of the U.K.

Some of the world's biggest blast furnaces are now operating at Kuznetsk and Magnitogorsk, and in view of the technical and economic advantages of large steel furnaces, it has been announced that new investment will be concentrated upon the construction of new furnaces with capacities ranging from 250 to 500 tons per day. In spite of a continuous rise in the gross output, the Soviet Union is experiencing serious shortages of certain types of steel, particularly flat rolled products, and ferrous metal enterprises are operating under extreme pressure to raise the gross steel output beyond the target of 45 million tons per year.

Outside Europe, the urge for a greater measure of self-sufficiency in regard to steel supplies is also mainfest. Turkey is constructing with the help of the German firm of Krupps a 6-lakh ton steel plant at Karabuk on the Black Sea. Brazil proposes to increase the capacity of the Volta Redonda plant from 4 lakh tons to 1 million tons.

India is pressing forward with her steel output and special care will be given in the Second Five-Year Plan for raising the output of steel. The estimated production in 1955 is placed at 1.96 million tons. Under the second Five-Year Plan, in terms of investment, the achievement of the steel target will mean about Rs. 400 crores in the public sector and Rs. 100 crores in the private sector, nearly one-eighth of the total investment target for the second Plan. Out of the proposed target of 6 million tons of steel ingots, three million tons will be obtained by the expansion of the capacity of the private sector and the other three million tons will be developed in the public sector.

The anticipated production of iron and steel after the completion of the approved expansion programmes of the existing steel units and the establishment of the new Government steel plants will be as below:

	Saleable steel tons per year.
Tata Iron and Steel Co.	1,500,000
Indian Iron and Steel Co.	800,000
Mysore Iron and Steel Works	100,000
Rourkela Steel Plant	720,00
Bhilai Steel Plant	750,00
British Steel Plant	750,00

At a rough estimate, the three new works in the public sector will need 120 qualified and experienced engineers for h technical directions; over a 1,000 engineers degrees or diplomas, to be trained for st work, and 10,000 skilled labour.

Banking Stoppages and Strikes

Business in Calcutta had been seri affected by the action of the Bank emplo here. Similar action in a modified form taken place elsewhere.

The usual union methods, which are gardless of the consequences that affect life and well-being of millions of inn people, have brought about the state of a indicated in the quotation below, whic taken from the daily news reports publ at the time:

"The latest development in Calcutta's ba industry—suspension of operations of the Clearing House—has seriously upset industri business circles and the general public.

"A typed four-line notice hung on F at the gate of every scheduled bank in the requests its clientele to note that 'as the Ca Clearing House has suspended the clearing cheques until further notice, the cheques pa cannot be credited to their accounts.'

"The notification announcing the stop of work at the Clearing House was issued Thursday and is believed to be a sequel to sporadic token demonstrations by employe banks in which they are being paid unde new Industrial Disputes (Banking Comp Decision Act.

"Cheques presented at the Clearing daily run into thousands in number and a over Rs. 4 crores in value. Their lying und means serious interference with the transactions of industrial and commercial and business houses. This will also affect economy of a large section of the publi payment of salaries by cheque is a g practice in many offices."

Even now the work done at most local banks is sporadic and irregular, sh the total lack of responsibility and dis for the welfare of fellow citizens, tha

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common feature of the Unions led by professional "labour leaders."

Legal Action Against Colliery

The Government of India recently decided to take legal action against the managements of the Newton Chickli Colliery in Madhya Pradesh and the Amlabad Colliery in Bihar where 114 persons had been killed in two mine accidents, reports *Press Trust of India*. The managements had been found negligent of protective measures in the mines by the Courts of Inquiry appointed by the Government of India.

According to an official statement, the Government would also take suitable action after necessary investigation against the supervisory staff of the Department of Mines as the conduct of the supervisory staff came in for critical comment in the report of the Court of Inquiry into the Amlabad Disaster.

The report adds that the Government proposed to set up a Tripartite Committee to examine the safety regulations, etc., in force in the context of prevailing conditions and progress of developments. The Committee would be appointed after the State Government's comments on the Draft Code of Coal Mines Regulations which incorporated most of the recommendations made by the Courts of Inquiry have been received by the Union Government.

"Emergency regulations called the Coal Mines (Temporary) Regulations, 1955, for effecting speedy remedy of conditions, that are likely to cause danger in the mines, have also been promulgated by the Central Government with effect from November 5, 1955."

In an editorial comment on January 20, the *Hitavada* writes that since the collieries were expected to be worked to a greater extent as a result of the greater emphasis on industrialisation in the Second Five-Year Plan, "it becomes doubly necessary to see that safety regulations are carefully drawn up and rigidly adhered to, especially in such major coal-producing areas as Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. The proposed appointment of a Tripartite Committee is necessary both in the light of the mining disasters of a year ago and in view of the increasing importance of our coal mines to the industrial development of India."

The "Kashmir Princess" Disaster

According to a report published in the January 11 issue of the *New York Times*, the British Colonial Office admitted that a Chinese named Chow Tse-ming, who was now in Formosa, had admitted that he had sabotaged the Indian air liner (*Kashmir Princess*) after a promise of a reward worth over 100,000 U.S. dollars by the Chinese Nationalist authorities for wrecking the plane carrying Chinese (Communist) advance party to the Bandung Asian-African Conference.

The report further says: "The official report reveals that on four separate occasions, Mr. Chow had admitted he had sabotaged the aircraft, been offered the bribe, had used a small time-bomb 'which made a slight ticking noise,' and that he had intended to stow away to Formosa."

"On September 3, a warrant for Mr. Chow's arrest was issued and the Chinese Nationalists were asked to turn him over to face trial. Britain has no extradition treaty with the Chinese Nationalists and the request was refused."

India and Western Diplomacy

Ever since India defined her foreign policy as strict neutrality, in politics of the Big Powers, the Anglo-American opinion has definitely gone against India. Indian neutrality of course does not mean passivity, she has been toiling ceaselessly for the restoration of world peace wherever it is threatened or whenever justice is denied to the oppressed nations. India's efforts for the restoration of peace in Korean affairs or in the Indo-China war have received international recognition, although not ungrudgingly from some quarters. India has been nurtured in the democratic tradition and atmosphere, naturally she felt her affinity with the Democratic Powers in the days of her independent existence. India is still admittedly a neutral country having no axe to grind with any of the Power blocs, still it may appear that an intellectual estrangement with the Western Powers is taking place, though slowly and imperceptibly. Three events have marked this turning point.

These events are: the Kashmir issue, Goa issue and the arming of Pakistan by the USA. India received her rudest shock from the Anglo-American bloc when it failed to call a spade a spade in the Kashmir affairs and distorted the real nature of the dispute to suit their own

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interests—the control of strategic base in Kashmir during the future war. India could have forced a military decision against Pakistan over the Kashmir dispute and now she understands that it has been a folly on her part to rush to the UNO seeking justice, and what she received instead is anything but justice. The plain fact of the dispute was ignored by the Anglo-American bloc and through legal procedure these Powers took illegal decisions through their international preserve—the Security Council. The issue of the dispute was distorted.

The plain fact was that Kashmir in October 1947 acceded to the Indian Union and this was accepted by the British Viceroy of India. India however, gave assurance to Kashmir that her future will be determined according to the will of the people of the State. Immediately after accession, Pakistan sent tribal invaders clandestinely, concealing her complicity till it was made known by the Kashmir Commission. Evidently in this matter there were two parties—India and Kashmir and there was no dispute among them nor the accession was forced on Kashmir by India in any way. It was purely a voluntary accession by Kashmir and India's assurance for determination of the people's will was given to Kashmir and Kashmir alone. Evidently, Pakistan is an intruder and she cannot have and must not have any *locus standi* in the affair which is purely India's domestic affair. Pakistan by force, through the tribal army, snatched away certain portions of Kashmir and now she claims the whole of it. Thanks to the Anglo-Amerian support, Pakistan is now a party to the Kashmir dispute against India. An intruder has been given legal recognition by nations who claim to be the upholders of world peace and international law, and thus in reality the so-called international law and the talk of world peace are the two weapons in the hands of these Powers for bolstering up their own colonial aggrandizement. The national history of these two Powers are replete with tyranny and oppression, injustice and warfare. No wonder that justice hardly comes from them in international affairs.

The arming of Pakistan has further pushed India away from the Anglo-American Power politics. Pakistan is at cold war with India and the arming of Pakistan has destroyed the balance of power in this region. India opposed to the arming of Pakistan by the USA, but she turned a deaf ear to India's protests. In her zea guard her strategic positions by creating a gi of encirclement around Russia, the USA fo that a big neutral Power is a better ally tha weak friendly Power. A neutral India is a be guarantee of peace in this region of the w than an armed Pakistan. India unacknowled is a big Power in men and resources and in fu war her support to any party may turn the s against the other party.

During the Korean dispute, the world was the brink of the Third World War, and had In sided with the Anglo-American bloc at that ti war would certainly have broken out. A neu India is a better bastion of peace in South-E Asia. The Kashmir issue still remaining un cided, the arming of Pakistan has been quite justified and it is strange that such a provoca event has not altogether estranged the In American relations. The only fault of India that she declined to sell her political conscie in lieu of military aid that comes with stri The arming of Pakistan has definitely thrown balance of power against India in the South-E Asia and India has reasons to be aggrieved the treatment meted out to her by the USA this connection.

The third important development is the G issue. Goa is part and parcel of India the people of Goa are Indian. Mr. Dull statement that Goa is a Portuguese province is only to distort geography but to go against course of events that will assert itself one day other. Not only the authorities of the USA the U.K. have been acting definitely against In the Press in these countries have joined hands villifying India and distorting news from In Mr. Horace Alexander was good enough to p out the anti-Indian feeling in the British P and sounded a note of warning that this Indian feeling will do more harm than good the Anglo-Indian relation. The *Daily Telegr* in its issue of 29th December, 1954, accu India of using Nazi methods in Goa and Nehru as aiming at "Ein Volk, ein Reich, Nehru." Of course, in expressing anti-In feelings, the *London Time* and the *Econo* head the list in Britain, while in the USA, *New York Times* takes the lead. During course of the dispute, Dr. Salazar, Prime Mini of Portugal, claimed that the NATO of 19 and the Anglo-Portuguese treaties covered

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Portuguese possessions in India. Nehru replied that he was not clear what exactly had Goa got to do with any concept behind NATO. India asked the United States, Britain and Canada for their opininon. They gave the obvious answer that Portugal could invoke Article 4 of the NATO Treaty which provides for consultation in the face of a threat to her territorial integrity or security but that since her Indian territories were outside the NATO area, the defensive obligations of Article 5 would not apply. As far as the Anglo-Portugese treaties were concerned, none of them provide for mutual defence of the other's colonies.

But the recent defence of Goa as the Portugal province in the Far East in the Dulles-Cunha joint statement definitely indicates that the USA is with the side of colonialism. Of course, that is in keeping with the tradition of the USA. The basis of capitalistic structure of economy is colonialism and in defending Portuguese colonies in the territory of India, the USA expressed her true colours.

The recent visit of Russian leaders to India has vindicated India's stand over two issues, namely, Kashmir and Goa. The leaders were good enough to realise the real nature of the conflict and they had the courage and good sense to call a spade a spade. They described Kashmir as the northern part of India and declared that Goa was an integral part of India. India of course did not ask for such statements. But undoubtedly she was pleased with these, as these statements supported India's stand. Queer indeed, it is that the quarters, wherefrom India expected good sense and help in her difficulty, acted against her interest even violating the sense of justice. And queerer it is that the country wherefrom India least expected support for her cause, gave her full support to India. Old friends forsook India in her difficulty, while new countries befriended India and took up her cause.

Indian patience needs be admired that she has not as yet cut off her connections with the Anglo-American bloc, notwithstanding grave provocations and hostility in anything Indian in world affairs, no matter whether it is Kashmir or Goa or arming Pakistan. The Western countries do not understand India nor do they want to do so. They make a parade of their ignorance towards India and they take pride in that. The western diplomacy move in the old rut and does not even realise that if you alienate the feelings of others, you should not expect them to side with you. When the Anglo-American press howls against India or sermonises to her, the press does a disservice to their respective countries.

India-Indonesian Co-operation

The historic Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations recommended the conclusion of bilateral agreements as the chief means for the promotion of cultural co-operation and mutual understanding among the countries of Asia and Africa. The Agreement concerning cultural relations concluded in New Delhi on December 29 between India and Indonesia expressly followed that recommendation. It is hoped that the new agreement would be able to achieve its aim of strengthening the existing ties of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

The Agreement contained twelve articles besides a Preamble and was designed to remain in force for a period of ten years unless it was terminated earlier by either party by giving six months' notice. Otherwise it would remain in force until terminated by either party by giving six months' notice.

Under the Agreement the Governments of the two countries declared their desire to encourage and facilitate co-operation in all fields of science and literature and art. For this they would encourage and facilitate reciprocal visits of university teachers and members of scientific and cultural institutions for the purpose of giving lectures on special courses. Each Government would institute scholarships to enable its students to pursue their studies in the universities of the other country, to study its language and civilisation. Each Government would extend its facilities for the training of specialists and other persons recommended by the other Government in the former's scientific, technical and industrial institutions. Each Government would encourage, within the limits permitted by national laws, the establishment within its territory of cultural institutes of the other. Each Government would try, within its financial limits, to promote intellectual and cultural co-operation between the two countries by arranging concerts, lectures, art and scientific exhibitions, by organising student visits, by

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encouraging the collaboration of scientific, artistic and literary societies. Competitive sports between the nationals of two countries would also be encouraged. Each Government would try its utmost to ensure that educational text-books did not contain any errors or misrepresentation about the other country. Each undertook to recognize the school, college and university degrees of the other country.

If required a special commission might be set up to carry out this Agreement. The commission would compose in each country of its Education Minister and the Head of the Diplomatic Mission of the other country resident there. "At intervals of not less than once in three years the two Governments will hold joint consultations to co-ordinate the working of the Agrement in the two countries and to invite suggestions and advice from co-operating agencies concerning steps that may be deemed necessary for a more effective implementation of this Agreement."

The Agreement comes into force fifteen days after the exchange of the instruments of ratification which would shortly take place in New Delhi.

Maulana Azad signed on behalf of India and the Indonesian Ambassador to India Mr. L. N. Palar signed for Indonesia.

Pakistan Draft Constitution

The Draft Constitution of Pakistan consists of 245 articles and five schedules besides a Preamble. It envisages the establishment of an independent sovereign republican and democratic State "consistent with the ideology of Pakistan." The Constitution was to be a federal one and the republic was to be called the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan."

The chapter on Fundamental Rights provides that all citizens should be equal before law and no person should be deprived of life or liberty, save in accordance with law. Freedom of speech and expression and the right to peaceful assembly were also recognised. No person joining any educational institution would be required to receive religious instruction or take part in any religious ceremony or attend religious worship, if such instruction, ceremony or worship related to a religion other than his own. Untouchability in all forms would be abolished and discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth was forbidden in all cases. The Fundamental Rights could be enforced through the Supreme Court.

The Directive Principles of State Policy provides *inter alia* that the State should strive for the strengthening of the bonds of unity among Muslim countries, and generally for the promotion of international peace and security. It would be the duty of the State to take measures to enable the Muslims of Pakistan to order their lives in accordance with the Holy Quran and *Sunnah* and, in particular, the State should strive to "(a) provide facilities for the Muslims of Pakistan to understand the meaning of life according to the Holy Quran and *Sunnah* and make the teachings of the Quran compulsory to them; (b) promote and maintain the Islamic moral standards; (c) secure proper organisation of *Zakat, Waqfs* and *Mosques*; and (d) prohibit prostitution, gambling and consumption, except for medicinal purposes, of alcoholic drinks and the intoxicants. The legitimate rights and interests of the Muslim communities should be protected. Parochial, racial and tribal prejudices should be discouraged by the State. The Directive presented the ideal of a welfare State in Pakistan where there should not be any concentration of wealth and poverty. The State was further enjoined to work for the eventual separation of the judiciary from the executive.

The State would be headed by an elected President who must, however, be always a Muslim, and at least 40 years of age. He was to be elected by Members of the (Federal) National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of a single transferable vote. The President would be elected for a term of five years and no person could hold the office of President for more than two terms. The President would also be the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces.

Under Emergency Powers, the President could suspend the constitutional government in provinces by a Proclamation. No such Proclamation could be effective for more than six months.

There would also be a Vice-President who must have all the qualifications for election as a President which, in effect, meant

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Vice-Presidency would also be exclusively erved for the Muslims.

There would be a Cabinet, headed by a ime Minister, to be appointed by the esident from amongst the members of the ational Assembly, and it would be collectively sponsible to the National Assembly. Other inisters would be appointed by the President the recommendation of the Prime Minister.

The National Assembly would consist of 0 members with equal number of representa- es from each wing of Pakistan. For the first years, ten additional seats—five from East kistan and five from West Pakistan—would provided for women.

Unless the National Assembly otherwise cided one session of the Assembly in each ar was to be held in Dacca. As often as a ime Minister was appointed the National ssembly was to be summoned within three onths of such appointment.

The term of the National Assembly was e years unless it was dissolved earlier.

Provincial Governors would be appointed the President and would hold office during s pleasure. A Governor could not be elected ther to the National Assembly or to the rovincial Legislatures. In the discharge of s duties the Governor would be aided by the rovincial Cabinet headed by a Chief Minister.

Provincial Legislatures would also consist 300 members each with 10 additional women embers during the first ten years.

The chapter on the relations between the ederation and Provinces provided for (*a*) ederal; (*b*) Concurrent and (*c*) Provincial ist of Subjects as given in the Fifth Schedule. ailways were in the Provincial list. The rovincial authorities, however, could not close ermanently and dismantle any railway line ithout the approval of the Federal Govern- ent. Defense and Broadcasting were in the ederal List.

An Election Commission would be ap- inted with the responsibility for preparing ectoral rolls for election of the National ssembly and the Provincial Assemblies and attending to related work.

A citizen of Pakistan who was at least years of age, who was resident in the Con- uency for at least six months and who was barred by the Constitution or the National Assembly was entitled to vote in the elections. Not more than six months should elapse between the dissolution of the National and Provincial Assemblies and their resolution through elections. The decision regarding joint or separate electorates was left with Parliament.

The Constitution also provides for a Supreme Court with legal status and functions comparable with the Supreme Court of India.

Part XII of the Constitution deals with Islamic Provisions, Scheduled Castes and backward classes, the appointment of special councils, boards, etc. The President would set up an organisation to be called the Institute of Islamic Research and Institution for advance studies to assist in the reconstruction of Muslim society on a truly Islamic basis.

No law could be enacted which contradicted the injunctions of the Holy Quran and the *Sunnah* and existing laws would be brought into conformity with them.

Within one year of the promulgation of the Constitution the President of the Republic was to appoint a Commission "(*a*) to compile in a suitable form for the guidance of the National and Provincial Assemblies such injunctions of Islam as can be given legislative effect, and (*b*) to make recommendations as to the steps and stages by which the injunctions of Islam should be given effect and as to the bringing of existing laws into conformity with the said injunctions."

In the application of these provisions to the personal law of any Muslim sect, the expression "Quran and *Sunnah*" was to mean the "Quran and *Sunnah*" as interpreted by that sect. Nothing should affect the personal laws of the non-Muslims or the status of non-Muslims as citizens of Pakistan.

The President should constitute a National Economic Council composed of four Federal Ministers, three Ministers of each Provincial Government and the Prime Minister of Pakistan who would be the ex-officio Chairman of the Council.

There would also be a Board appointed by the President in each of the Provinces to advise the Federal Government on matters relating to Posts and Telegraphs in the Province.

Bengali and Urdu were to be the official languages of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

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English would, however, retain its existing status for 20 years from the date of the promulgation of the Constitution. After the first ten years the President would appoint a Commission to make recommendations for the gradual replacement of English. However, any Provincial Government could replace English as the official language of that province by any other language even before the expiration of twenty years.

In an editorial article on the provisions of the Draft Constitution of Pakistan, the *Hitavada* notes that it was the fourth attempt at Constitution making during the eight years of Pakistan's existence, the first three having had proved abortive. "But in form and content, so far as the non-Muslim minorities are concerned, the new Draft Constitution is little different from its forerunners. The Mullah influence is still predominant in the Draft Constitution and it seems to be a signal victory for the orthodox, bigoted leadership, which wants Pakistan's political life to be ordered according to the tenets of Quran."

The newspaper makes critical references to the Provisions of Head of State and those insisting on conformity with the teaching of Quran and *Sunnah* and says that the cumulative effect of those provisions would render the citizenship of non-Muslims "at best second-class citizenship" notwithstanding official protestations to the contrary.

The Draft virtually denied equality before law "by banning all legislation, which are repugnant to the injunctions of the Holy Quran, any statutory religious safeguards to the Hindu minorities have been rendered impossible. It is doubtful whether ever such a normal practice as the acceptance of interest for loans will be permissible in such a State—this will also affect the monetary and fiscal structure of the State—as taking of interest is repugnant to the teachings of Quran."

The *Vigil* in an editorial article on the same subject in its issue of January 14 writes that the hope entertained by some that the delay in framing a Constitution for Pakistan might eventually mean a rejection of the "nonsense about an 'Islamic' State" did not come true. The disappointment was all the greater because the Muslim League was supposed to have had lost its supremacy.

"The proposed nomenclature for Pa and the other 'Islamic' features of the D writes the *Vigil*, "are more than an affro the remnants of Pakistan's non-Muslim lation. Their adoption would mean a dangerous circumspection of the concepti citizen's loyalty to a modern State. Fo definition, the allegiance of non-Muslims 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan' could ne spiritually whole. Therefore, unless it i tended to drive the non-Muslim citizens the country, the authors of the Draft Co tion are proposing for a part of the politic to be in a condition of permanent and spiritual alienation from the State." danger of such a position, from the po view of the State's own security was on obvious. Moreover, as matter of princi could not be conceded that a State could any step "so as to degrade a section o citizens, detract from their full citiz rights and also place their very relati to the State and the rest of their fellow ci in moral jeopardy."

The newspaper adds that the 'Is features were no less a challenge to the lims of Pakistan "because the whole thin fraud on them." Nobody, except the mos thinking, could accept at face value, the tion in the Draft that "no law shall be e which is repugnant to the injunctions of as laid down in the Holy Quran and *Sunnah*" since obviously no viable m State could contract to abide wholly by such principles of Islam or any other re Historically speaking even Muslim rulers past would not follow such principles in they only followed those which suited purpose. There was nothing to suggest th bigoted rulers of Pakistan could achie impossible. These 'Islamic' provisions were designed to divert the attention Muslim masses from their existing miseri

Noting there had already been a opposition against the provisions of the both among the Muslims and non-Musl Pakistan, the *Vigil* writes that the dem forces must coalesce under a common ship if they meant to thwart the design big rulers because this was the last chance before them to exert themselve favour of a healthy growth of Pakistan.

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rench Elections

National Elections were held in France on anuary 2 following upon the premature disso- tion of the National Assembly by a Presi- ential Decree in December for the second me in the history of the French Republic.

The Government of Edgar Faure intro- uced a motion in the National Assembly on ctober 25, 1955, for complete elections which as adopted by the Assembly on November 2. xplaining the need for earlier elections M. aure said that the purpose of the measure as to enable a new Assembly, no longer beset ith electoral preoccupations, to face important d urgent discussions which must be taken in e international field, in North Africa, and in omestic affairs. Political observers, however, ad in this move a desire on the part of the overnment to get through the elections before had to promulgate a number of unpopular easures.

However, though the principle of earlier ection was adopted there could not be any reement on the electoral system to be used. e Electoral Laws had been substantially mended in May, 1951, with a view to corner- g the Communists and the Leftists. Accord- g to the provisions of that amended law oting was to be by departmental (provincial) st with one ballot; and a party or an alliance f parties getting more than 50 per cent of the otes would automatically become entitled to et all the seats of of that department. The mendment acted in favour of the center par- es but affected the Communists most ad- ersely. For some reason and other the Govern- ent parties in 1955 wanted further amend- ent of the electoral laws and in course of the ebates on that issue the Government fell to a te of confidence on November 29, 1955, that the elections were held according to the 51 Law.

According to Article 49 of the French onstitution, a government was bound to ign if it was opposed by an absolute majo- y (314) of the numbers of the National sembly in a vote of confidence. And Article provided that if two governmental crises urred under the conditions set forth in icle 49 within an eighteen-month period— ept during the first eighteen months of the islature the Council of Ministers might decide on the dissolution of the Assembly by a Presidential Proclamation, 318 members (314 being the absolute majority) voted against the Faure Government in November 1955. The Mendes-France Government also having had fallen on February 5, 1955, under similar conditions, the National Assembly was dissolved on December 2, 1955, by the President.

The position of the different parties as a result of the elections are given below:

1.	Communists	150
2.	Socialists (S.F.I.O.)	98
3.	U.D.S.R. (Social Democrats)	9
4.	Radical Socialists and Affiliated Groups (Mendes-France)	49
5.	Dissident Radicals (Faure)	21
6.	Popular Republicans (M.R.P.—Schuman-Bidault)	72
7.	Moderates (Pinay)	96
8.	Social Republicans (Gaullists)	22
9.	Anti-Tax Coalition (Poujade)	52
10.	Extreme Right	3
11.	Unaffiliated	22
		594

(Thirty-three more seats were yet to be filled. Those comprised 30 for Algeria where elections were not held, one each for French Oceania and New Caledonia where elections were to be held by the end of January and one undecided seat in Middle Congo.)

The result of the elections clearly disappointed the initiators of early elections. M. Faure was blamed for causing the elections to be held before time and was expelled from the Radical Party. The expulsion of M. Faure, reports the *New York Times*, "amounted to formal confirmation of the split in the Radical Party, which cuts the moderate middle groups in the Assembly into hostile blocs."

The executive committee of the Radical Party under the leadership of M. Mendes-France, approved the plan for a Republican Front Government of Socialists and Radicals. The National Congress of the Socialist Party also endorsed this plan. Neither party, however, laid claim to Premiership and both left it to be decided by President Rene Coty whether to nominate as Premier Mendes-France, the Radical leader, Guy Mollet, Socialist Secretary-General or a third man. Though both the parties were not unwilling to accept Communist

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votes to get into office they rejected the proposal for any alliance with either the Communists or other moderate groups. However, the Republican Front could scarcely hope to form a Government without the open or tacit support of either the Communists or other moderates in the Assembly.

Malaya's Future

Mr. Fenner Brockway, Member of British Parliament, writes in an article in the *Vigil*, January 21, that the breakdown of the recent 'cease-fire' talks in Malaya between the Communists on the one side and the Chief Ministers of Malaya and Singapore on the other, did not mean that holding such talks was useless or that there was no need to hold such talks in the future.

The failure of the talks was in a sense predestined since the two Chief Ministers were not independent of British control and the British influence was wholly directed against a settlement with the Communists, Mr. Brockway writes. The colonial office and its agents in Malaya had always discouraged efforts to open talks with the Communists and "when the Chief Ministers took the initiative for a meeting with the Communist leaders, British pressure was exerted to make the talks an occasion for surrender."

He avers that the war in Malaya could be ended if it was accepted by the British Government that the settlement within Malaya was a matter for the Malayans to make. Therefore, he urges upon the British Labour Movement to support the demands of the peoples of Malaya and Singapore for full national autonomy at the forthcoming constitutional talks in April.

Kenya Government and Goa

The nationalist Goans living in Kenya formed the East African Goan National Association in September, 1955, "to support the struggle for liberation of Goa by all peaceful means." The Kenya Government refused to register it on November 26. Shri J. N. Nazareth, President of the Association, immediately sent a fresh application for its registration and challenged the Registrar to disclose the reasons for non-registration. According to the *Press Trust of India*, the Kenya Government again refused registration of the As tion on the ground it was likely to be use purposes prejudicial to or incompatible peace, welfare or good order in the colo

Shri Nazareth was reportedly cons further appeal to the Governor-in-C against the Registrar's decision.

France Opposes Baghdad Pact

There has obviously been a breach Western Camp at any rate on Middle affairs in that France has publicly com against the Baghdad Pact which was off sponsored by the U.K. and openly sup by the U.S.A.

Expressing the French Governm anxiety at the situation in the Middle Ea French Government's memorandum to U.S.A. and U.K. recalled that France never looked with enthusiasm upon the clusion of the Baghdad Treaty.

"Brink of War" Diplomacy of Dull

James Shepley, Chief of the *Time* Washington Bureau, wrote an article i American magazine *Life* in which the quoted the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Foster Dulles as saying that he (Dulles averted three wars (in Korea in June, in Indo-China in April, 1954; in the For Straits in January, 1955) by his thre nuclear weapons. In the article, which written after an interview with Mr. Dull was quoted to have said: "You have to chances for peace, just as you must chances in war . . . The ability to get verge without getting into war is the nec art. If you cannot master it, you inev get into war. If you try to run away fr if you are scared to go to the brink, yo lost."

Mr. Dulles subsequently confirmed above statement.

The *New York Times* reports on Ja 12 that some observers viewed the interv *Life* as a counterpart to the article Mr. D had published in the same magazine i issue of May 19, 1952, during the last Pre tial campaign, entitled "Policy of Boldne

"That article," the report adds, "b a basic text for many Republican o attacking the Truman Administration's fo

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policy. The present interview may well serve as a guide for partisan defenders of Mr. Dulles' stewardship, these observers suggested."

The present *Life* article praising Dulles-Eisenhower policy, it is further reported in the *Times*, gave an account of the Indo-China crisis which varied considerably from the consensus of reports written at the time on the basis of information available in the State Department of U.S.A. and in the embassies of Powers friendly to the U.S.A.

"For example, in retrospect the article depicted the Indo-China armistice worked out in Geneva in 1954 as a 'major *save* for the free world' that made it possible to retrieve South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia from almost certain loss'.

"At the time Mr. Dulles and his Under Secretary of State, Gen. Walter Beddel Smith, characterized the armistice as a bad bargain. The United States, in fact, refused to sign it.

"The Shepley article, on the other hand, described the agreement to partition Indo-China and end the war as the outcome of a 'policy of boldness' that made it clear to the Communists the United States was prepared to act to hold what was left of South-East Asia."

The article retold the story of Mr. Dulles' flight to London in April 1954 to urge "united action" of Britain, France and the U.S.A. in the Indo-China war. It was stated in the article that Mr. Dulles had returned from London with a specific assurance from the British Government to "jointly take up the battle," but two weeks later—just before the Geneva Conference—"the British had a change of heart."

It also mentioned Mr. Dulles as saying that the Communists had not broken the truce in June 1953 when Syngman Rhee had freed 27,000 North Korean prisoners because the Chinese Government in Peking had been informed through Shri Nehru of U.S. preparedness to use atom bombs if Communists had continued fighting.

The third instance when the Communists had been restrained by Dulles' policy of going to the brink was in January, 1955, when the Chinese Communists stopped their assault of Matsu and Quemoy. The Communists had done this because of the Dulles' resolution passed by the Congress at that time authorizing President Eisenhower to use U.S. forces in that area if the Communists would attack Formosa or its approaches.

The article evoked a storm of protest from the Democratic Party leaders, a section of the U.S. press and from the British Government.

In "the most vehement ever" attack on the Secretary of State within the internationalist wing of the U.S. Senate, Democratic Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota accused Mr. Dulles of distorting history, breaching bipartisanship in an election year and damaging the United States before the world, William K. White reports in the *New York Times*.

Referring to Mr. Dulles' statement on Indo-China, the London *Times* writes: "What Mr. Dulles has to say about his own attitude at the time can naturally be taken as accurate. It was perfectly plain at the time that he, supported by Admiral Radford, was urging in April that both the U.S.A. and Britain should intervene. But he is not right in saying that the British Government or Sir Anthony Eden, then Foreign Secretary, had at any time agreed to intervene. Nor is it true that Britain has agreed to support the bombing of Chinese territory, north of the Vietnam frontier."

The *Statesman's* London office reports: "Second thoughts have brought little comfort to those who are perplexed, if not dismayed, by another instance of the 'time for frankness' indiscretions, which periodically bedevil American diplomacy."

"This time, with Sir Anthony Eden leaving so soon for Washington, the object of stirring up old disputes is more obscure than ever. Some might say, in fact, it is a subtle way of scoring off the British Prime Minister before the conference begins." (*Statesman* 14. 1. 56).

The *Manchester Guardian* writes: "Dulles is no historian and not much of a diplomat."

The *Daily Mail* of London calls Mr. Dulles' policy "a Dance of Death" and writes that if threats of nuclear war was an art, as Mr. Dulles said, "it is the most terrifying art we ever encountered. One false step and the artist is over the edge, taking his H-bombs with him and destroying the world in the process."

The *Hitavada* of Nagpur writes: "If Mr. Dulles had been in charge of foreign affairs in

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any other country but the United States, he would have been sacked on the spot for contributing the article he did to the *Life* Magazine on the theory of massive retaliation. This is a new technique of diplomacy which Mr. Dulles is developing. All important statements of policy in a State are made either in the form of White Papers or Parliamentary forums. But no functioning Secretary of State of foregin affairs in any other country so far has outlined his policy or explained it in a newspaper."

Refuting the Dulles' thesis that his "Brink of War" Diplomacy had brought the Korean war to an end, the *Hitavada* writes that the war in Korea had come to an end because both the U.S.A. and the Communists had made concessions. The U.S. Secretary's assertions showed the newspaper comments, "that the Republican administration in the United States has learnt nothing from the recent past." As for Mr. Dulles, Mr. Adlai Stevenson had aptly described him as a man playing Russian roulette with a loaded revolver in hand, the *Hitavada* concludes.

Poland Decrees Private Ownership of Land

In view of the rearming of West Germany and the abolition of Zemindary System in India and uncertainty about the ultimate proprietorship of land, the following extract from a back number of the *Worldover Press* is interesting:

"Berlin.—With dramatic suddenness, the Warsaw government has issued a decree providing that no fewer than 750,000 peasants in the former German provinces are to have their land as private property 'for eternity.' Registration for ownership, at the local courts, is to begin immediately.

"The Russian Ambassador to Poland, apparently as startled as anyone else, asked the Polish Premier, Josef Cyrankiewicz, the meaning of this sudden change in policy. The Polish government, supposedly a servile satellite of Moscow, remained firm, replying that it was an internal affair of Poland's, necessary for 'economic reasons.'

Historic Perspective

"It was a dark day in Polish history when, in August, 1939, Hitler's Foreign Secretary, Joachim von Ribbentrop, flew to Moscow to sign a pact between Germany and the Soviet Union. As a consequence, two months la Poland was partitioned—for the fourth ti The so-called 'Curzon Line,' which the Bri Lord Curzon had described as the best eth graphical frontier between Poles and Russi became the border dividing the two parts the former Polish State.

"Britain had guaranteed the inviolabi of Poland's frontiers, meaning of course those on the West, since no menace from East was at the moment taken seriously. U.S.S.R., however, had promised noth And when the war was nearing its end, at Yalta Conference, the Soviet Union clai those territories which, at the Peace of R after the war between Poland and Russia 1921, had been taken from her by force which were, in population, of a White Russ or Ukrainian majority.

"Britain could not keep the word she given to Poland. So she agreed that unfortunate Poles be compensated for the of territory handed over to Russia. Germ at that time, was a country deserving of consideration at all; had not Churchill that only a dead German was a good Germ So, as the weakest had to yield, three Germ provinces were given to Poland, with territory of the Danzig Free State in addi This soil was to receive the Poles who had to leave their homelands to the east of the Polish-Russian border line.

"About 7,000,000 Poles moved into E Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia, while Germans were expelled. Not all the 7,000 came from Poland proper; Polish emigr who had been living in France, Belgium the Ruhr, joined in. The Poles were given in the former German provinces, and set down. Visitors to Poland agree that all land is under cultivation. But the peas were not given the soil as private prope They received it through a sort of lease tract; ownership was vested in the State. in most of the villages, collectives were or nized to work the land, in a form similar the *kolhoz* system predominant in the So Union.

"What has happened to cause a Com nist-dominated country to create so m private property? The reason is evid another German statesman has been invited Moscow for negotiations—Konrad Adena

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The phantom of a fifth partition of their country rises before the Poles. Better show the Polish peasants—at least in the territory that might conceivably be traded—that land is theirs 'for eternity.' And that they must, if necessary, defend it.

Attack on the Press in USA

The International Security Sub-committee of the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate was authorized by the Senate in a resolution to investigate, among other things, "the extent, nature and effect of subversive activities in the United States . . . including, but not limited to, espionage, sabotage and infiltration by persons . . . seeking to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence." On this authority the Sub-committee, under the Chairmanship of James O. Eastland, beagn a probe of the press and, to a less extent, of radio and television in the United States to "find out Communists." The Sub-committee had recorded a number of testimonies, including several such from the employees of the *New York Times*. The *Times* in turn dismissed a number of its employees, who had been called upon to testify before the Sub-committee, for their attitude towards Communism.

Nevertheless the *New York Times* came forward against such intrusion in the press in an editorial article on the 5th January.

The newspaper did not question the right or propriety of any investigation of the press by any agency of the Congress but at the same time stressed the "inescapable responsibility of the Congress . . . to make certain that any such enquiry be conducted in good faith and not motivated by ulterior motive." But the present enquiry was obviously none of that sort.

While the newspaper would not knowingly employ a Communist Party member "in the news or editorial departments . . . because we would not trust his ability to report the news objectively or to comment on it honestly" it considered to be exclusively its own business to decide whom it would employ and not employ. "We do not propose to hand over that function to the Eastland Sub-committee, writes the newspaper.

The *Times* adds: "Nor do we propose to permit the Eastland Sub-committee, or any other agency outside this office, to determine in any way the policies of this newspaper. It seems to us quite obvious that the Eastland investigation has been aimed with particular emphasis at the *New York Times* . . .

"It seems to us to be a further obvious conclusion that the *Times* has been singled out for this attack precisely because of the vigor of its opposition to many of the things for which Mr. Eastland, his colleague Mr. Jenner and the Sub-committee's counsel stand—that, because we have condemned segregation in the Southern schools; because we have challenged the high-handed and abusive methods employed by various congressional committees, because we have denounced McCarthyism and all its works; because we have attacked the narrow and bigoted restrictions of the McCarran Immigration Act; because we have criticized a 'security system' which conceals the accuser from his victim; because we have insisted that the true spirit of American democracy demands a scrupulous respect for the rights of even the lowliest individual and a high standard of fair-play.

"If this is the tactice of any member of the Eastland Sub-committee," the *Times* continues, "and if further evidence reveals that the real purpose of the present enquiry is to demonstrate that a free newspaper's policies can be swayed by congressional pressure, we say to Mr. Eastland and his counsel that they are wasting their time. This newspaper will continue to determine its policies. It will continue to condemn discrimination . . . and defend civil liberties . . . to challenge the unbridled power of governmental authority."

Concluding, the *Times* writes: "We cannot speak unequivocally for the long future. But we can have faith. And our faith is strong that long after Senator Eastland and his present Sub-committee are forgotten, long after segregation has lost its final battle in the South, long after all that was known as McCarthyism is dim unwelcome memory, long after the last congressional committee has learned that it cannot tamper successfully with a free press, the *New York Times* will still be speaking for the men who make it, and only for the men who make it, and speaking, without fear or favor, the truth as it sees it."

Critical of the Eastland enquiries, the

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Washington Post and Times Herald writes: "Whatever Senator Eastland may say on the subject notwithstanding, his inquiry has certainly extended into an area in which the Constitution forbids Congress to make any law . . . The whole of the American heritage cries out against this kind of congressional intrusion into the affairs of (the) press . . ."

U.S. Investigations

The confessions of Matusow and others who testified in many anti-Communist trials that they had given false witness under governmental pressure brought to the fore the utter unreliability of the U.S. "investigations." The recent decisions on the Taylor and Kutcher cases further highlighted the hollowness of much of the accusations on the basis of which people were deprived of their means of livelihood and liberty.

Dr. William Henry Taylor, now 50, taught economics at the University of Hawaii, in Honolulu, before he became a United States citizen in 1940. On January 3, 1941, he took a job in the Treasury Department, which he left in December, 1945, to take up a job under the International Monetary Fund.

Dr. Taylor was first implicated in espionage hearings in 1945 when Miss Elizabeth Bentley, self-confessed spy, first told the story of Soviet "espionage" in the U.S.A. In 1948, Miss Bentley publicly testified that Dr. Taylor was a member of the Soviet espionage group. In September, 1953, the International Organization's Employees Board began to look into the case. In 1954, in course of a libel suit field by Dr. Taylor against the *Washington Daily News,* Miss Elizabeth Bentley retracted her insinuations against Dr. Taylor. Dr. Taylor then requested the Board to call upon Miss Bentley to appear before the Board as a witness which the Board did. But Miss Bentley failed to appear before the Board. Nevertheless, on June 28, 1955, the Board decided against Dr. Taylor. The Board said that it "was convinced that this employee (Dr. Taylor) was engaged in espionage . . . that he was placed in the Treasury . . . by Communists and espio agents . . . and that he was and possibly is an adherent to the Communist ideology."

Mr. Scott, the counsel for Dr. Ta requested a rehearing which the Loyalty Bo granted. On the basis of new evidence same Board had to declare on January 5 year: "On all the evidence there is no reasonable doubt as to your (Tayl loyalty."

In an editorial article on the recent d sion on the Taylor case, the *New York T* writes that the decision "suggests that procedure in this (Loyalty) Board and in c parable agencies may lend itself to blunde and injustice. We do not pretend to k what Mr. Taylor's inmost thoughts and be are, but obviously the Loyalty Board did know about him to pass the judgment it di

James Kutcher, who lost his two legs the Second World War, was denied payment disability pension by the Veterans' Admi tration because he also happened to be a ciated with the Trotskyist Socialist Wor Party which was on the list of "subver organizations" of Attorney-General. Rece the Administration reversed its earlier deci and decided to continue payments until final determination of the case in a rehear

Criticizing the attitude of the Vete Administration in refusing Mr. Kutcher ments of disability pension, the *New Y Times* also referred to the effort to put him his family out of a low-cost housing pro because his father would not sign a state denying that any member of the house belonged to an organisation on the Attor General's list. The Supreme Court of Jersey had, however, unanimously over that move. "In the pension case," writes *Times,* "it seems to us that Mr. Kutcher clearly entitled to compensation for his time injuries. The present attempt of the to deprive him of these rights, even thou is acting under a 1943 law, can be viewed little less than retaliation for extremist po views. That isn't the kind of action that well in a democracy."

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MAHATMA GANDHI'S PHILOSOPHY OF SOUL FORCE

By Dr. HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR,
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There is not a single area of human activity or of social relationships in India which remained uninfluenced by Mahatma Gandhi or by his philosophy of soul force. Hence it may be appropriate for me to begin this paper with Prime Minister Nehru's immortal tribute to the martyred Mahatma.

"The Light has gone out of our lives," said Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, in an impromptu radio address upon Gandhi's martyrdom, "there is darkness everywhere." Could it really be that Gandhi's light ceased to shine since he was no longer with us in his puny bundle of flesh and bones? Correcting himself Nehru continued:

"It was wrong. For the light that shone in this country was no ordinary light. The light that has illumined this country for these many years will illumine this country for many more years; and a thousand years later, that light will be seen in this country, and the world will see it and it will give solace to innumerable hearts. For that light represented something more than the immediate present; it represented the living truth . . . the eternal truths, reminding us of the right path, drawing us from error, taking this ancient country to freedom."

Gandhi may truly be said to be the prophetic voice of the twentieth century. Violence inflicts upon its practitioners physical and spiritual wounds; the way of non-violence, said Gandhi, "blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used." Again,

"Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit."

Let us be sure we do not misunderstand the philosophy of non-violence embodied in Gandhi's life and teachings. A practitioner of the non-violent way of life, far from being passive, is the most active person in the world. He is ready to join the fray—non-violently—wherever and whenever there is injustice or wrong. He neither tolerates nor compromises with injustice, wrong, tyranny, authoritarianism, totalitarianism, dictatorship. His task in life is not to destroy the evildoer but to redeem and to convert the evil-doer by love. "With malice toward none, with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right," he is ever ready to "bind up" humanity's "wounds," to minister to the underprivileged and to the misguided. The constant concern of the follower of non-violence is, in the words of Lincoln, to "achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

The spirit of India's Gandhi as well as of America's Lincoln is today sorely needed by a generation madly dancing over a precipice. We have learned to fathom the secrets of the atom, we have learned to master nature, but we have not yet learned to master our inner selves. Our scientists can predict with accuracy the long-range behavior and movements of stars and planets millions of miles away—but we are unable to foretell our next-door neighbor's behavior and movements the very next moment.

The world has become a small neighborhood. Therefore, we are called upon to understand and appreciate our neighbors across the Atlantic and the Pacific, as well as across the Great Lakes and the Gulf. To understand other nations, we must know their values and their historical development. This requires a sympathetic approach to other nations, cultures, and religions. By understanding Gandhi we may build a bridge of understanding between ourselves and India, between ourselves and the Orient, between ourselves and noble free spirits the world over.

What is Gandhi's message for our small neighborhood world divided into two camps—democratic and totalitarian? First of all, Gandhi would have us set our course by the twin stars of Truth and Non-Violence; which means, we must approach other peoples with charity and sympathy. Second, Gandhi would

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have us stand on a platform of values to which we must be faithful unto death; which means, we must act in accordance with principles, not expediency. Appeasement, even for the sake of peace, must be ruled out, because appeasement implies sacrifice of principles. Third, Gandhi would have us work ceaselessly for the realization of "common-human" values, as the sociologists say, for the triumph of the common-human way of life. His hospitality to other cultures was aptly phrased by the Mahatma in the following classic words:

"I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any."

According to Gandhi, there are three types of human beings: (1) the coward, (2) the brave, (3) the superior. The coward, in order to save his skin, supinely acquiesces in injustice and wrong. The brave hero, on the other hand, violently resists injustice and wrong in order to re-establish justice and right. The superior person is he who, in the fullness of his strength, forgives the wrongdoer and tries to redeem him and convert him to the ways of doing good.

The Philosophy of Soul Force

Mahatma Gandhi's program of political action was derived from the quest for God. His quest for God, for self-realization, led him to involve himself in the affairs of his fellow human beings, of his compatriots. To quote his exact words:

"I am part and parcel of the whole, and I cannot find Him apart from the rest of humanity. My countrymen are my nearest neighbors. They have become so helpless, so resourceless, so inert that I must concentrate on serving them. If I could persuade myself that I should find Him in a Himalayan cave, I would proceed there immediately. But I know that I cannot find Him apart from Humanity."

This involvement in the affairs of humanity led him to realize the supreme importance of two age-old values, namely, *Satya* or Truth and *Ahimsa* or Non-violence and Love. On the basis of *Satya* and *Ahimsa*, Gandhi elaborated his philosophy of Soul Force.

Soul Force may be viewed from four different angles; or, better yet, it may be viewed at four different levels. First and foremost, Soul Force is the primeval element pervading the universe. Here there is no possibility of conflict because of man's communion with Soul Force at the highest level. Second, Soul Force is a way of life in harmony with the cosmic process. There is no possibility of conflict at this second level either, because of harmony with the cosmic process. Third, Soul Force is a tool of spiritual insight into the workings of the universe of which we are integral parts. Here there is the possibility of conflict because of man's freedom to use the tools of insight. Fourth and least important, if the conflict is not resolved at the third level by the right choice, Soul Force manifests itself as a technique for resolving crises, conflict-situations. In this context, the term conflict is used to signify tension. At the first level, tension would imply estrangement of the human soul from the Supreme Soul. At the second level, it would mean disharmony with the cosmic process; at the third level, illogical differences; and, at the fourth level, violent hostilities.

1. *Soul Force as the Cosmic Principle.* Soul Force as the cosmic principle has been known to mankind, East and West, from time immemorial. Soul Force is the primeval energy, the creative spirit, the self-existent Being without beginning and without end. Prophets have exalted it and poets have sung of its glory. Some refer to Soul Force as a He, some as a She, some as an It: they all mean the same thing. In the Infinitude of the Supreme Being, sex, gender, and age become meaningless. Call it the primeval substance or the ether of the formless; call it the *Ding-an-sich* or the Thing-in-itself (of Kant) if you will; call it the interplay of matter and spirit; call it Brahma; call it the Oversoul as Emerson did; call it by what name you will, Soul Force is the beginningless, the endless, the only *Satt* (Sanskrit: Being or Truth) that is infallible in the universe. And to the extent that the elements of the universe—galaxies and planets, atoms and electrons, birds, beasts, and men—are a part of the *Satt*, do they partake of the nature of the divine. Under this condition alone do the sentient creatures realise their identity, their at-one-ness, with the Supreme *Satt* (Supreme Being: Supreme Truth). It manifests itself in terms of *Chitt* (Sanskrit:

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Mind or Intelligence) and culminates in *Ananda* (Sanskrit: Joy or Bliss).

Defying the compulsions of matter, rising above the prison walls of institutions, holding fast to his inner being in the midst of the *Maya* (illusion) of processes, man can truly affirm and realize with Jesus, "I and My Father are one"; or, with Buddha, "I have become the Awakened, the Enlightened, One."

Experiencing Soul Force at the highest level, as mystics have done, man can obliterate differences and conflicts from his behavior as well as from his consciousness.

2. *Soul Force in Tune with the Cosmic Process*: Soul Force is a way of life in tune with the cosmic process. The fundamental oneness of life is the essential aspect of this universe of ours. The stars and the planets move in their appointed orbits; the trees blossom forth into magnificent foliage and flowers; the birds chirp and teeter on the boughs, bedecked in pleasing plumage; the rivers flow majestically, unconcerned with the passing show; the oceans retain their gravity and serenity while receiving untold amounts of water from rivers; nature evolves from the simple to the complex, favoring one form and discarding another—all these events in the universe are but manifestations of Soul Force, of God if you prefer the term. Man's supreme happiness consists in the realization of his oneness with the rest of creation.

Aham Brahma-Asmi, I am Brahma, is but a variant of the other saying: *Tat-Twam-Asi*, i.e., That Thou art. I am Brahma. You are Brahma. I am That. You are That. Your highest bliss and mine, then, consists in our being in communion with That. Hence, the injunction: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind."

Again, if you are That and if I too am That, then you and I have a fundamental affinity, one with another. Indeed, you, my neighbor, are myself in another form; and I am yourself in another form. Hence, the injunction: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Ecstatic devotion to the Most High or supreme adoration of the Ultimate Reality, and realization of the identity of oneself with the neighbors—these two requirements of the inner life of the spirit flow naturally from Soul Force.

The corollary is obvious: "The virtue of that life and power" (Soul Force) must "take away the occasion of all wars." The indwelling Light of Soul Force not only "leads out of wars, leads out of strife, leads out of the occasion of wars, and leads out of the earth up to God, and out of earthly mindedness into heavenly mindedness"; it also puts upon us the obligation of *Ahimsa* (non-violence: love).

Here Hindu metaphysic and Christian teaching, as expounded by George Fox, meet in majestic confluence like the Jamuna and the Ganges.

There is no possibility of conflict at this second level of Soul Force because of harmony with Soul Force at the first level.

3. *Soul Force as a Tool of Spiritual Insight*: Soul Force embraces the totality of being. Hence it serves the purpose of what the scientists call "a frame of reference." No event occurring in the universe is outside the purview of this frame of reference. Indeed, Soul Force serves admirably as a criterion for judging events and actions, or as an integrating principle. To Mahatma Gandhi it is "an angle of vision." In the language of empiricism it is a hypothesis. The hypothesis of Soul Force postulates that the universe is hospitable, friendly, loving. In Plato's terminology, the universe may be conceived as the quintessence of the good, the true, the beautiful.

Opposed to the theory of Soul Force, there is the postulate of Brute Force being at the core of the universe. This latter theory holds that the universe is inhospitable, unfriendly, unloving, at best a moral if indeed not immoral. This view is well expressed in the Hindu dialectician's phrase *Matsya-Nyaya*, "the logic of the fish"—"the larger fish devouring the smaller fish."

In Occidental thought this point of view was best set forth by Hobbes, Malthus, and Darwin. Hobbes defined the state of nature as "a struggle of each against all." Malthus premised that population tended to outstrip the food supply; thus there ensued the struggle for existence. Darwin studied nature and arrived at the conclusion that there was universal "struggle for existence"; that only "the fittest" survived, giving rise to new species.

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Interestingly enough, another student of nature, Prince Peter Kropotkin of Russia, arrived at the conclusion that in nature there was "mutual aid."

Darwin and Kropotkin are both partly right and partly wrong. In nature we have both phenomena: the struggle for existence, and mutual aid. To read in nature exclusively a struggle for existence, or exclusively mutual aid, would be wrong. We must balance the two in terms of the fundamental frame of reference. The experience of nature as well as of man, an integral part of nature, points to an interesting lesson. In the struggle for existence, that species which learned co-operation and mutual aid among its members has succeeded, survived, and prospered. Benjamin Kidd is quite right when he suggests that social progress consists in the capacity for team-work, in the capacity of the individual member to subordinate himself to the group. Self-preservation, accordingly, becomes group preservation. One finds one's true self when one is willing to lose it for others. How perfectly is the teaching of religion in harmony with the findings of science! But we can arrive at this conclusion because we are operating within the frame of reference of Soul Force.

Contrariwise, the frame of reference of Brute Force compels different conclusions. Man must be eternally at war with nature and with his fellows. To survive, he must be aggressive and brutal. The more brutal he is, the more likely is he to survive—and to dominate. He must, therefore, glorify war and create occasions for war. In the war of each against all, there can be no mutual trust, no confidence, no tenderness, in human relations. Man must not only build engines of human destruction; he must himself be an engine of Brute Force.

Hobbes, Malthus, and Darwin, honored social philosophers and scientists as they were, have been responsible to no small extent for the cult of brute force in Western civilization, for "the white man's burden" upon "the lesser breed," for racialism and for imperialism. In our day, Marxism reinforces the philosophy of violence and brute force.

Granted these two possible approaches to an understanding of nature, which one shall we choose as a guide to our behaviour—S Force or Brute Force?

The Hindus speak of *Rajju-Sarpa-Ny* "the logic of the rope-snake." If in the twilight of an evening you should chance u a rope lying on the road and think it is a pent, your reaction to the object would be ditioned by your *belief* that it is a snake. T objectively, it is a mere piece of rope is material; to you at the moment *it is a sn* And your response is watchfulness, and e a fight or a flight.

The German philosopher Vaihinger d loped the same notion in his concept of *Als* "As if." Man's response to the environmen not in terms of the objective reality bu terms of his subjective conception of situation.

Granted the universe were unfriendly- untenable assumption—how about man ponding to it as if it were hospitable? C not man by his very response transform nature of the cosmic process? But we are compelled to battle against the universe. universe is friendly and hospitable. It is view of the universe that needs to be har nized with the ultimate nature of Soul Fo

Because man is free to choose as a g to his conduct either of the two frames of rence, Brute Force or Soul Force, at this of Soul Force there is the possibility of flict.

4. *Soul Force as a Technique for Re ing Conflicts*: If in spite of man's best att to live at the first three levels of Soul F conflict does arise, then he must translate Force into a technique for resolving crises conflict-situations.

To Mahatma Gandhi, in our age, be the credit for having worked out Soul Forc a technique for resolving crises and con situations. The technique of Soul Forc *Satyagraha* (*i.e.*, Insistence upon Truth u all circumstances) can be effectively used a single individual as well as by a group people large or small.

The theory is so simple that even a can understand it. Fellowship among hu beings is possible on two planes—the pla joy and the plane of suffering. On either p man become oblivious of his petty self

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ises his kinship with the Supreme Self, with l Force.

A simple illustration of kinship on the ne of joy is afforded by recreation. Abiding the rules of the game, the players enjoy a owship which is no part of the routine vities of this humdrum life. Group recrea-, either indoors or outdoors, is a tonic to spirit, precisely because participants in re-tion experience joy and fellowship on the mon-human level.

The inner man is touched by suffering as l as by joy. The occurrence of an accident s not call forth the response: What is his ionality? Does he go to church regularly? w shabbily dressed is he? No, none of these dental trappings of man's self engages our ention. The prompt response is always: Is badly hurt? What can we do for him?

There is then this basic law of human avior: The inner self in each man is touched joy as well as by suffering and is trans-ted into common fellowship with the object oy or of suffering. Gandhi understood intui-ly this basic law of human behavior.

Suffering calls forth a realization of mon-human kinship. Why not then, in ct argued the Mahatma, utilize the technique "self-invited suffering" to call forth the ponse of common-human kinship from those t persecute and exploit us and deny us tice and freedom?

Soul Force posits a divine potential in the ngdoer, be he British, or German, or what-r he may be. And it is this divine potential, inner man, within the wrongdoer that must touched and "coerced" to respond to "self-ted suffering." The wrongdoing itself is the cal end-product of an encrusted system or itution—the Empire System, for example—ch enslaves the wrongdoer as well as the nged. Hence, the wrongdoer must be made see the injustice of the system, to question validity of the system he operates, by the im inviting suffering upon himself in the t of *Ahimsa* (non-violence: love). The crete technique of Soul Force has been ed *Satyagraha* (holding fast to Truth), by dhi.

That the political movement of non-ent non-co-operation, or of civil disobe-ce, was motivated by some such philosophy of Soul Force needs to be emphasized:

"I have no God to serve but Truth." Again, "I can easily put up with the denial of the world, but any denial by me of my God is unthinkable."

The relation between God and Truth fascinated Mahatma Gandhi ever since maturity. In Geneva, the birthplace of Calvinism, the Mahatma discussed Truth and God in refreshing terms. "Until now," said Gandhi, "I used to say 'God is Truth.' Now I believe Truth is God." The statement "God is Truth" is partial, contends Gandhi; the statement "Truth is God" is all-inclusive.

Truth is unreliable except in terms of *Ahimsa*, that is to say, except in terms of non-violence and love. *Ahimsa* is to be viewed not merely as a grand principle, but *as the way of life*. To complete Gandhi's chain of reasoning we must recall the ancient Sanskrit saying: *Satyameva Jayate*, i.e., Truth alone conquers.

Soul Force Involves Both Co-operation and Non-co-operation

In spite of its revolutionary character, *Satyagraha* has a great affinity with democracy; I suppose, because democracy, too, was born of revolution and has dynamic capacity for effecting change of the most revolutionary type in a peaceful manner.

It is unbecoming to the dignity of man supinely to submit to injustice and wrong. In order to abolish existing injustice and wrong the Satyagrahist studies the system or systems and patterns that make for wrong and injustice. He would try to mend or to end, "to alter or to abolish," the system that is responsible for wrongdoing. In his zest to eliminate the wrong, the Satyagrahist is ever careful not to eliminate the wrongdoer. *Satyagraha* does not aim to cure the rash without cleansing the whole system. If a purge be necessary, let there be a purge—a non-violent purge, to be sure. The Satyagrahist looks behind the flutter of phenomena.

The Satyagrahist gives the benefit of the doubt to his antagonist; he strives generously to understand the other's point of view. He co-operates whenever co-operation involves no compromise with principle, with Truth. He works for conciliation and arbitration. His concern is not only to minimize conflict but also to minimize the occasions for conflict.

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Democracy is based upon Soul Force; indeed, the democratic process is *par excellence* the manifestation of Soul Force in action; because democracy, too, strives to minimize conflict and occasions for conflict.

The role of self-invited suffering is most important in the technique of *Satyagraha*. Non-co-operation with the agency of wrongdoing in turn depends upon co-operation among the "revolutionaries." Only self-purification and prosecution of the constructive program make the people fit to offer non-co-operation.

When goodwill and conciliation are unavailing, the Satyagrahist who foreswore violence and warfare has open to him only one course of action, namely, to invite upon his devoted head all the sufferings he can without malice, without ill-will. Sensitivity to suffering is the hallmark of humanity. Hence by inviting suffering upon ourselves we may light up the spark of the divine potential in the wrongdoer.

The process of inviting suffering upon one's self takes two forms: (1) self-purification, internally; and (2) non-co-operation with the agency of wrongdoing, externally.

Self-purification is meant both for the individual and for society. The Satyagrahist must not hesitate to take upon himself and upon his society, upon his nation, part of the responsibility for existing wrongs. Acts of self-purification call for a reconditioning of the individual and a mending or an ending of internal patterns and systems and institutions that inflict injustice and wrong upon society as a whole or upon certain sections of society. To that end soldiers of non-violence *co-operate* one with another and with other members of society to rid themselves of internal social wrongs.

This is one part of *Satyagraha—the constructive program* based upon self-purification and internal co-operation.

The other part of Satyagraha is n operation with the agency or system t responsible for the major wrong or injus society.

Concretely speaking, in India *Satyag* involved, on the one hand, the fivefold tructive program:

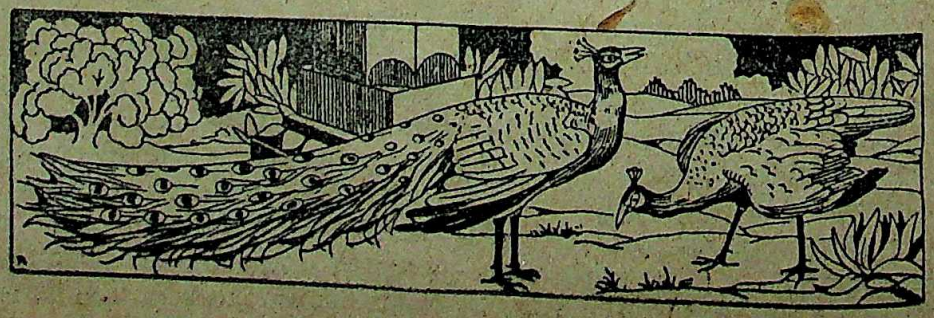
(1) Hindu-Muslim unity,
(2) Abolition of untouchability,
(3) Prohibition of narcotics and liquor,
(4) The greater participation of women nation's fight for freedom,
(5) The encouragement of home industri as, spinning, weaving, and handicraft sorts.

On the other hand, it involved n operation with the British Governmen its institutions:

(1) Renunciation of titles,
(2) Non-participation in official functions
(3) Non-co-operation with government, and schools, and the setting up of courts and national schools,
(4) Non-violent violation of predetermin of the government and seeking arre imprisonment,
(5) Peaceful picketing of government opium and liquor shops,
(6) Non-co-operation with the civil and administration of the country,
(7) Non-payment of taxes.

Gandhi devised the program of n operation not as a substitute for co-op with the British Raj; he devised it as a tute for irresponsible, sporadic violence would have engulfed India as part of the cycle of nationalist upsurge. Thus, wit framework of his philosophy of Soul Mahatma Gandhi proved the efficacy moral equivalent of war.*

* Paper read at the Fourth Conference on Asian A hattan, Kansas, November 18-19, 1955.



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THE PANCH SHILA AND WORLD PEACE

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course of a debate on foreign affairs in the dian Lok Sabha on September 17, 1955, the dian Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru alled his speech in the House six months ago d said :

"At that time there was danger of a catastrophe a world war or something leading to it. The guns e all loaded and the fingers were on the triggers . the situation now has improved greatly during se six months. The guns are still loaded, but the gers are not on the triggers. . . . there are merous dark spots and danger zones. Nevertheless . there has been an improvement in the atmosre all round and for the first time, people all over world have a sense of relief and a sense that war ot inevitable. In fact, it can well be avoided."[1]

On Shri Nehru's own admission, "it would exaggeration to say that India has made a or difference to world politics. We must exaggerate our role, but it is a fact that dia has on significant occasions, made a ference." "Now," Shri Nehru added, "India's tribution to this new situation may perhaps put in one word or two, 'Panch Shila'."

Panch Shila

But what is the Panch Shila or Five nciples of co-existence, as it is otherwise own?

In their present form these principles were ted for the first time in the preamble of the eement between India and China signed on il 29, 1954, with a view to promoting trade cultural intercourse between India and the bet region of China." These principles are:

(1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
(2) Non-aggression ;
(3) Non-interference ;
(4) Equality and mutual benefit; and
(5) Peaceful co-existence.

In June 1954, Mr. Chou En-lai, the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, on his way from Geneva to Peking met Shri Nehru in Delhi, and the two Prime Ministers in a joint statement on June 28, 1954, reaffirmed the Panch Shila. They felt that the Panch Shila should be applied in their relations with other countries in Asia as well as in other parts of the world.

On October 11, 1954, the Panch Shila was restated in a joint Russo-Chinese communique at Moscow. During the last few months countries like Burma, Cambodia, Egypt, Indonesia, Laos, Nepal, Poland, Viet Minh and Yugoslavia have expressed their adherence to the Panch Shila. On Indian initiative the Unesco also accepted at its 8th General Conference at Montevideo a resolution on the Panch Shila. When in June, 1955, Shri Nehru had his talks at Moscow with Marshal Bulganin, the Panch Shila was developed slightly further in connexion with the idea of non-interference. For the Nehru-Bulganin Declaration of June 22, 1955, refers to the idea of non-interference thus : "Non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons of an economic, political or ideological character."[2]

There is, however, as yet no universal respect for, or acceptance of, the Panch Shila, though there is a general sympathy for its principles. At the Asian-African Conference at Bandung in April, 1955, ten principles were adopted in the form of a Declaration of World Peace and Co-operation, and the All-India Congress Committee in its resolution of May 8, 1955, maintained that

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The Sunday Statesman, September 18, 1955.

2. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, June 24, 1955. In the Tito-Bulganin statement of June 2, 1955, this principle is stated as follows: "Compliance with the principle of mutual respect for and non-interference in internal affairs for whatever reason whether of an economic, political or ideological nature, because questions of internal organization of different social systems and of different forms of socialist development are solely the concern of individual countries." Ref. *The Statesman*, June 4, 1955.

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"In this Declaration is found the full embodiment of the five principles or Panch Shila, with the addition of elaborations which re-inforce them."

However, soon after the conclusion of the Bandung Conference, Mr. Mohammed Ali, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, was reported to have declared that all the Five Principles of co-existence were not to be found in the Bandung Declaration, which, however, in his opinion, contained all the seven principles which he himself had suggested at Bandung on April 19, 1955. A declaration, called the San Francisco Declaration, was read by Mr. Van Kleffens, the President at the concluding session of the U. N. tenth anniversary celebrations in San Francisco on June 26, 1955. In this document the Member-nations recognise that the hope of enduring peace rests on how well they carry out the purposes and principles of the U. N. Charter and "uphold these principles in their relations with each other." This last clause, it is understood, was inserted after objections from several nations to a suggestion by M. Molotov that the summation should include a reference to "peaceful co-existence."

Why is there so much hesitation on the part of so many nations to declare their adherence to the Panch Shila?

Historical Background

For a proper understanding of the criticisms against the Panch Shila and suitable replies to them it is necessary to have a historical background of the Panch Shila. In a sense, the idea of co-existence is as old as human history. During the last five thousand years of recorded history men and women, parents and children, friends and relatives, units and groups like families, clans, tribes, villages, states or nations, political and religious ideologies along with their social and economic systems have "co-existed." Not that there has been no destruction of persons, institutions, ideologies or their systems during all these years. But in human history there has been more of living and "let live" than of killing and being killed, *i.e.*, more of peaceful co-existence than otherwise.

Most of the violence in history during the last 150 years has been committed either in the name of nationalism or of a classless society, though the violence for the latter cause has assumed greater significance in recen[illegible] Ever since Marx and Engels propound[illegible] 1848 their thesis that "The history [illegible] hitherto existing society is the history o[illegible] struggles" and that the existence of the [illegible] geoisie is no longer compatible with s[illegible] there has been no dearth of thinkers to co[illegible] act this thesis by ideas of some form [illegible] existence among classes or systems. [illegible] similarly speak of co-existence among n[illegible] Initially all ideas of co-existence were c[illegible] by such terms as toleration, co-operation, non-violence, law, justice, friendship [illegible] neighbourliness. Co-existence between c[illegible] ism and communism or the classes they [illegible] sent assumed a new significance after the [illegible] munists assumed power in Russia in O[illegible] 1917. Neither the First Communist [illegible] national during 1864-1874, nor the [illegible] during 1889-1914 seemed to be any [illegible] threat to the capitalist system. But the [illegible] International founded by Lenin and T[illegible] in March, 1919, seemed to operate [illegible] General Staff of World Revolution [illegible] capitalism.

By January 10, 1920, the Covenant [illegible] League of Nations with the ideals of p[illegible] co-existence among nations came into fo[illegible] 1920, also, Lenin's policy of peacef[illegible] existence of regimes fundamentally opp[illegible] each other took definite form with the [illegible] treaties in which the Soviet regime rec[illegible] the independence of States that had f[illegible] been part of, or connected with, the [illegible] Empire, and, in turn, was recognised by [illegible] In a party report of December 18, 1925, [illegible] directly referred to the "temporary equi[illegible] of forces that put an end to war aga[illegible] that ushered in the period of 'peace[illegible] existence' between the Soviet State [illegible] capitalist States."[4]

The doctrine of peaceful co-existe[illegible] added strength in 1927 when in a strug[illegible] power between Stalin and Trotsky, the [illegible] ascendency led to the rejection of the [illegible] view that the Russian revolution could [illegible] safe until the Comintern had instigated [illegible] revolutions in all major countries. W[illegible]

3. Laski, *Communist Manifesto; Socialist Landmark*, 185.

4. J. V. Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 7, p. 294.

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azis got power in Germany in 1933, and the nger of totalitarian aggression consequently creased, Communists in all countries were vised to co-operate with other peace-loving oups. Having no faith in peaceful co-exist- ce, Germany and Japan withdrew from the eague of Nations in 1933. But the Soviet nion entered it in 1934. In 1935-36, attempts ere made by Communists in various countries form with other parties joint fronts and opular fronts. However, in August, 1939, the oviet Union concluded a non-aggression pact th Germany. For, roughly by the time of unich Settlement in September, 1938, it had come clear that "the main capitalist powers d no objection to the expansion of Hitler and ussolini, provided that their own 'vital terests' were not touched—interests which ey did not regard as including the integrity Soviet Russia."[5]

Hitler put an end to all ideas of co-stence when he invaded Poland on Septem- r 1, 1939. When the Soviet Union invaded nland on November 30, 1939, the League of ations for the first time as well as the last pelled a Member, the U.S.S.R., and "only weden's refusal to allow British and French oops to pass through Swedish territory in der to come to the aid of Finland saved eat Britain and France from being at war th Germany and the Soviet Union at the me time."[6] In course of the war, the Soviet nion was, however, brought to the side of the llies, when on June 22, 1941, Hitler attacked ussia. The beginning of 1942 is also the ginning of the great alliance known as the nited Nations.

The alliance of the U.N. transformed lf into an organisation of the U.N. through e U.N. Charter which came into force on tober 24, 1945. This Charter embodies the nciples of peaceful co-existence to such an ent that no important step in international airs can be effectively taken without unani- y of the great powers required under its icles 27, 106, 108 and 109. But the U.N.O. ed to secure world peace effectively. In fact, the post-war years the tension between the mmunists and the non-Communists or anti-Communists developed in the form of a cres- cendo. The U.N.O. tended to become less important than other alliances and counter-alliances, and even the Comintern, dissolved in May, 1943, was virtually revived as the Com- inform in September, 1947. In 1954, Shri Nehru took the initiative to emphasise the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence, which have now become famous as the Indian Panch Shila.

First Objection

But is the Panch Shila the final answer to the problem of world peace?

The first objection to the Panch Shila is that it is Communist-inspired. Dr. A. Appa- dorai has pointed out that the Declaration on the promotion of world peace and co-operation adopted at the Bandung Conference does not contain the word "co-existence" because of its having a supposed Communist touch.[7] The fact that peaceful co-existence is inspired by the Communists is no defect of the ideal itself. It only shows perhaps that in view of modern scientific developments, the Communists have modified their earlier ideas against co-existence. Properly understood, the Panch Shila is inherent in the religions and philosophies of all countries of the world. Indeed, in view of the fact that it is Shri Nehru who gave the principles of peaceful co-existence their present worldwide significance, they may be spoken of as Indian-inspired. It is in this sense that these principles are now called the Indian Panch Shila.

Second Objection

In the second place, it is usually objected that the principles of the Panch Shila are very vague. Terms like "territorial integrity," "sovereignty," "non-aggression," "non-inter- ference," "equality" and "co-existence" have been differently interpreted by different think- ers. Students of political science are more or less familiar with the confusion connected with these terms except "co-existence" which is more or less a newcomer in modern political vocabulary. Co-existence might mean the ex- istence of the *status quo* in all its details, a kind of co-existence which is obviously im- possible in our political world which is essen- tially dynamic. If, however, peaceful co- existence implies that certain changes are per- missible, then does it also imply the idea

5. Laski, *Communist Manifesto : Socialist Landmark*, p. 84.
6. H. J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations* (2nd Edition), p. 24.
7. *India Quarterly*, July-September, 1955, Vol. XI, No. 3, p. 231.

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covered by the words "peaceful change"? If it be said that only minor changes are permissible, but not major changes, what should be the criterion for determining the permissible limit? Again, co-existence may be possible between nations, between systems like Communism and Capitalism or between blocs of nations.

In concrete terms the difficulties may be illustrated if we ask whether the Panch Shila permits a "peaceful invasion" of Goa by the Indian Satyagrahis for the incorporation of that territory into the Indian Union, whether the Western nations of Europe can pursue a policy of "peaceful conversion"[8] of the Communist nations of Eastern Europe through propaganda, economic boycott, etc., and whether the U.N.O. should co-exist side by side with the NATO, the SEATO, the East European Union and a possible MEDO?

But though the details of the ideas covered by the principles of the Panch Shila are not always very clear and definite, yet their broad outlines are sufficiently understood.

Third Objection

A third objection against the Panch Shila is that its principles are rather deceptive. For, according to classical Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist doctrine, peaceful co-existence between Communism and Capitalism is rather unthinkable except as a temporary expedient. According to Mr. Raymond L. Gartoff:

"The Soviet conception of 'peaceful co-existence' is one of the hardest to define and document, for the simple reason that it is not a basic doctrinal belief, . . . but is rather a vaguely formulated contradiction of doctrine, originally devised to legitimise the establishment of Soviet diplomatic relations, later adopted as an effective weapon in Soviet and world Communist propaganda."[9]

As early as April, 1916, Lenin wrote:

"Every 'peace programme' is a deception of the people and a piece of hypocrisy unless its principal object is to explain to the masses the need for a revolution, and to support, aid and develop the revolutionary struggle of the masses."[10]

The Bolshevik leaders for the first bowed to the need of some form of co-exi with the capitalist world in March, 19 signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk wi German Empire. But the "Left" Comm regarded with misgivings this unor compromise of the Marxian view till the from power in the mid-1920's. Even himself observed in his address to the 8th Congress in 1919:

"We are living not only in a state, but in a of states, and the existence of the Soviet R side by side with the imperialist states for a lo is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph end. And before the end comes, a series of collisions between the Soviet Republic and the geois states will be inevitable."[11]

Referring to this passage Stalin wr 1926, "clear, one word think," and freq quoted in his pronouncements.[12]

It may be noted that in every co Stalin's statements to foreign intervie the 1930's and 1940's to the effect that pe co-existence is possible, "he neglects to s how long and on what terms."[13]

In 1952, a Soviet writer, of course, a that

"The second half of the twentieth cent bring the complete victory of Communism t out the world."[14]

But Stalin declared on the eve of th party Congress in October, 1952:

". . . War with the U.S.S.R., as a country, would be more dangerous to capitali war between the capitalist countries, for if tween the capitalist countries poses only the of the supremacy of some capitalist countri other capitalist countries, war with the U should certainly pose the question of the co existence of capitalism itself."[15]

He added, "In order to eliminate evitability of wars imperialism must troyed."

This passage of Stalin emphasise the aspect of co-existence in Com thought than that of an inevitable clash.

In December, 1952, Stalin said to James Reston, Diplomatic Correspondent *New York Times*:

8. *Readers' Digest*, November, 1954, pp. 17-22.
9. *Problems of Communism*, 1953, Vol. 2, No. 5, p. 5. Published by Documentary Studies Section, International Information Administraton, Washington-25, D.C.
10. *Selected Works*, New York, 1943, Vol. 5, p. 237.
11. *Works* (3rd Russian Edition), Vol. XXIV, p. 1
12. J. Stalin, *Works*, (Russian Edition, 1954), Vol. 8
13. *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 27, No. 2, January, 1949,
14. Quoted in *Problems of Communism*, 1953, Vol. 2,
15. Stalin, *Bolshevik*, No. 18, 1952, pp. 18-20.

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"I still believe that war between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. cannot be regarded as inevitable and t our two countries can in future live at peace h each other."[16]

Malenkov and Bulganin also have exssed their support for a policy of costence between two different systems—pitalism and Socialism.[17]

The fact, perhaps, is that the Soviet leadbeing increasingly impressed by the destive power of nuclear weapons, are inclined waver in their belief in—or desire for—an vitable clash between the two camps, hoping t the world crisis of capitalism will come out in some other way. Malenkov declared March, 1954, that another World War uld mean the "destruction of world civilizan,"[18] and not simply of the capitalist civilion.

It seems reasonable to hold that the destive powers of science have at last dealt ous blows on the Communist thesis of the vitable clash, a thesis already shown to be rue by those who do not explain history ough economic factors alone or through the r-simple formula of class struggles and lence. It was on July 16, 1945, that the S.A. set off the world's first experimental mic explosion. On August 6 and 8, 1945, mic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and agasaki, killing nearly 100,000 persons. In summer of 1949, the Soviet Union also exded her first atomic bomb and in August, 3, she even exploded her first H-bomb. The S.A. tested her H-bomb in March, 1954.

In view of all this it is not difficult to lise that a long war between the two powers l-armed with atomic weapons certainly uld produce an order of radio-activity which ld involve all victors as well as vanquished, might end the human race.

Fourth Objection

It has been stated by some that the Panch a is borrowed from the Charter of the U.N. is, therefore, more or less redundant. The larity or even the identity of the Panch a with the principles of the U.N. Charter is too patent to be ignored. The first principle of the Panch Shila, *i.e.*, "mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty" corresponds to Article 2(1) and 2(4) of the U.N. Charter which state that

"The organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members," and that "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."

The second principle of the Panch Shila, *i.e.*, "Non-aggression" is also covered by the reference to refraining from "the threat or use of force" in Article 2(4) of the U.N. Charter. The third principle of the Panch Shila, *i.e.*, "Non-interference in each other's internal affairs" is evidently found in Article 2(7) of the U.N. Charter which states:

"Nothing contained in the present charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII, *i.e.*, for 'action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression'."

The fourth principle of the Panch Shila is divisible into two parts, one "Equality," and the other, "Mutual benefit." "Equality" is obviously covered by the phrase "the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members" in Article 2(1) of the U.N. Charter, and the principle of "mutual benefit" has been stated in Article 2(5) as follows:

"All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter and shall refrain from giving assistance to any State against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action."

The fifth principle of "Peaceful co-existence" may seem to follow derivatively from the preceding four principles of the Panch Shila; and in that sense may be treated as included in the corresponding principles of the U.N. Charter. But, more fundamentally, the fifth principle must be read and understood with an emphasis on the prefix "Co" in Co-existence. In the latter sense, existence is understood to imply the existence of more than one, and not simply of one who may have self-existence by

[16] Moscow Radio Broadcast, December 25, 1952.
[17] Their speeches and statements, dated March 9, 1953, 13, 1954, April 26, 1954, June 26, 1955, etc.
[18] *Izvestia*, March 13, 1954. Quoted in *Problems of Communism*, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 9.

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devouring neighbours all around. Thus, the final principle of the Panch Shila essentially implies that nations or systems should have peace among them for living "jointly, together and mutually." In this sense, the first four principles of the Panch Shila do not necessarily imply peaceful co-existence, nor does peaceful co-existence necessarily imply any or all of the first four principles.

Properly understood, anything in the Panch Shila is not really redundant. For an emphasis placed on fundamental principles of any kind can never be redundant, and certainly not when this emphasis can save us from a moment of crisis. As Shri Nehru said :

"There was nothing new about the idea of peaceful co-existence. Nevertheless, it was a new application of an old idea and an application to a particular context. Ever since those ideas were initially mentioned and promulgated, they have not only spread in the world and influenced more and more countries, but have acquired progressively a greater depth and a greater meaning too."[19]

Fifth Objection

The circumstances in which India was able to persuade China, or was herself persuaded by China, to accept the Panch Shila, bring out clearly the reason for the rejection of the final objection against the Panch Shila that it is ineffective for maintaining world peace. The Communist China has not only been denied her legitimate seat in the U.N. ever since 1949, but has been even declared an aggressor by the U.N. General Assembly in the course of a three-year war on Korea ending in July, 1953. The Berlin Conference during January-February, 1954, solved no international problem. Nor did the Geneva Conference up to June 12, 1954, when the Laniel Government in France fell. At almost the same time when Nehru and Chou were reaffirming the Panch Shila in Delhi, Churchill and Eisenhower in Washington issued statements demanding the solidarity of Atlantic nations, a self-defence organization for South-East Asia, atomic energy co-operation between the U.S.A. and the U.K., and referring obviously to Eastern Europe, even emphasized that

"As regards formerly sovereign States now in bondage, we will not be a party to any arrangement or treaty which would confirm or prolong the willing subordination."[20]

Soon after, the Geneva Agreements signed on July 21, 1954, establishing an armistice in Indo-China where a 7-year-old war then reached a decisive stage with victory the Communists. The gathering strength of Panch Shila seems to be the main reason the Communist-backed Viet Minh armies halted midway in their victorious marc over Indo-China.

Again, the international situation beg deteriorate when on July 23, 1954, a B Sky-master was shot down, through mis by the Communists near the Chinese Tension mounted over similar other incid the unsolved problems of Korea and For SEADO Treaty of September, 1954 and, all, over Paris and London Treaties of Oct 1954, providing for the end of occupatio West Germany and her inclusion in the W European Union and the NATO for pur essentially of rearmament. The U.S.A. ened her defence measures for the prote of Formosa against the Communist C specially since December, 1954. On Feb 25, 1955, the SEADO Council even desig Communism as a menace. In May, 1955, U.S.S.R. carried out her threats anno since December, 1954, to annul her tr with France and the U.K. during the W War II, and arranged also an East Eur Security Pact for a unified command of 8 Eastern European countries.

It seemed that anything might happe any moment.

However, the anti-war forces or the of peaceful co-existence again gathered m tum and gave a new direction to the t events as the top leaders of 29 Asia-A countries representing a majority of the w population endorsed on April 29, 1955, a D ration covering the Panch Shila. On Ma 1955, the U.S.A., the U.K. and France vited the U.S.S.R. to a Big Four Meeti the highest level, a proposal which the immediately accepted. On May 15, 1955 Austrian Peace Treaty was signed. A Yugoslav Declaration was signed on Ju 1955, ending their 7-year-old quarrel endorsing substantially the Panch Shila

19. *The Sunday Statesman*, September 18, 1955.

20. Quoted from the *Readers' Digest*, November, 1954.

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ter, Shri Nehru visited Moscow and Prague d issued joint statements with the Prime inisters of the respective Governments on ne 22 and 25, 1955, respectively, in both of hich the Panch Shila was endorsed. One onth later the victory of the Panch Shila was mplete when the Big Four held the historic nference "at the summit" from July 18 to 23, 55, and reached complete agreement on a an for future negotiations about the key sues of European security, Germany, Disrmament and Development of contacts beween East and West, all for the purpose of educing East-West tension.

Future of Panch Shila

It cannot be denied, therefore, that the anch Shila has been so far very effective in educing the world tension at critical moments. ut what about the future? Peaceful co-existence in the world today may be said to be hieved through the simultaneous operation of number of factors: First, fear of modern destructive weapons; second, world public opinion; ird, wise diplomacy; fourth, international orality; and fifth, international law, including the law of the U.N. with special reference disarmament, collective security, judicial ttlement, and peaceful change. Of them, fear not a desirable weapon of peace. It is not effective either. It is not desirable, because it estroys the moral fibre of humanity. It is effective, because war to-day is total war, e., of all, by all, for all and against all, and ll cannot be restrained from the path of vioence simply by producing what may be called ar psychosis. The contribution of the Panch hila to peaceful co-existence is essentially in e spheres of producing a world public opinion r peace, of giving guidance to diplomats in eir work for peace and of strengthening the oral fibre in every man in his aspirations for ace. But the Panch Shila adds little or thing to international law for peaceful costence, though it may do so by creating cliate of peace leading ultimately to suitable anges in international law in the direction en of a world state.

Even according to so realistic a thinker as of. Hans J. Morgenthau:

"There is no shirking the conclusion that international peace cannot be permanent without a world state." It is also true, as Prof. Morgenthau further maintains, "that the world state cannot be established under the present moral, social and political conditions of the world."

But, he adds:

"There is also no shirking the further conclusion that in no period of modern history was civilization more in need of permanent peace and, hence, of a world state."[21]

Here the Panch Shila can make its most significant contribution to the history of human civilization, if it generates and strengthens the feeling in all that the world struggle for peace today is far more important than all our struggles for power which lead ultimately to World War, and, consequently, that our loyalty to the world, to the whole humanity, is more important than our narrow loyalties to our separate nations. They talk of revising the U.N. Charter now, but they forget that if there be any tension among the Great Powers, all such proposals for revision are bound to be vetoed under Articles 108 or 109 of the U.N. Charter. The Panch Shila, and the Panch Shila alone, can create today an atmosphere conducible to peace, necessary not only for our survival, but also for launching our next steps towards a world state with world loyalty, world law and world institutions. Prof. Morgenthau believes:

"There can be no world state without the peace-preserving and community-building processes of diplomacy."[22]

But he forgets that wisdom in modern diplomacy is to be found not simply in national interest,[23] *i.e.*, in national self-existence alone; but in world interest, *i.e.*, in peaceful co-existence, which, however, must be treated, not as an ideology[24] in the sense of a deception or disguise, conscious or unconscious, but as an inspiring ideal.*

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21. H. J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations* (2nd Edition), p. 481.
22. *Ibid*, p. 534.
23. *Ibid*, p. 528.
24. *Ibid*, p. 80ff.

* A paper read by the author at the 18th session of the Indian Political Science Conference held at Bhopal from December 21 to December 23, 1955.

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RURAL AND URBAN COMPOSITION OF INDIAN POPULATION

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.com.

Introduction

In a country with a balanced economy the population is fairly evenly distributed between the towns and rural areas. The concentration of population whether in the rural or in the urban areas gives rise to a serious problem of an economic, social and political character. India had a fairly evenly distributed population even as late as the first half of the 19th century. The villages were self-supporting autonomous units, regulating their communal aflairs through panchayats. The cities were the centres of industries fostered by rulers who supported a large number of officials and favourites in comparative splendour. These princely courts created a demand for artistic products and, along with the wealthier merchants and landowners who surrounded them, employed a fairly large number of merchants, middlemen and craftsmen. These urban centres obtained their foodstuffs from the rural districts round them in exchange of their manufactured products.

The Industrial Revolution in England brought with it far-reaching changes in the distribution of population. The artisans and craftsmen who were deprived of their means of livelihood by means of the introduction of machinery were absorbed in increasing numbers into the rapidly multiplying factories. Large numbers from the rural areas were attracted to the already congested cities. The improvement of farm implements and introduction of machinery into farming contributed to the migration from the village to the city, a migration which was facilitated by improvements in communication.

Thus in the West the era of machinery and large-scale production resulted in the urbanisation of the population. In India, on the other hand, the introduction of cheap machine-made goods and the imports of manufactured goods from abroad led to the destruction of handicrafts in towns and cities. urban population that made a living out these new crafts was compelled to fall upon the land as the only means of livelih From being manufacturing and indus our country was transformed into a dominantly agricultural country.

Importance of the Problem

The distribution of population bet rural and urban areas is highly signific Economic progress in every country has marked by a corresponding increase in u population. Rural life and urban life pre sharp contrasts all over the world and the trast is perhaps sharpest in India. The pre deratingly rural character of our country sign of her economic backwardness. It shows mistakably that we are yet far behind civilized countries in the development of tr transport and industry. The rural-urban di bution of population is also significant another point of view. It throws light on people's national character. The rural p are lethargic, conservative and superstiti and enjoy a high social and cultural stat arising out of cultural and ethnic contin and homogeneity. All the traditional more culture are strongly preserved in a rural soc which offers the greatest resistance to inn tion and reform. Thus villages act as a to economic progress, whereas the urbanis is the result of industrialisation, increase trade and commerce and growth of mo arts and science. The urban people co quently are alert, industrious and resourc It is from the cities that progressive radiate and civilization spreads around. fact that we have only a few cities shows the springs of economic progress are Ranade, commenting on the progressive ru isation, pointed out that it meant loss of po intelligence, and self-dependence.

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Rural and Urban Distribution

It is still true to say what Mahatma Gandhi told in his life-time that "The Indian nation lives in its villages." According to the 1951 Census, there are 558,089 villages[1]—large and small, thriving or stagnating—in the plains and on the hills, dotted over the face of the country; and in these villages live 2,950 lakhs of the population—the average population per village being 529. The number of occupied houses in the villages is 541 lakhs so that each village on an average comprises 97 occupied houses and each rural household on an average consists of 5.5 persons.

In contrast to this, there are only 3018 towns in India with a total population of 619 lakhs—the average population per town being 20,510. The number of occupied houses in the towns is 103 lakhs so that each town on an average consists of 3,413 occupied houses and this gives almost exactly 6 persons to a house in a town.[2]

The following table gives the distribution of population according to rural and urban areas since 1901:[3]

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Area in Sq. Miles	1,766,597	1,802,657	1,805,332	1,808,679		1,269,640
No. of Towns and Villages:	730,753	722,495	687,981	699,406	602,703	561,107
(a) Towns	2,148	2,153	2,316	2,575	2,703	3,018
(b) Villages	728,605	720,342	685,665	696,831	600,000	558,089
No. of Occupied Houses:	55,841,315	63,710,179	65,198,389		76,035,345	64,400,000
(a) In Towns	5,590,859	6,037,456	6,765,014		9,599,251	10,300,000
(b) In Villages	50,250,456	57,672,723	58,433,375		66,436,094	54,100,000
Total Population:	294,361,056	315,156,396	318,942,480	352,837,778	314,766,380	356,829,485
(a) In Towns	29,244,221	29,748,228	32,475,276	38,985,427	?	61,825,214
(b) In Villages	265,116,835	285,408,168	286,467,204	313,852,351	?	295,004,271
Male:	149,951,824	161,338,935	163,995,554	181,828,923	?	183,305,654
(a) In Towns	15,499,786	16,108,304	17,845,248	?	?	39,997,000
(b) In Villages	134,452,038	145,230,631	146,150,306	?	?	143,337,000
Female:	144,409,232	153,817,461	154,946,926	171,008,855	?	173,523,821
(a) In Towns	13,744,435	13,639,924	14,630,028	?	?	35,349,000
(b) In Villages	130,664,797	140,177,537	140,316,898	?	?	138,196,000

The following table shows the variation in Rural population in 1911, 1941 and 1951 Census:

Classification	*No. of Villages*		*Population (in millions)*		
	1911	1941	1951	1911	1941	1951
Under 500 Inhabitants	552,109	450,902	380,020	102.0	94.2	78.3
500 to 1,000 "	107,545	123,911	104,268	74.6	86.9	72.9
1,000 to 2,000 "	45,843	57,408	51,769	62.2	79.3	71.1
2,000 to 5,000 "	14,643	22,151	20,508	41.2	63.4	59.1
Total Rural Population	819,440	654,372	556,565	280.0	323.8	281.4

The following table which gives the rural urban ratio of the Indian population reveals how little progress has been made towards the urbanisation of India:

The Rural Urban Ratio of Indian Population

Census Year	*Rural*	*Urban*
1872	91.28	8.72
1881	90.59	9.41
1891	90.54	9.46
1901	90.12	9.88
1911	90.58	9.42
1921	89.80	10.20
1931	89.00	11.00
1941	87.20	12.80
1951	82.70	17.30

1. According to the *Census Report* for 1951, a village means "a cluster of houses whose inhabitants are regarded by themselves as well as others as a distinctive social unit with its identity marked by a distinctive local name. The village in the administrative sense is the *mauza*—a settled area with defined boundaries, for which village records have been prepared."—Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 42.

2. The average population per village as against per town:

1901	365	18,615
1921	465	14,016
1931	450.4	15,140
1941	517	18,365
1951	529	20,510

3. Vide *Census of India* for 1901, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 572; *Ibid* 1911; *Ibid*, for 1921, p. 3; *Ibid*, for 1931, 1941 and 1951.

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The very small proportion that the urban population bears to the whole is clearly indicated by the close relation between the variation in total population and that in the rural population as contrasted with the general antethesis between the total and urban populations. Since 1891, the total population of India increased only by 2.4% while that of the towns rose by 7.3% in 1901. During 1921-31 the total population increased by 10.6%, while there was an increase of 2% in urban and 9.6% in rural population. The Census of 1941 showed an increase of 32% in the urban population over the figure in 1931 as against 14.3% increase of the total population. While in 1941-1951, the total population increased by 13.5%, there was an increase of 54% in urban and 7.4% in rural population. All the same the predominantly rural character of Indian population remains. Villages, *i.e.*, localities with a population of less than 5,000, absorb about 83% of the people in the country. Population of 7 cities with one lakh or more inhabitants increased in the decade ending in 1951 by about 74 lakhs. Population of towns with 5,000 to one lakh inhabitants increased by 140 lakhs.

In 1872, the percentage of urban population was 8.7% and at the beginning of the century it was between 9 to 10%. In western countries the percentages of urban population towards the beginning of the 19th century were: England and Wales, 21.3; Scotland, 17.0; France, 9.5; Prussia, 7.25; Russia, 3.7; and U.S.A., 3.8.[4]

Urban development in India had progressed at the beginning of this century. In 1901, 1/10 of the population lived in places classed as urban and the remaining 9/10 in the villages. Of the citizens of towns more than ½ were found in places with at least 20,000 inhabitants, about 1/5 in those towns with 10,000 to 20,000, and the same proportion in those from 10 to 15 thousands, while about 1/6 dwelt in smaller towns. Excluding Ajmer and Baroda the tendency to live in towns was most marked in Bombay, Rajasthan, Berar, and least in Bengal, Assam and Kashmir.[5]

In 1911, only 9.5 per cent of the p tion lived in towns (compared with per cent in England and Wales and per cent in Germany) and 90.5 per ce villages. More than half of the urban lation was found in towns containing up of 20,000 persons, about 1/3 in towns fr to 20 thousands; the remainder about 1/5 in towns with less than 5,000. The ten to urban agglomeration was most mark the north-west and least so in the north The proportion of urban to total populat the main provinces ranged from 18 per ce Bombay to 3 per cent in Assam, 6 per ce Bengal, 3.4 per cent in Bihar, 8 per cent in 11.7 per cent in Madras, 10.2 per ce U.P., 13 per cent in Rajasthan. The r for this variation were partly a matter of and partly a matter of historical and po considerations. The proportion of urb total population fell during 1901-1911 9.9 to 9.4 per cent. The main reason the prevalence of the plague more in than in rural areas, which spread to all except the east and the south; as also an demic in the towns of M.P., M.B., and which drifted away the people to villages.

In 1921, only 10.2 per cent of the p lation lived in towns as against 89.8 per in the villages. The proportion of urb total population varied from 19 per ce Bombay to 4 per cent in Assam, 6.7 per in Bengal, 3.7 per cent in Bihar, 12.4 per in U.P., and 13.4 per cent in Rajasthan. reason for this increase in urban popu was that the conditions were improved.

Since 1921, there has been a gradual crease in the percentage of population in towns and a smaller decrease in that in villages. This has been mainly due to development of industries and transport country which faciliated the movemen surplus farm population to the towns in s of employment. The war also gave a fillip to the increase in urban population.

The following table gives the perc of rural population living in villages (of rent dimensions) in the different zones:

4. A. F. Weber: *Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century* (1899). Quoted by Dr. Gadgil in *Industrial Evolution in India* (1938), p. 139.

5. *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 27.

6. *Census of India*, 1951, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 43.

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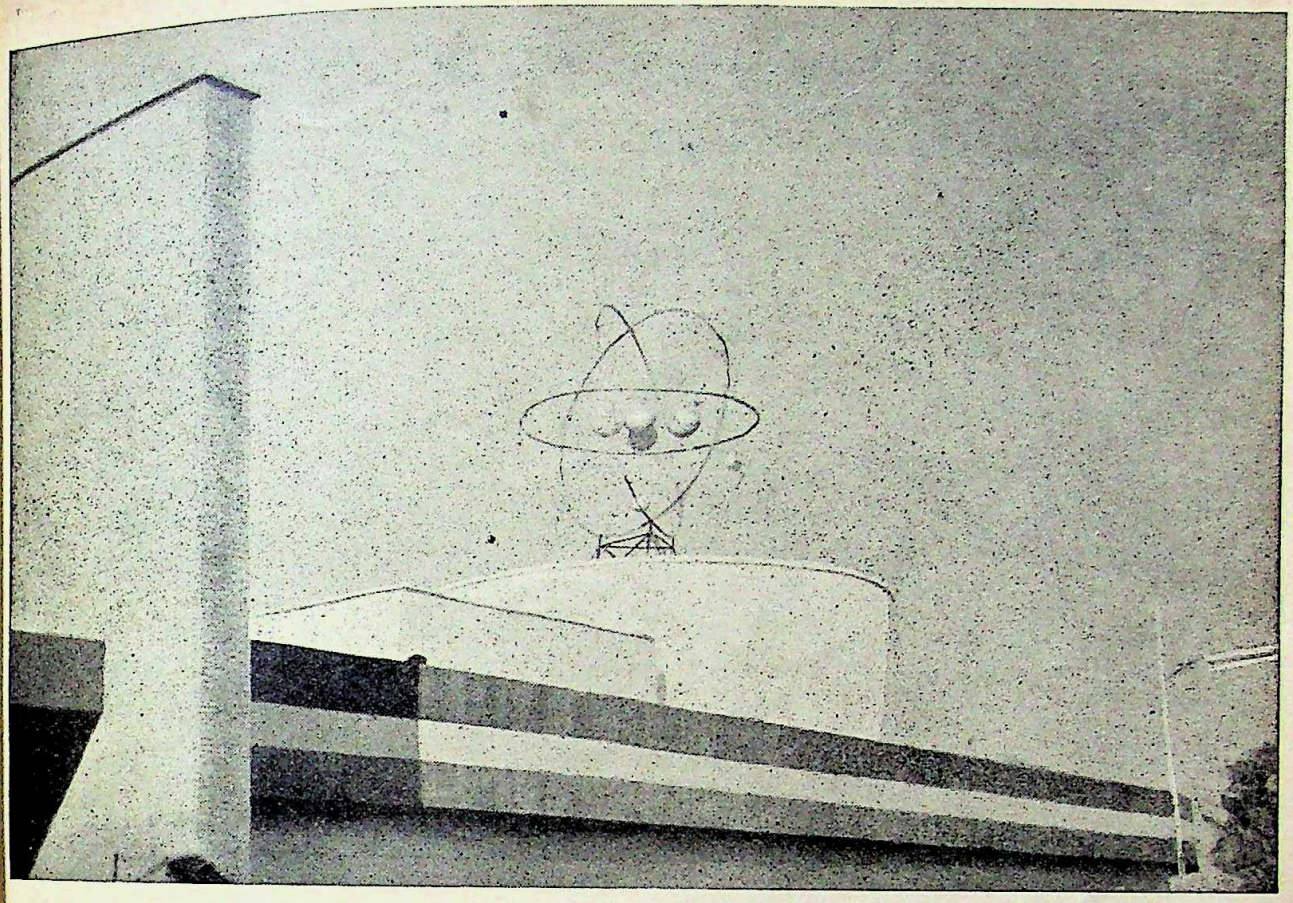

Atom for peace

Entrance to the Chinese Pavilion

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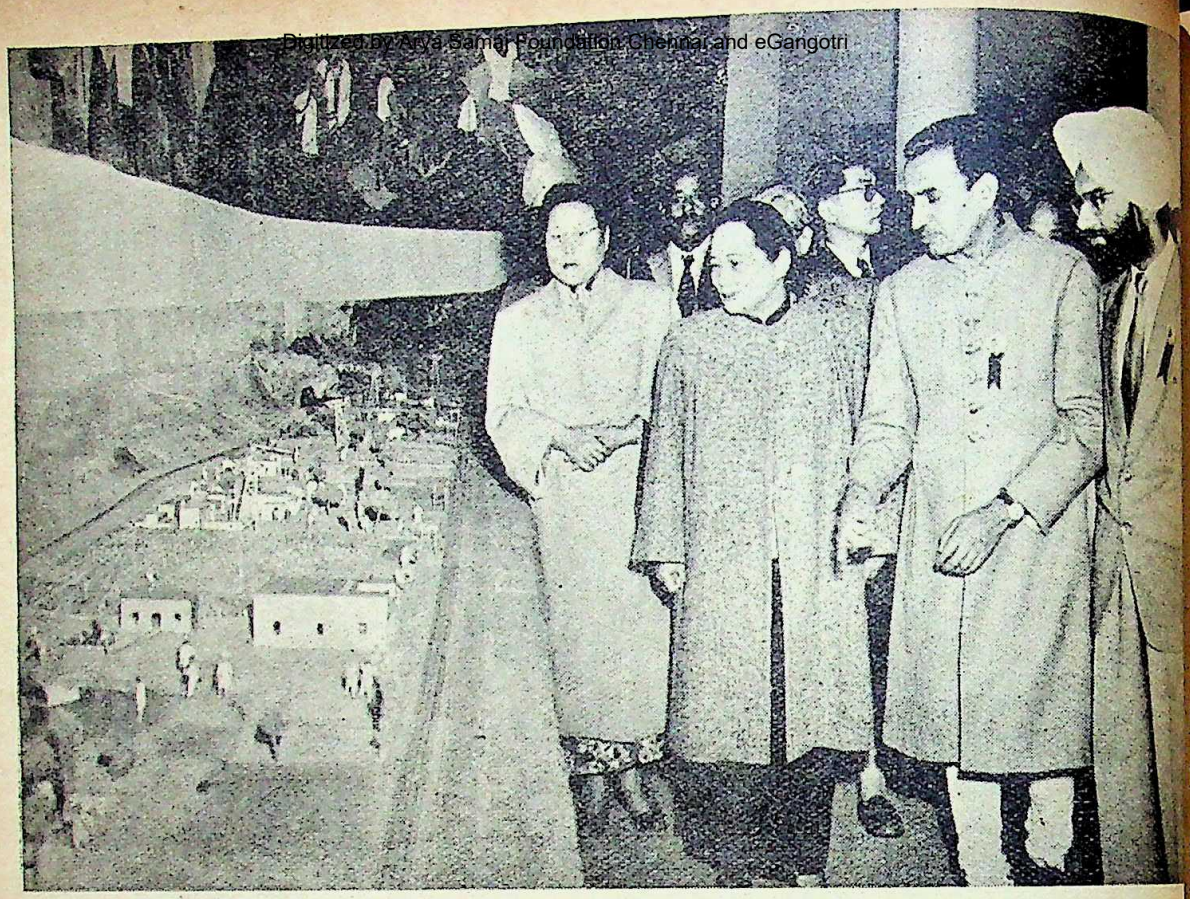
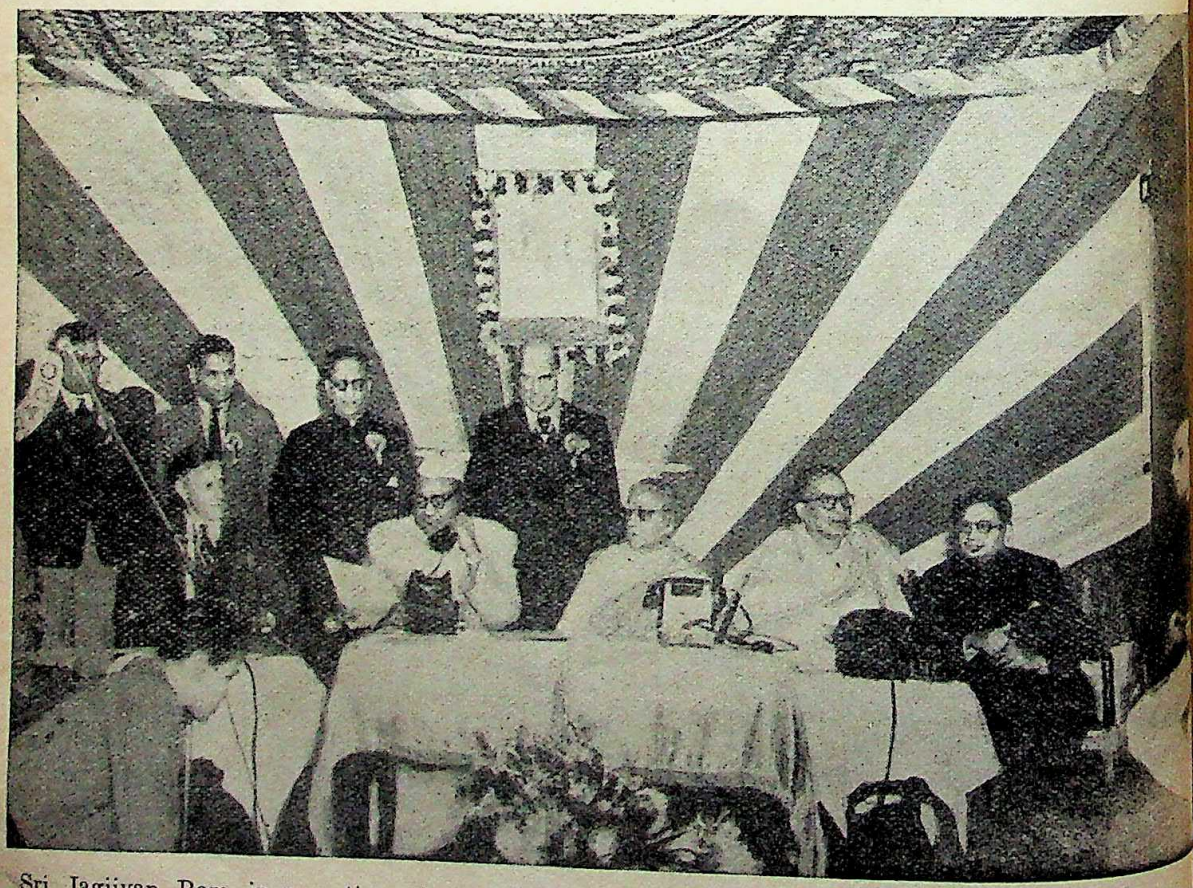


Madame Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen) at the Indian Industries Fair in New Delhi



Sri Jagjivan Ram inaugurating the direct radio telephone service between Calcutta and London at Hatikanda (Calcutta Centre). Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Dr. B. C. Roy and Sri D. C. Das, Jt. Secretary, Ministry of Communications, are also seen in the picture

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	Percentage of Rural Population living in—			
	Small villages (under 500)	*Medium-sized villages* (500 to 2000)	*Large villages* (2000 to 5000)	*Very large villages* (over 5000)
North India	29.8	55.3	13.5	1.4
East India	33.8	48.6	14.3	3.3
South India	9.4	38.5	35.3	16.8
West India	18.1	55.0	23.9	3.0
Central India	35.7	50.4	13.0	0.9
N.-W. India	30.4	50.9	16.4	2.3
India—Total	26.5	48.8	19.4	5.3

From the above table it will be clear that more people live in medium-sized villages than in others.

As mentioned earlier, about 83 per cent of the population still live in the villages. The condition in the West is quite the reverse. In Western countries the percentage of rural population varies from 44 per cent in U.S.A., and Germany to 68 per cent in Sweden; 29 per cent in Italy; 58 per cent in France; 23 per cent in England and Wales; 55 per cent in Austria; 59 per cent in Canada and 36 per cent in Japan. The percentage of rural population ranges from 92.5 per cent in Bihar to 85.7 per cent in U.P.; 78.9 per cent in Madras; 67 per cent in East Punjab Union; 80 per cent in Rajasthan; 50 per cent in Saurashtra; 78 per cent in Travancore-Cochin; 57 per cent in Ajmer and 99.4 per cent in Manipur and only 17.5 per cent in Delhi.[7]

Definition of Town, City, etc.

The chief defect in the statistics of urban population in India is that the definition of a 'town' has varied from Census to Census. Not only this, but the Provincial Superintendents of the Census have interpreted this definition each in his own way.[8] The Census authorities have divided the two into various classes, as given in the table below. Even the Census Commissioner for 1951 gives a four-fold classification of towns—those that have a population of one lakh and over are termed as 'cities'; those with a population between 20,000 and 100,000 as 'major towns'; those with a population between 5,000 and 20,000 as 'minor towns' and those with a population under 5,000 as townships. According to this classification the pattern of India's urban population is as shown below:

Classification	*No. of towns*	*No. of town dwellers (in lakhs)*	*Urban population percentage*
Cities	73	236	38.0
Major Towns	485	186	30.1
Minor Towns	1,848	178	28.6
Townships	612	20	3.3
	3,018	619	100.0

Urban population classification	1872		1881		1891		1901		1911	
	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.
Towns of 100,000 and over		4,321,917		5,295,097	30	6,173,123	81	6,605,837	30	7,075,782
50,000 to 100,000		1,856,297		2,411,470	48	3,255,175	52	3,414,188	45	3,010,281
20,000 to 50,000		3,338,490		4,470,995	148	4,448,034	166	4,904,461	181	5,545,820
10,000 to 20,000		3,634,373		4,842,072	407	5,487,983	471	6,457,339	442	6,163,954
5,000 to 10,000		3,587,372		5,029,457	896	6,164,900	856	5,938,957	848	5,944,503
Below 5,000		1,344,035		1,886,291	505	1,642,026	569	1,879,465	607	2,007,880
Total urban population		18,082,484		23,935,382	2,034	27,171,241	2,145	29,200,247	2,153	29,748,228
Total population		206,162,360		287,314,617		287,006,054		294,317,082		313,488,137

7. Calculated from the figures given in *Census Paper*, No. 1 (1951), pp. 16-22.

8. e.g., in Uttar Pradesh towns have been classified as "(a) every Municipality, (b) every notified area, (c) every town area, (d) cantonment, and (e) any other continuous group of houses permanently inhabited by usually not less than 5,000 persons which the State Supdt. of Census operations decided to treat as Census town."

In West Bengal, a town is "(a) an area, irrespective of population, which has been declared to be a municipality, and (b) which has a population of not less than 5,000; (c) a density of not less than 1,000 inhabitants per square mile, and (d) the area has some importance as a centre of trade or distribution or administration, and about three-fourths of the adult male population are chiefly employed in pursuits other than agriculture."

"The fundamental criterion" in Madras is reported to be "the existence of urban features—which can be judged by the way in which houses are situated and how they have been built and the availability of urban amenities (such as bazar facilities, for education, recreaton and medical treatment)."

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Urban population classification	1921 No.	1921 Pop.	1931 No.	1931 Pop.	1941 No.	1941 Pop.	1951 No.	1951 Pop.
Towns of 100,000 and over	35	8,211,704	38	9,674,032	57	15,900,000	75	[illegible]
50,000 to 100,000	54	3,517,749	65	4,572,113	95	6,100,000	111	[illegible]
20,000 to 50,000	199	5,925,675	288	8,091,288	321	9,600,000	401	[illegible]
10,000 to 20,000	450	6,209,583	543	7,449,402	733	10,000,000	856	[illegible]
5,000 to 10,000	855	6,223,011	987	6,992,832	3,017	20,500,000	3,101	[illegible]
Below 5,000	690	2,007,880	674	2,205,760				
Total urban population	2,313	32,418,776	2,575	38,985,427			4,544	[illegible]
Total population		316,017,751		352,837,778				[illegible]

As pointed out earlier the percentage of total population living in the towns has been very small; although of late it has been increasing. The following table gives the percentage of urban to total population:

	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
100,000 & over	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.5	2.7	4.0	6.5
50,000-100,000	1.1	1.2	.9	1.1	1.3	1.6	2.1
20,000- 50,000	1.6	1.2	1.8	1.9	2.3	2.5	3.3
10,000- 20,000	1.6	1.7	.9	2.0	2.1	2.6	3.2
5,000- 10,000	1.9	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.2
Under 5,000	1.1	1.4	.7	.7	.6		
Urban Pop.	9.5	9.9	9.4	10.2	11.0	12.8	17.3
Rural Pop.	80.5	89.1	90.6	89.8	89.0	87.2	82.7
Total Pop.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Factors Affecting the Growth of Towns

The slow urbanisation points to the fact that we are still a backword country. Over a long period the proportion of the urban to the total population has remained almost unaltered except in the last two decades, when this proportion has changed considerably. In England, the development of new industries brought about a rapid industrialisation of the population, of which a large percentage lives in towns. From the point of view of the urbanisation test, India has tremendous lee-way to make up We shall consider, in brief, the different forces acting on the growth of towns in modern India.

Prof. Videla Blache states that

"A city is a social organisation of much greater scope than the village; it is the expression of a stage of civilization which certain localities have not reached, and to which they may perhaps never, of themselves attain."[9]

Cities are primarily important as centres of trade and industry, but they are also important as centres of Government, of finance, residence and education. The commercial city is like a giant at the gateway of his estate; with hand he sweeps up the products whi people of his hinterland prepare, with the he reaches far out to other people, str perhaps, and offers his own people's produ exchange for something which he can send to his subjects. . . Whereas the ind centre resembles another kind of giant who works with his hands to make mach cloth, chemicals, furniture and other arti comforts and luxury in a great profusio kinds. He too engages in commerce, exch his manufactured goods for the food an and raw materials that he must have would keep busy.[10]

The time-worn saying that God mad village and man made the town offers a the study of the evolution of Indian town cities.

(1) Railways and navigation brought into existence new commercial c and have increased the importance of s the old ones. The advent of railways to meant generally an increase in trade a also had the effect of creating new cen trade in the tract through which it passe of the earliest results of the British rule the growth of the great mercantile c which were connected with each other b way lines, and it might be said that the have played the role of town-builders in Bombay, Madras, Kanpur, Calcutta, Bangalore and Hubli serve as illustratio the new commercial towns. Railway ju by affording facilities for the growth collecting and distributing trade give towns, and in many cases they form the of manufactures or industries connecte the railways. Kharagpur, Gorakhpur,

9. Videla Blache : *Principles of Human Geography*, p. 471.

10. E. Huntington : *Principles of Economic Geo*, p.

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rai, Ajmer, Jubbulpur, Kanchanpur, Waltair, konam and Raichur are important railway tlements. Delhi is essentially a model city ng connected by railways with Calcutta, mbay and Amritsar.

(2) The rivers of northern India have ayed a very important part in the develop- nt of towns. Indian town-planners have pre- red sites on river-banks, sea-coasts or on d routes. The orthodox treatises on town- nning make it a rule to establish towns on e right bank of rivers. Consequently, all ndu towns in India are situated on the right nk of rivers. Hence, any town in India whose ation violates this rule, *e.g.*, Calcutta, may presumed to have grown up or been esta- shed under non-Hindu influence.[11] This ex- ins to some extent the development of ies of Allahabad, Agra, Kanpur, Patna, onghyr, and Hooghly on the right bank of e Ganga. Most of these cities have grown at ints where the river takes a wide bend, as e position is favourable to the landing and ding of goods in boats. These river towns we their importance to the development of ade in goods in large quantities which break lk.

River fords also develop towns, *e.g.*, Cut- ck on the Mahanadi, Bezwada on the rishna and Rajmahendri on the Godavari. avigable rivers offer a very suitable site for e development of a sea-port near their mouths, t the importance of the ports depends also the prosperity of the hinterland and the ailability of the facilities for safe harbour- e. Surat on the Tapti, Broach in the West oast, and Calcutta are the prominent ex- mples of this type of ports but while Surat d Broach have declined, the latter has deve- ped considerably.

(3) Places sacred from the religious point view attract large numbers of occasional itors. Banaras, Hardwar, Gaya, Mathura, ri, Brindaban and Nathdwara in Northern lia, and Madura, Tanjore, Conjeevaram and sik are the principal religious centres in the uth.

(4) With the foundation of residential versities various university towns have dually been formed, *e.g.*, Aligarh, Patna, Rajmahendry, Mysore and Annamalai Nagar, and Vallabhnagar.

(5) Owing to the intense heat in the plains of India it is often necessary for the well-to-do population to go to the bracing climate of the hills and the sea-coasts. The Himalayan slopes, covering a height of 5,000 to 8,000 ft. have furnished some of the important hill-stations of Northern India, while in the Nilgiris we find some of the loveliest hill-resorts of South India. The expansion of the hill-station depends, in addition to its attitude on the facilities of transport, on the availability of level space for house-building, while if the site chances to be selected also as the official summer-residence of the State Heads it acquires an additional importance. Muree, Darjeeling, Dalhousie, Simla, Nainital, Mussourie and Almora in Northern India, and Kodaikanal, Coonoor and Ootacamund in Southern India, are important hill-stations. The east coast of India with its shallow water is suitable for sea-bathing. Hence, Puri, Gopalpur, Waltair and Madras are the principal sea-side resorts in the east while Juhu near Bombay is most important on the west-coast.

(6) "A city," as Prof. Geddes has remarked, "is not only a place in space, it is also a drama in time." The geographical factor or the factor of situation alone does not explain the development of a town, as the historical and economic background has also to be taken into account. Many towns have grown or decayed in India owing to the changes in the political history of the country, *e.g.*, Fyzabad, a town of historical importance, was shorn of its glory when Asafuddaula began to dislike it and transferred his capital to Lucknow. Delhi regained its glory as the result of the change in the capital of India. Hence, the original cause of the foundation of a town may be its suitable natural situation, or the historical factor, but its development is principally determined by economic causes chief among which are the expansion of trade and commerce and the development of organised industries. Industrial factors have played a very important part in the growth of towns. The leading industries of the country have contributed to the conversion of villages into towns and towns into cities. Bombay, Ahmedabad, Hubli, Sholapur, in Bombay; Titagarh, Kankinara, Budge Budge,

[11] B. B. Dutt: *Town Planning in Ancient India*, p. 28.

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Kamarhati, Naihati in Bengal; Naini, Ferozabad, Kanpur, Moradabad in U.P.; Amritsar in East Punjab; Bilaspur, Jubbulpur, and Katni in M.P.; Bisra, Maihar and Gwalior in M.B.; Rajkot and Okha in Saurashtra; and Burnpur, Jamshedpur and Jhala in Bihar have developed mainly due to the existence of one or more industries like cotton, woollen, sports, printing, glass, chemicals, cement, iron and steel, etc. These industrial towns are not fettered by the consideration of the local food supply as they can command a wide area for it. They spring up either (*i*) at centres having proximity to raw materials, *e.g.*, Bisra, Sholapur and Dindigal, or (*ii*) having proximity both to raw materials and supply of fuel, *e.g.*, Jamshedpur, Burnpur and Nagpur, or (*iii*) close to the port of export like the mill-towns close to Calcutta or Okha, or (*iv*) at convenient railway centres like Jubbulpur, Kanpur and Moradabad. Centres for the collection and partial manufacture of important raw materials have also developed into towns. Amraoti, Wardha and Nimar in M.P., Broach, Nasik, Ahmednagar, Dharwar and Belgaum in Bombay are important towns for the collection of raw cotton.

The development of these industrial towns is not out of all proportion to regional consideration as their size is limited only by the extent of manufacture and prosperity of the industry, *e.g.*, the rapid expansion of Jamshedpur is principally due to the springing up of a large number of industries in the immediate neighbourhood which are connected with the steel industry. The development of Mirzapur as an industrial centre has been arrested owing to the gradual decline of the lac industry and the manufacture of brass utensils. With the development of the sugar mill, the cement factory and the paper mill, Dehri-on-Sone (Dalmianagar) in Bihar, and Modinagar in U.P., have developed into important industrial centres. Similarly, with the gradual concentration of a number of industries, Coimbatore has increased in size and importance while the coal-mining towns of Bengal and Bihar have received a set-back due to the slump in the coal trade.

(7) Mining towns spring up close to site of the mines, hence unless the deposits concentrated within a small area these to cannot increase in size. The Bihar mi towns have not attained large dimensions o to the occurence of the deposit over a wide and the mobile nature of the labourers ployed there. The Kolar gold-field owing to compactness of the deposit and the facilitie electric supply from the Sivasamudram Fal in a position to support an ever-increa population.

(8) Besides the above factors, fam are among the causes which deplete the coun side and increase the volume of the u population, *e.g.*, due to the great Rajpu famine of 1868, Agra, Delhi and other adj ing towns almost doubled their population may happen that a part of this additio permanently absorbed by the occupation towns, though most of it is certainly lost o to people returning to their villages after advent of the rains.

(9) The rise of a class of landless lab ers in the villages as a result of the fam and the dispossession of the old peasant p prietors and the transformation of artisans wage-earners, also promotes urbanisatio some extent, for the landless labourer is ready to migrate to towns if he can employment there.

(10) The city life has a great charm the middle-class people. Electric light, run water, tram and bus, large general hosp specialised and advanced clinics with the l equipment, all play their part. Educati facilities like universities, colleges, libr and academies, and recreational facilities parks, sports, games, cinemas and theatres some of the attractions of the towns. In the comforts and the amenities of life in towns and cities are responsible for the inc in their numbers. Administrative centraliz has increased the urban importance of the trict headquarters and the provincial or s capitals and the *taluka* towns in compar with the villages.

(To be continued)

12. D. R. Gadgil : *The Industrial Evolution of India*, p.

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THE PLACE OF FRANKLIN IN AMERICAN THOUGHT

By Dr. PERRY MILLER,

Professor of American Literature, Harvard University, Massachusetts

JAMIN FRANKLIN, whose 250th birth anniversary be celebrated the world over on January 17, 1956, perhaps the most eminent mind that has ever existed America.

Born in Boston, the 15th in a family of 17 children, Franklin, with only two years of formal schooling, to independent wealth and fame in every field of avour—as printer, publisher, scientist, writer, osopher, diplomat, statesman, economist and ourist.

Though Franklin was an excellent and successful essman, he retired from active business at 42 and 42 years more in the service of the public. He have made a fortune if he had patented his stove lightning-rod.

In his famous *Poor Richard's Almanack*, which he shed annually from 1733 to 1758, he preached his el of industry and thrift through wit and wisdom. idea of free, individual enterprise, as Franklin it, became the most inspiring and dynamic force th century civilisation.

His maxims in diverse fields are as valid today as conturies ago. Among other things, he taught that basic freedom carried with it a clear and definite ation.

Franklin stands today a colossal figure in the world's ory, his popularity in no wise lessened by lapse of s.

The place of Benjamin Franklin in the history of rican thought can be defined only by paradox. Or, ot by outright paradox, then by two statements, ently contradictory, which indicate how complex ostentatiously simple man really was: on the one he is for America the supreme apostle of the ean Enlightenment, the pre-eminent philosopher; other, he is entirely an outgrowth of the Protestant e of provincial, Puritan New England. In the definition, he did nothing all his long life but out in a secular context implications which in that had been concealed behind a theological facade. the first score, he was indeed the arch- ment of the 18th century's ideal of the scientist- pher. More than any American, more even than on, he stood for those virtues of genial tolerance, l control of the passions, adoration for the order mmetry of the physical universe, dislike of ry, which the age of Voltaire admired. Indeed, ope he seemed virtually the only figure who along oltaire realised that ideal. He was fully conscious impression he made, and during his mission to France deliberately played up to the role, both to charm the enlightened society and to facilitate his practical purpose.

However, he could not so have aroused the enthusiasm of ladies and of *savants* had he not from the beginning nourished a consuming passion for what the era called "philosophy," whch meant mainly natural philosophy or what the 20th century calls applied science. As he wrote, back in 1743, in "A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge Among the British Plantations in America" (he was constantly to hammer at this theme), the first drudgery of settlement being over, there were now many sufficiently at ease "to cultivate the finer arts and improve the common stock of knowledge."

Perhaps the most important idea Franklin formulated in a country where hard work in one's calling was already the inexorable law, and for centuries would remain the overriding compulsion, was his begrudging the time given to "mere necessaries." This would not be remarkable had he been an other-wordly theologian like Jonathan Edwards, or had he been an aesthete who shrunk from such rude contacts. But he was the man who above all set the pattern for worldly success, who assiduously kept his shop until it could keep him, and who enjoyed every minute of the social climb. For the man who made a profit out of everything to which he turned his hand, and who turned his hand to every sort of business, to insist that all this was only preliminary to the real business of life, the philosophical quest for discoveries that may assist the cause of mankind—this was to provide a model of enlightenment not only to American millionaires but to Western civilization.

However, Franklin is unique—though also a child of his century—in that he did not accmulate money simply to give it to charities or to institutions: He proposed to undertake the scientific labour himself. He lamented that political and diplomatic demands distracted him from the pursuit dearest to his hearts, and he accomplished his triumph as man of affairs, all the time wishing he could be in his laboratory. His easy escape from the theological prepossessions of his native society came not so much from intellectual repudiation as from sheer annoyance that they hindered any dispassionate study of nature.

Volumes have been written about his religious opinions, but the essence of them he put in a letter to his father, in 1738, when the old man was disturbed over rumours about the son's infidelity:

> "I think opinions should be judged of by their influences and effects; and, if a man holds none that tend to make him less virtuous or more vicious, it may be concluded he holds none that are dangerous, which I hope is the case with me."

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So, in his rare periods of leisure Franklin investigated phenomena, notably electricity, and he made discoveries. Because he accepted Newtonian physics, it is customary to term him a Newtonian rationalist. Yet in the sense in which popularisers of Newton, if not Newton himself, were rationalists, Franklin was never a Newtonian. He would not subscribe to such a dogmatic systematisation of the universe as Voltaire derived from the *Principia*, or as did such British expounders as Colin Maclaurin in *An Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries* (1748).

Instead, Franklin's conception of scientific method came from the pre-Newtonian phase of the Royal Society's programme; it was ever empirical, wary of finality, proceeding by rule-of-thumb rather than by mathematics or by deduction from *a priori* laws. After his first letters on electricity, Franklin wrote Peter Collinson in 1747 that he had subsequently stumbled upon phenomena that could not be accounted for on the principles he had laid down, and he was ashamed of having expressed himself positively.

> "In going on with these Experiments, how many pretty Systems do we build which we soon find ourselves obliged to destroy!"

The moment we recognise this strain in his make-up, we realise that this man so markedly a product of his century was in fact rather a stranger in it than an inhabitant in the European sense. Herein consists his place in American thought. The innermost motive for all his immense activity—mercantile, political, scientific—was not a devotion to pure science or to theory, but the irresistible urge to be doing God's will in this world, here and now. Not only in inculcating frugality, thrift, sober industry was he the ultimate extrapolation of the "Protestant ethics," but he carried into every area of performance the same Puritan paradox of working in the world and of loving the world, all the while never accepting it as the final resting place.

The Puritan mind in America was never hostile to the scientific advances of the 17th century; instead, it welcomed them as further revelations of the Lord's plan. Franklin came of age in Boston when the high-priest of Puritan theology, Cotton Mather, was expounding Newtonianism as a "Christian Philosophy." More importantly, he grew up under the influence of Cotton Mather's *Bonifacius* (1710), better known as *Essays to Do Good*, to which in later life Franklin freely expressed his debt. This work crystallised the effort of 18th-century Puritanism to give over the quest for a commonwealth and to settle for a pious activity society, including the making of money, to be jus by the benefits such sanctified industry would be upon the community. Everywhere in Franklin's thi —in business, in research, in his almanacs periodicals, in his diplomacy—we come back to single inspiration:

> "To relieve the misfortunes of our fellow crea is concurring with the Deity; it is godlike."

To take this phrase—"it is godlike"—in all astounding implications is to get an insight into subterranean daemonism behind Franklin's superfi suave and relaxed manner. Early in the previous cen American Puritans agreed on a description of Christian's attitude toward the pleasures of this wo he loves them (wife, business, position) "weaned affections." He plunges into the world, its work heartily, but never deceives himself supposing that its arbitrary exactions are more temporary. The saint's true home is elsewhere, once he arrives there, all these distractions will become as nothing.

Franklin took the further step of refusing to co the unconfinable into any man-made formulae, least of those of theology. Hence he was wary about speak of God's purposes, and resigned himself to functio in the world as it happened to be constituted, wi for a moment regarding any modality as permanent put traditional Christianity aside, not because he an infidel but because he found its synthesis prema And he held both Newtonian physics and merca economics in a like disregard. In the end of all must say that the fundamental trait of Franklin's was detachment—if, that is, we immediately couple statement with the opposite one that for him detach implied no renunciation of life and its foibles, but jo acceptance of things as they are, along with a st determination to make them better than they are. all this with no visionary dream of realising heaven earth—because here are finite limits to any mo ability to become godlike.

In the final reckoning, then, the importance Franklin in American thought is not any one discovery, action—important as are his contributions a dozen specific fields—but his posing of the cr riddle, which he not only posed but happily lived of how man may live in the utmost temporality out ever being deceived by fleeting appearances.

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THE INDIAN MUTINY OF 1857

Was It a 'National Movement'?

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By Prof. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A.

The Mutiny of 1857-58 has been characterised by almost all the British historians as 'a Sepoy Mutiny', indicating that it was not a National war of independence at all. Some of them have even expressed that opinion openly and in unmistakable terms. This British theory was first successfully challenged by Mr. V. D. Savarkar, the great Hindu Mahasabha leader in his worthy book *The Indian War of Independence—1857* (1909). Ever since then these two diametrically opposite view-points have been contending against each other. But serious attention to the 'national aspect' of the question has been paid only very recently, that is after the Hon'ble Maulana Azad in his Presidential Address at the 31st session of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Mysore announced that the Indian Government had sponsored the writing of a comprehensive history of the 1857 rising, and suggested in that speech that in all probability it was a 'national movement.'

We shall examine both these views with reference to the best materials available to us. But before that a caution must be observed. I, a teacher of history, shall take it up as a question of history,—and never as a question of politics. That is to say, I shall try to examine this question as impartially as is humanly possible for me. It is important to note that English historians were not impartial, as they had to keep the interest of the British Indian Empire in view in everything they said or did. From their standpoint it would be a damaging confession to admit that the Mutiny was a 'National War of Independence'. On the other hand, the present endeavour of the Indian historians and of the Indian Government may not be completely free from political prejudices of a different type. Thus, it is not so easy to arrive at a correct conclusion in the matter. In this matter, the merits and demerits of "official history" as discussed by Prof. H. Butterfield in his *History And Human Relations* (1951), are very interesting.

First of all it is very interesting to note that the English historians have called it a Sepoy Mutiny, mainly on the ground that the Indian Sepoys took the leading part in it. How strange! In a National War of India's Independence, do they expect non-Indians to take the leading part? I have no doubt that because the Indian Sepoys took the leading part in it, its national character is all the more clearly established.

Next, if before the outbreak of the Mutiny there never had been any national resistance or anti-British manifestation, then, in that case, one could contend that the Mutiny was not a national struggle. But, that was clearly not the case. For the last one century just before the Mutiny, there were, on many occasions, very clear historical evidences of constant resistance against foreign domination. Thus, Haider Ali and his son Tipu of Mysore, were the personification of this anti-British resistance. Again, the Marathas under the leadership of Nana Fadnavis resisted the British. Again, when Baji Rao II concluded the Treaty of Bassein and accepted the Subsidiary Alliance, Scindhia and later Holkar resisted the British to keep the independence of the Marathas. The Gurkhas resisted the British, the Sikhs resisted the British, the Amirs of Sindh did so, the Nizam also on many occasions resisted the British. Many of these national leaders at different periods invoked French support to oust the English. All these go to prove that although for the last one century just before the Mutiny British Empire in India was spreading, there was constant and undying opposition. This opposition might not have been unified, but it was there all the same. Thus when the Mutiny came close on the heel of this continual series of national resistance, the only sensible and sound conclusion is that it was a War of National Independence.

It is pointed out by some that the Mutiny was suppressed with the aid of Indian nationals. If it was a national war how could it be possible? In this matter it is important to note that in such a vast country there will never be wanting a few self-seekers who will always take a reactionary role. But, that never means that the Mutiny was only a Sepoy Mutiny and not a war of national independence. For, if we argue like that, then it should not be called even a Sepoy Mutiny, for some Sepoys did co-operate with the British in suppressing the Mutiny. So, that will not do. The correct attitude in this matter is described by a not at all pro-Indian English historian, when he writes: "And the attitude of the Frontier chiefs and the bigger men of the countryside was 'When we know you are top dog we will support you'"[1]

Lt.-General Sir George Mac Munn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O., in his book writes:

> "It is important to realise that it was only one army, that of Bengal, that was engulfed, and not the sister but quite separate formations, the armies of Madras and Bombay."[2]

It must be admitted that this is indeed a very sound argument. But what Lt.-General Sir George Mac Munn fails to realise, and what is perhaps more important, is that if it proves anything, it proves that it was not a Sepoy Mutiny, but a popular rising. There may be very sound reasons why the Bengal Army alone was moved and not the armies of Bombay and Madras, but that does not prove the Mutiny was not national in character. For now it is clearly established that there were risings in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. And if the Sepoys there did not take part in it, then, even according to the British thesis, in Bombay and Madras it was surely not a Sepoy

1. *The Indian Mutiny in Perspective*: By Lt.-General Mac Munn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O., Colonel Commandant; The Royal Artillery, p. 75.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

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Mutiny, but a popular rising. Moreover, it is important to note that the Bengal Army was by far the most important and largest of the three Armies in India.

The prejudiced and partial attitude of the British can be very well imagined if we take one news-item from the *Times*. Hardly had the Mutiny begun in Meerut on the 10th of May 1857, and no one could foresee its nature or course when the *Times* wrote on the 19th May, 1857:

> "It is reassuring, moreover, that the Mussulman, the Sikh, the Gurkha, has no share in the prejudices of the Hindoo. The Government may always count on the votaries of Islam for support in any tumult arising from the teaching of an idolatrous creed."

Thus the idea or better, propaganda, that it was not a national rising representing all sections of the people of India was indulged in when almost the first news of the outbreak of the Mutiny reached England. This news-item within one week of the outbreak of the Mutiny in such a representative paper as the *Times* makes it very clear that the British attitude about the character of the Mutiny was already made up even before the Mutiny was one week old. How extremely wrong was this hope expressed in the *Times* is seen if we consider the following lines of another English historian, who was also not pro-Indian in any sense:

> "The Mahomedan element in the ranks of the native army has hitherto been looked as a counterpoise to the power of the Hindoos, but recent events have shown how thoroughly they can fraternise with the latter when the object is to destroy a common foe . . . . The bitter hatred with which Orangemen and Roman Catholics used to regard each other in Ireland has its intensified type in the feeling entertained towards us by the whole Mussulman race."[3]

The "recent events" refer to the Mutiny. Thus the attempt to show that it was a partial rising in which the Muslims would not or did not co-operate fails completely. Further, here the important confession is made that the British were regarded as the "common foe." Is it not completely clear after this that the Mutiny was a national war of independence? There were as many important Muslim as Hindu leaders of the Mutiny. In his famous study *The Martyrs of Allahabad* Reverend Robert Meek makes the significant statement:

> "It was manifest to all that the Mutiny was not, as at first supposed, of a partial or local character, but the result of a deep-laid, well-ordered, and widely spread conspiracy for the overthrow of the British dominion—for the expulsion of the Christians and Christianity from India. A time was fixed for striking the final blow, and for the general rising and massacre of the Europeans. The somewhat premature outbreak at Meerut anticipated this—led to the discovery of the fearful plot, and thus providentially put the Europeans on their guard."[4]

This honest, straightforward, and clear c[illegible] makes these points clear. First, it w[illegible] a 'local' or 'partial' rising but a national [illegible] Second, there was a well-organised 'plot,' an i[illegible] fact which English historians are usually not [illegible] to admit lest the organised national character [illegible] Mutiny be proved. And third, the rising had [illegible] object 'the overthrow of the British Dominion.' [illegible] this can there be any doubt about the national c[illegible] of the rising?

There is another important fact which is [illegible] ignored by the historians—English and Indian[illegible] Supposing the Mutiny was just the rising of a [illegible] of the Indian people, it would never have [illegible] the sympathy and goodwill of the European [illegible] like the French and the Italians. These natio[illegible] every reason to wish the English success as [illegible] the Indians if the Indian rising was not [illegible] representative character. They would never [illegible] offended the English just to please a section [illegible] Indian people, and such an unstable and non-p[illegible] section as the Indian Sepoys. They would tak[illegible] risk only to gain the sympathy of the entire [illegible] nation. That is as plain as anything. And w[illegible] if we read the newspapers of those days that [illegible] European nations had a very great sympathy f[illegible] Indian freedom-fighters. This is all the more sig[illegible] because this was the period when England and [illegible] had fought together the famous Crimean War [illegible] the Russians, and England was a great sympath[illegible] Italy's fight for freedom against Austria. What [illegible] explanation of this strange French and Italian a[illegible] It is this: Italy knew very well from her [illegible] memories how bitter was foreign domination, and [illegible] much support should be given to a nation in its [illegible] for national freedom against a European imp[illegible] Power. It was the expression of a very [illegible] appreciation of a freedom-loving people in the [illegible] for freedom of another nation. As to the Fre[illegible] should be noted that ever since the French Rev[illegible] (1789), the French have been the radicals in E[illegible] and the champions of freedom and democracy [illegible] nationalism. They co-operated with the Eng[illegible] crush Czar's domination in the Balkans and in [illegible] as champions of freedom and nationalism. Bu[illegible] were not prepared to extend their moral supp[illegible] their recent allies to crush India's national [illegible] independence on the same score of freedo[illegible] nationalism. In the 'Newspaper Cuttings' ma[illegible] in the National Library at Calcutta the following [illegible] appears from a cutting not dated and from a Pap[illegible] named: "Since the tide of success in India ha[illegible] turned against the Mutineers, notwithstanding [illegible] numbers, by the unconquerable fortitude of our [illegible] countrymen, the journals of certain European [illegible] have exchanged their forebodings of disas[illegible] depreciations of vengeance, and, instead of for[illegible] the ruin of England, have employed themselv[illegible]

3. *Sepoy Revolt: Its Causes and Consequences*: By Mr. Henry Meade, pp. 29 anh 30.

4. *The Martyr of Allahabad: Memorial of Ensign Arthur Marcus Hill Cheek of the Sixth Native Bengal Infantry*: By the Reverend Robart Meek, M.A., p. 10.

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denouncing the spirit of revenge which they assume to be rampant in British hearts."[5] Under the Title *A Debate on India* in the English Parliament, published in the *Times* on November 11, blame is put on "the Indian insurgents, less enlightened no doubt than their patrons at Paris and Turin."[6] Another reference is made by an English historian to this moral support by other Europeans to the cause of the Indian freedom fighters. He writes:

"Whilst an Irish journal howled with delight over our difficulties, a French writer recognised in the rebellion God's judgment upon us as a wicked nation."[7]

So, this rising in India was recognised and hailed in France as God's judgment upon English rule in India, and not as a mere Mutiny of the Sepoys of the Bengal Army. It was something definitely greater than mere Sepoy Mutiny. And what is really interesting is, that that was the impartial view of the third party, the French, who had, just before this incident, fought the Crimean War, as comrades-in-arm. It should be noted that I, an individual, could collect only a few pieces of evidence within my limitations, and if a proper perusal is made of all the European Journals and Papers of the period 1857 to, say, 1859, further interesting and very useful evidence may surely be got.

A curious fact is that His Excellency Canning was all for tolerance and forgiveness. But, the 'Clemency Canning' took the earliest opportunity to pass a Gagging Act. On the 13th of June, 1857, Canning introduced this Bill before the Legislative Council and it was passed the same day. On the 17th of June three Indian Presses were seized at Calcutta. It proves one thing very clearly, namely, that even though the actual offenders who did not take a leading part could be tolerated, the free publication of incovenient news could never be tolerated. This anxiety to prevent the free publication of news during the Mutiny can be explained only on one ground, that is, not to enable the posterity to know that it was a national rising. Although the Act was passed for one year, it should be noted that June 1857 to June 1858 was the vital year. And the suppression of news at that very moment was of momentous consequence and effect.

The fact that some Indians co-operated with the British in suppressing the Mutiny is given undue importance by many. It is taken to prove that the Mutiny was not a national rising. But it does not really prove that. After a century of British rule it was clear that there should be some supporters of the British, that is, the vested interests that solely depended on the British. That should not surprise any one. Moreover, if we take the case of a few reactionaries to prove that the Mutiny was a national movement, then one can as well prove that the "Quit India Movement" of Gandhiji was not a national movement for were there not a few Indian leaders even at that time who refused to co-operate with him? So, that does not lead us anywhere. An eminent French writer on Indian history summing up this tendency in Indian history writes:

"Et les cas de trahison, les exemples de generaux ou gouverneurs vendus, sont anormalement nombreux, dans l'histoire indienne."[8]

Which should mean in simple English,

"The cases of treachery, the examples of generals or governors sold, are abnormally numerous in Indian history."

Now, if this is true then it is plain that at all moments of our history (so long as this tendency is not overcome), at every moment of a national rising there must be a few traitors. So, that was nothing special about the Mutiny. Moreover, if one argues like that, then it may be pointed out that since in the Second World War, Marshall Petain co-operated with Hitler and even more closely than Petain, General Darlan co-operated with Hitler, the French resistance against the Germans was not national. Then there was the son of a prominent British leader who regularly broadcast anti-British speeches over the Berlin radio. Will any one on that account say that the British resistance to Hitler was not national? Exactly in the same way if a few Indians co-operated with the English in the Mutiny that should never be taken to prove that the Mutiny was not a national movement.

I can do no better than to close with a famous Broadcast over the A.I.R., Delhi on April the 16th, 1955, by Sri Arun Chandra Guha, Minister for Revenue and Defence Expenditure, Government of India. The Hon'ble Minister rightly pointed out: "It was really a popular rising having spontaneous support from the people." Generally, British historians have tried to attribute the entire rising to religious prejudices on account of the introduction of greased cartridges and to the machinations of some dispossessed native princes and their satellites. At least one British historian Colonel Malleson has effectively demonstrated the falsity of this theory. He has written in his memorable book *The Indian Mutiny of 1857*:

"The greased cartridge was never issued to a great body of troops if indeed to any. There must have been a latent motive power to make of an unissued cartridge, a grievance so terrible as to rouse into revolt men whose fathers and whose fathers' fathers have contributed to the making of the British Empire in India."

In the famous book he again writes:

"Circumstances had proved to me that extraneous causes were at work to promote an ill-feeling, a hatred not personal but national, in the minds of men who for a century had been our truest and most loyal servants."

5. Newspaper Cuttings at the National Library, Calcutta.
6. *The Times*, November 11.
7. *The Sepoy Revolt*: By Mr. Henry Meade, p. 187.
8. *Histoire De L'inde*: By Pierre Meile, p. 117.

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THE UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

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By D. K. HINGORANI,

Educational Attache, Embassy of India, U. S.

With independence has come a new look on things in our country. Among many other things it has brought a broadening of functions and responsibilities of public service. And in that connection there has been, lately, considerable questioning of the selection policies and procedures of the Indian Public Service Commissions in the States and at the Centre. Do they conduce to recruitment of the right type of persons for increasingly complex, skilled and exacting functions of a newborn national government?

For instance, so far a university degree has tended to dominate the essential requirements for selection through Indian Public Service Commissions. That has done good neither to university education nor to government service. On the one hand, it has led to overcrowding of Indian universities with consequent lowering of their academic standards; and, on the other hand, it has tended to exclude large resources of potential talent from public service. No wonder, therefore, that there has been, of late, considerable talk about reorganizing Indian Public Service Commissions, so as to shift emphasis from mere academic qualifications to innate abilities and acquired experience in their recruitment and selection procedures. The recent appointment by the Government of India of a high-powered committee to examine the existing system of Public Service Commissions in the country reflects the urgency of the problem.

In this connection, it may be worthwhile to know something about the organization and activities of Public Service Commissions in other countries. The United States Civil Service Commission offers an excellent example for study, particularly as both India and the United States have a federal system of government with jurisdiction over vast areas. From that point of view alone, the experience and achievements of the U. S. Civil Service Commission can have a significant relationship to our conditions and may offer constructive suggestions for the solution of some of our problems.

Elaborate Organization

The U. S. Civil Service Commission, like the Union Public Service Commission in India, is the central personnel agency for recruitment of employees for the Federal Government, and is located in Washington D.C., the capital of the nation. Each of the 48 States in the U.S.A. has its own State Civil Service Commission. The U.S. Civil Service Commission is a typical American institution, established in a small way to meet a specific purpose but soon outgrown to assume much wider responsibilities. It was established in January, 1883, soon after the assassination of President James A. Garfield by a disgruntled job-seeker had stirred the American pe to act and end the Spoils System. Since then Commission has grown from a small unit of abou to one of the largest government departments about 4,000 employees.

Its primary objective has been to see that Executive branch of the Federal Government rec and retains efficient and loyal officers and staff s to ensure effective leadership in the Central Gov ment. This is no small job now. The U.S. Fed Government today employs 2½ million people in m than 70 departments, comprising 15,000 different oc pations. The Federal civilian pay roll amounts more than 9 billion dollars, which is roughly one-si of the entire Federal Government budget. Slig less than half of all civilian employees work for Department of Defence; more than one-fifth of th in Post Offices; about 8 per cent in Veterans A ministration; and only 21 per cent in all other depa ments,—Treasury, Agriculture, Interior, Comme and Health, Education and Welfare, etc. Nin per cent of all these Federal Civil Servants work o side Washington D.C. Only a few departments h their own recruitment systems. For instance, Fore Service of the U.S. Government is a separate or nization.

For such a big job, the U.S. Civil Service Co mission necessarily has a very elaborate organizati At the highest level it has three members, not m than two of whom may belong to the same politi party. Usually, they belong to the party in pow One of the two is designated by the President as t Chairman of the Commission who acts as the ch executive and administrative head of the whole or nization. In the present administration, the Chair of the U.S. Civil Service Commission has been gi for the first time a place in the cabinet to advise t President from time to time on the employm policies of his government.

The three Commissioners are assisted by t Executive Director and the Technical Advisor. F Bureaus constitute the core of the organizati Bureau of Programmes, Bureau of Inspection Classification, Bureau of Field Operations, and Bur of Management Services. The first three Bureaus p operate and review more than a score of perso management programmes; the fourth directs all op tions of the Commission's regional offices; and fifth is responsible for housekeeping activities. T Boards,—the Board of Appeals and Review, the Employment Board, the International Organiza Employees Loyalty Board; and three staff offices the Law Office, the Security Appraisal Office, and Public Information office,—complete the whole or nization.

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Wide Scope of Activities

This elaborate organization reflects the wide cope of activities of the U.S Civil Service Commis- ion. The main activity of the Commission, of course, s to plan and implement programmes of recruitment nd selection of best qualified persons through exami- ations which afford equal opportunity and treatment o all citizens. In addition, the Commission adminis- ers the Classification Act of 1947 which regulates the ay of more than a million white-collar employees of he Federal Government, on a nationwide basis so as o ensure satisfactory implementation of the principle f equal pay for substantially equal work without iscrimination. The Commission also administers the Civil Service Retirement Act under which about ,700,000 employees compulsorily contribute 6 per cent f their income to the Civil Ser- ice Pension Scheme. Even the uestions of vacation and sick eave for the Federal employees are etermined by the Commission.

A marked evidence of the demo- ratic character of the Federal Ser- ice is the right of both individuals nd agencies to appeal matters oming under the jurisdiction of the Commission. One of the Commis- ion's many responsibilities is to ee that such rights are fully pro- ected. Numerous questions and omplaints pertaining to selection nd training, salaries and fair mployment, pension and incentive wards, security and retrenchment, vestigations and general grie- ances come up before the Com- ission for active consideration nd decision from day to day. In ct, the Commission acts as a com- etent custodian of the rights of federal employees onsistently with its duties and responsibilities to the ederal government and tax-payers.

Decentralization

With so many varied activities over such a large rea—the U.S.A. is more than twice the size of India area—one would think the Commission would be uttered up with too many routine matters. That is t so. The main reason is that it is one of the most ecentralized organizations in the world. It has eleven gional offices located in different parts of the coun- y, each of which carries on all the activities of the ommission in its region with minimum supervision the central office. Decentralization is, in fact, one the chief and most interesting features of the U.S. ivil Service Commission. The idea is to provide aximum service to the maximum number of people their miximum convenience.

The regional offices are located in principal cities from where they conduct all field civil service activities in their respective areas. They, in turn, have decentralized some of their activities. For instance, for information a candidate does not very often have to go further than the local or neighbouring post office. There are about 2000 such information centres located in post offices all over the country in such a way that there is a place near almost every sizable community where the public can get full particulars about federal employment opportunities. What is more, most of these centres also conduct all examinations sponsored by the U.S. Civil Service Commission. There is a wide network of nearly 800 boards of examiners all over the country helping the Commission to carry out some of its important functions.

Oral examination—Group performance test

Merit System

These functions mainly relate to competitive examinations sponsored by the Commission for selection of suitable candidates for various vacancies in different departments of the Federal government. Over many years, the U.S. Civil Service Commission has built up what is called the Merit System according to which most of the vacancies in Federal government service are filled strictly on the basis of merit, as determined by examinations, and other procedure conducted by the Commission. Increasingly successful efforts have been made ever since the establishment of the Commission to enlarge the scope of the Merit System so as to combat the traditional Spoils System. By now, about 86 per cent of Federal Government employees are appointed through the Merit System; and only about 14 per cent as a matter of political patronage.

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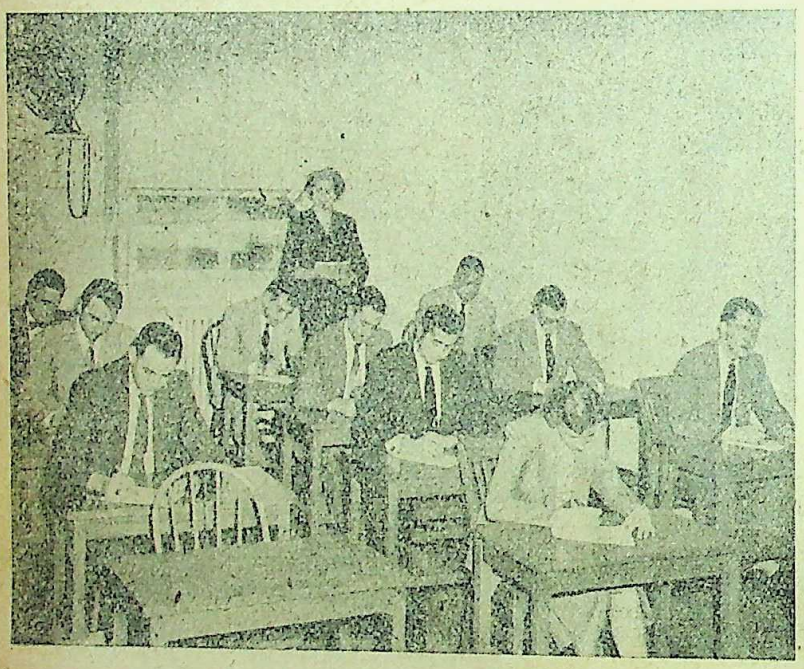
Two broad types of examinations are used by the Commission in connection with the Merit System,—"Assembled" and "Unassembled." In the former, a written test is employed to form the basis for ranking competition by relative ability; in the latter, the candidate's experience and training are evaluated against a pre-determined set of standards. Sometimes, both techniques are used in the same examination. In some cases, other approaches, such as an investigation or a performance test are used to supplement the basic techniques. On the basis of the examination results a list of those rated eligible is set up in the order of scores. The appointing authority must select one of the top three eligibles. Boards of Examiners, consisting of officers of various departments, do much of this work under the supervision of the Commission.



In the examination hall

JUNIOR MANAGEMENT ASSISTANTSHIP PROGRAMME

The U.S. Civil Service Commission is not merely an examining body, nor is it simply the guardian of the merit system in federal appointments. The needs of the Federal Government service have caused a steady evolution in the functions of the U.S. Civil Service Commission. One of the long-standing and glaring needs of the Federal Government has been a strong and stable career civil service. The Commission has, therefore, been deeply concerned in recent years to build such a service.

The Junior Management Assistant Programme is one of the many efforts being made by the Commission in this direction. It was envisaged to be a partial solution to the twin problems of discovering and developing administrative skill for the Federal Civil Service. What began in 1936 as a hopeful experiment has become, with suitable changes and modifica in 1939, 1947 and 1949, an established institutio is a systematic programme for the recruitm identification and development of administrative t in the Federal Civil Service.

This programme may be compared to the In Administrative Service, but with some esse differences. On the one hand, it is not the o avenue for entrance into the U.S. Civil Service a the I.A.S. examination to Indian Civil Services; the other hand, it has much wider goals than m selection of suitable candidates. Selection of suit candidates is, of course, the primary part of the gramme. This is done through an examination w written and oral tests. The purpose of these tests to recruit outstanding young people who are trai in management, social sciences public affairs, for careers leading high level positions in person budget, organization and execu work in different departments of Federal Government. The tests particularly intended to iden the young men and women w show outstanding promise of de loping into future administrato

The examination is designed appeal mainly, although not clusively, to college gradua Applicants with a Bachelor's de in arts, social sciences or busi administration have greater ch of selection than others. A succe ful candidate with a B.A. de is started on Grade 5 with a sa of about $285 per month. A per with an M.A. degree, if se ted, receives about $65 more month.

But unlike the I.A.S. examination in India, J.M.A. examination in America does not requir college degree. Appropriate experience for three ye or an equivalent combination of education and perience can be substituted for mere academic requi ments. And, candidates can appear for the J.M. examination during the last year of college stu even before they have taken and passed their de examination. There is also no age restriction. Les the examination is devised to test not text-b knowledge, but abilities and personality qualities

WRITTEN EXAMINATION

The J.M.A. examination is announced October each year. The written part is given early January in several hundred cities simultaneo throughout the country. It consists of two pap The first is a test of general abilities which all can

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dates must take. It has three parts: a test of verbal abilities, to measure reading comprehension, effectiveness of expression, grammar and vocabulary; a test of quantitative reasoning ability, including the ability to interpret charts and graphs; and a test of abstract reasoning ability. The verbal and abstract reasoning parts are given most weight in this paper which altogether is assigned three hours.

The second paper, also a 3-hour written test, consists of 70 questions either in administrative judgement or in the field of public affairs. Every candidate is given a choice of these two subjects, which he can make beforehand. And, in the examination room he is given both papers and fifteen minutes to decide which one he will take.

The administrative judgement test is centred around the common types of problems which occur in large organizations and emphasizes an understanding of key administrative problems rather than mere factual formation in the field of administration. The public affairs test is a broad-gauge test on social and economic problems. The test requires knowledge of events in the world today and previous events which are related to present developments. It emphasizes broad knowledge rather than specialized understanding of any one field of public affairs.

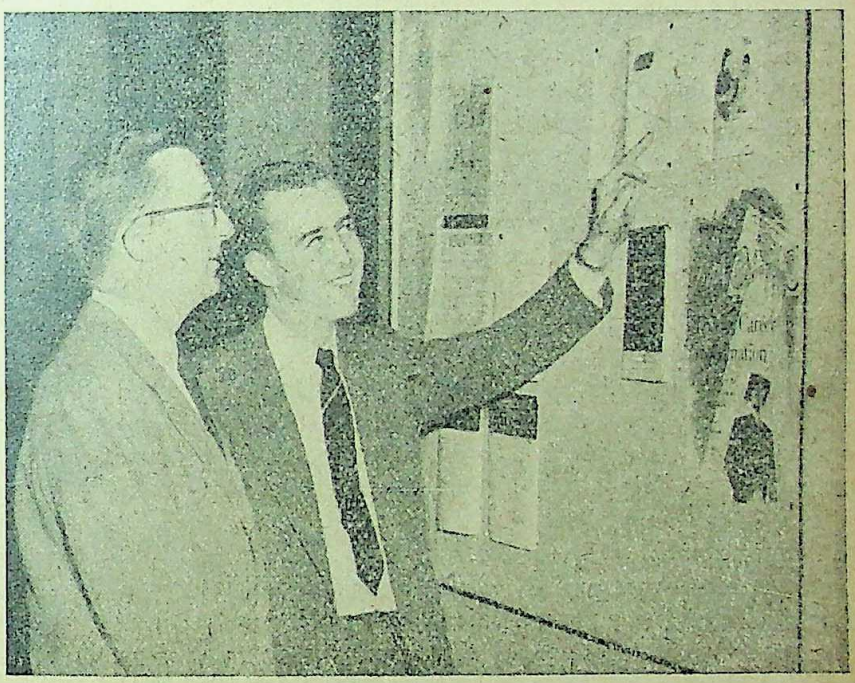
A candidate is rated in both papers on a scale of 100. To make a passing grade, he must attain a rating of at least 70 in each paper. But he is not graded in the second paper unless he receives a passing score in the general abilities test. The scores on the two tests are then averaged to determine ratings on the written examination as a whole.

Inquiries and Oral Examination

Candidates successful in the written examination are interviewed in March at places determined by the distribution of candidates. The intervening period between January and March is also utilized in sending confidential enquiries regarding personal qualities, to six references that each candidate provides. The information thus received is carefully evaluated and used at the interview and employment stages. It gives the interviewer as well as the employing department, supplementary information to assist them in arriving at their decisions.

The interview also consists of two main parts: the group oral performance test and the individual interview. The interviews are given in order of rating on the written examination from the top of the list of tentative eligibles, down as far as the needs of the service require. They are intended to measure personal qualities of the candidates,—physical, mental and moral. A number of teams of two departmental officials are employed to conduct both kinds of interviews.

The group oral performance test is a very interesting project. Two examiners sit at the ends of a table and four candidates on the sides, two on each. One of the examiners gives the candidates slips of paper on which a discussion subject is defined and then makes a few introductory remarks about the purpose and methods of the assignment. The subjects usually involve problems of public policy on which official action has been taken, but do not need specialized technical knowledge.



Wide publicity given to J.M.A. programme

The candidates are given five minutes to study the subject and then thirty minutes to discuss it and resolve the issues involved. They are expected to make some settlement of issues on which there may be significant and legitimate differences of opinion. While the discussion goes on, the examiners unobtrusively evaluate, on a detailed prescribed form, various personal qualities, like integrity, imagination, intelligence and so on, important in an executive position, as revealed by each candidate's performance. They are also rated on their abilities to comprehend different aspects of issues, to understand the ideas of others, to formulate and express their thoughts properly and to work effectively with and through a group. The side which each candidate takes on an issue does not matter.

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The performance is repeated by each group with a different discussion subject and altogether lasts for a little over an hour. For example, the following is one of the discussion subjects given to J. M. A. candidates this year:

"You are the executive board of the U. N. World Health Organization. During one of its meetings it is considering this problem. A representative of a member-country has violently criticized the work of the W.H.O. and announces his nation is withdrawing from it. His country objects to W.H.O.'s requirement that any country, as a condition to receiving W.H.O.'s aid, must meet certain standards in the administration of such aids, and to the organization's practice of withholding aid when the requisite standards are not satisfied. His country does not quarrel with the responsibleness of the standards themselves. He states that his nation will no longer contribute its share of financial support, nor make further payments on the amounts of their contribution in arrears. The country in question has an extremely high infant death-rate. Assuming that the withdrawing nation would still accept W.H.O.'s assistance, should the board move to discontinue W.H.O.'s assistance to that nation or to continue assistance, despite its withdrawal?"

Then, each candidate is interviewed individually by the two examiners. The examiners have now the opportunity to get even a closer and more intimate look at each individual candidate's personality. That is also the time when the candidate often turns to the examiners for answers to many questions that may have been troubling his mind regarding the possibilities and problems of the proposed career. In fact, it is one of the standing instructions of the examiners to do everything possible to induce an atmosphere in which candidates may feel free to share with them their questions and misgivings. And so, not infrequently the tables are turned; it is candidates who interview the examiners!

Candidates are rated on an "in-or-out" basis in the interview and confidential enquiries. The examiners do not attempt to rank them. They fill out a detailed rating form for each candidate and prepare a narrative report on his performance. Their main idea, however, is to determine whether the performance of the candidates meets the high standards of the J.M.A. Programme.

And, indeed, the programme has high standards. The general abilities tests eliminate about half the candidates, the specialized written tests an additional 35 per cent, and the interviews and reference returns somewhat more than half of the remaining candidates! For instance, about 4,500 candidates applied and appeared for the J. M. A. examination this year. Very little screening of applications is done. 800 passed the written tests and only 300 were selected after oral interviews and evaluation references, giving about six as the percentage successful candidates.

Examination of Examiners

The importance attached to the interview as of the J.M.A. examination is illustrated by the that all interviewers are required to join the J. Trainee Institute for a day in Washington before starting their operations in different par the country. It is, indeed, most interesting to ob how carefully the examiners are briefed about duties and responsibilities. Nothing is taken granted.

They are given an idea of the significance philosophy behind the J.M.A. programme. T receive detailed advice and literature about techn of interview, standards of evaluation and variety rating factors. An actual demonstration of g interview is held to give the examiners a first-h knowledge of its objectives and techniques. T even get a long list of questions which may be as of them by candidates, with specific answers so t they may be able to deal with them satisfactor At the end of each item of the agenda there are qu tions and answers followed by a final period of overall discussion of the entire programme. The t and literature, demonstrations and discussions a the examiners a needed opportunity to examine th selves as to their knowledge and ability to handle examination properly.

The conference is, in fact, an objective lesson objectivity and understanding. It also serves as example of the unique collaboration between the Civil Service Commission and the federal governm departments in the J.M.A. Programme. The J.M Training Institute is sponsored by a committee presenting the departments who participate in programme. The committee elects its own chair and the Civil Service Commission appoints a member to work in a liaison capacity with the c mittee. The committee takes active interest in implementation of different aspects of the J.M programme, exemplifying close co-operation betw the Civil Service Commission and government dep ments.

Interne Training Programme

The Committee even takes steps to insure the departments use the selected candidates effecti and provide adequate training opportunities for t As indicated earlier the J.M.A. programme is s thing more than a single crucial examination. Em sis is laid in putting the selected persons in which will fully utilize their abilities in the admi trative field, either immediately or in the long ru

The programme further stresses the need adequate training for the selected persons. The de

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ments where they are posted provide most of this training. In general, the J.M.A. training in the departments consists of orientation, formal classes, and planned work assignments in which the employee assumes progressively greater responsibility.

The Civil Service Commission also offers suitable facilities for a limited group of candidates. Each summer the Commission takes a group of J.M.A. internes for training. The training is designed to acquaint them with the entire operation of the organization. Whenever possible, regular or practice work assignments are used to provide opportunity for first-hand experience of different operations of the organization.

The internese are encouraged to organize in any manner they choose to assist in their own training. Regular periods are set aside for group sessions. Discussions and seminars are conducted by the internes on subjects chosen by the group. Time is also set aside for an individual research or administrative project chosen by each interne.

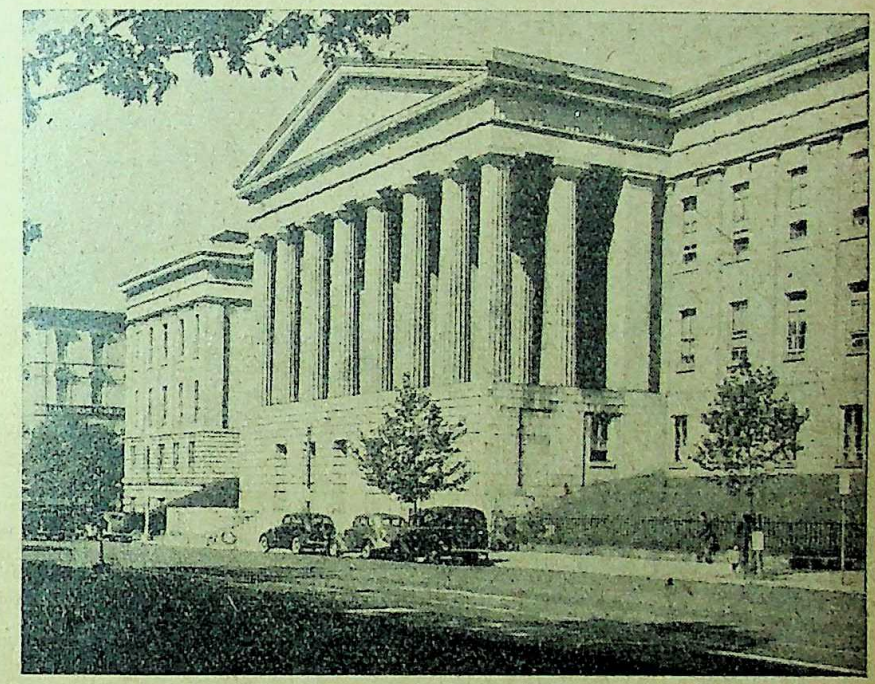
Concern for Candidates

This emphasis on self-training is in tune with the general approach of the J.M.A. programme. The core of that approach is a deep concern for candidates. Wide publicity given to different aspects of the programme, including the examination, is a reflection of that concern. The publicity is designed to reassure the candidates; detailed instructions, including samples of tests, are willingly and attractively offered to induce and put prospective candidates at ease. The anxiety of examiners to accommodate candidates is best illustrated by the fact that in the oral examinations, sometimes examiners go to places even where there is only one candidate to examine! Decentralization, detailed description, and training of examiners are some of the features of the J.M.A. programme conducive to the convenience of candidates.

There is no attempt to catch or confuse candidates for the J.M.A. examination. On the contrary, every effort is made to facilitate their selection and adjustment to career situations. For instance, after the results of the examination are announced in April and circulated simultaneously to all departments participating in the programme, selected candidates are free and even encouraged to visit the departments which they are interested before making their final choice by summer. Evaluation of the interests of selected candidates is considered of prime importance in their correct placement.

Inspired by the same concern, there are active proposals for implementation, in the near future, to widen even further the scope of the J.M.A. examination so as to include a greater cross-section of candidates, and to keep it open the whole year round, instead of holding it once a year.

This concern for candidates is qualified only by the need to insure the quality of selected candidates. To that end, efforts are continuously made to improve the standards and objectivity of various tests used for selection of candidates.



U.S. Civil Service Commission Building, Washington

Research and Reform

In fact, continuous research is another unique feature of the U.S. Civil Service Commission. For over ten years the Commission has had a continuing research programme in the field of management and administrative selection. The Bureau of Programmes and Standards—one of the five Bureaus of the Commission—is wholly devoted to research in respective fields of the Commission's entire scope of activities.

In that Bureau there is a separate Test Research Section, employing about 12 psychologists and 28 assistants, which constantly carries on research into improved examining methods and selection techniques. It has devised, since 1946, about 500 tests which are currently used in the many written examinations held by the Commission throughout the country for different positions in federal government departments. The Commission has an excellent library for reference and research on all aspects of personnel management and administration.

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That does not mean that the Commission has discovered any "magic" method for measuring personality. The present position of selection techniques is considered far from perfect. It is even worse in other countries. There is frequent criticism of the selection tests used in various examinations, including the J.M.A.; for instance, that they are not comprehensive nor objective enough. Often, too much is read into the examination results,—particularly of the oral and group and individual tests.

For that matter, there is frequent criticism of the organization and policies of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, as a whole. Only recently, a new book, *Crises in the Civil Service,* spotlighted this criticism and referred, among other things, to "the need for a new effort to combat the rising tide of spoils-manship" in the Commission.

The significant thing, however, is that the Commission itself is aware of its inadequacies. Last October, the American Assembly, a national partisan voluntary organization, called a big conference, in which the Commission fully co-operated of all official and unofficial agencies concerned with problems of personnel administration, to examine thoroughly all aspects of the Federal Government Service and suggest suitable solutions for the problems. The Hoover Commission's Report, published last February, made a radical proposal to institute Senior Civil Service in America on the lines of the British Civil Service. All these proposals are on the anvil. And more, there are departmental committees within the Commission itself suggesting organizational and technical reforms from time to time.

This spirit of self-examination and constant search for solutions and reforms is perhaps the greatest source of strength for the U.S. Civil Service Commission.

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INDIAN INDUSTRIES FAIR
A Show Window

By PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE

Fairs and fairy tales have always been enchanting to people irrespective of age and sex. The recent Indian Industries Fair held in Delhi was no exception. Originally scheduled to remain open from 29th October to 15th December, 1955, it had to be extended up to 1st January, 1956. Such was its popularity.

Hundreds and thousands of people from all ranks and walks of life—scientists, engineers, technicians, technologists, artisans and craftsmen, labourers, peasants, traders and businessmen, simple village folks, ladies sophisticated and rustic, wealthy mothers with attendants carrying the babies, mothers with comparatively smaller means carrying the babies themselves, not to mention the V.I.Ps., diplomats and other dignitaries, kept the place busy.

The different sorts of outlook with which these people went to see the fair are difficult to describe. In essence these can be summarised as inspecting, enquiring, wandering, frolicking, and passing time just for the sake of fun. Amongst these divergent views one thing must have crystallised to all Indians and that is the gap that exists between the world progress in science and in its application and that made in India. This naturally leads to an appreciation of the efforts that we have to make to line up with the world progress.

This was needed specially when we are on the verge of the Second Five-Year Plan, for the success of which the common people have to be educated and strengthened for participation. They have also to be shown that industry and village life can exist side by side complementing each other. Under the existing system of social structure with special reference to economic development it was necessary to know the correct line of demarcation between the private and the public sector; they must co-operate with each other for an effective and all-round progress.

Twenty-one foreign countries, Austria, Belgium, Burma, China, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, France, Hungary, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Poland, Rumania, Russia, the United Kingdom, U.S.A., West Germany and Yugoslavia, took part in the fair. Goods exhibited ranged from tools and machine-making machines to all types of necessaries and luxuries. Barring war equipment, I cannot mention an item which was not exhibited at the fair. Nevertheless, it would be of interest to mention some of the exhibits which attracted most visitors.

The Atom for Peace pavilion of the U.S.A., a streamlined building with a suggestive atom structure symbol on the roof, was quite impressive. Inside, in addition to other items of general interest, the magic hand placed in an airtight glass case fascinated all visitors. The pair of hands inside the case could be operated from outside. They can do almost everything that human hands can do.

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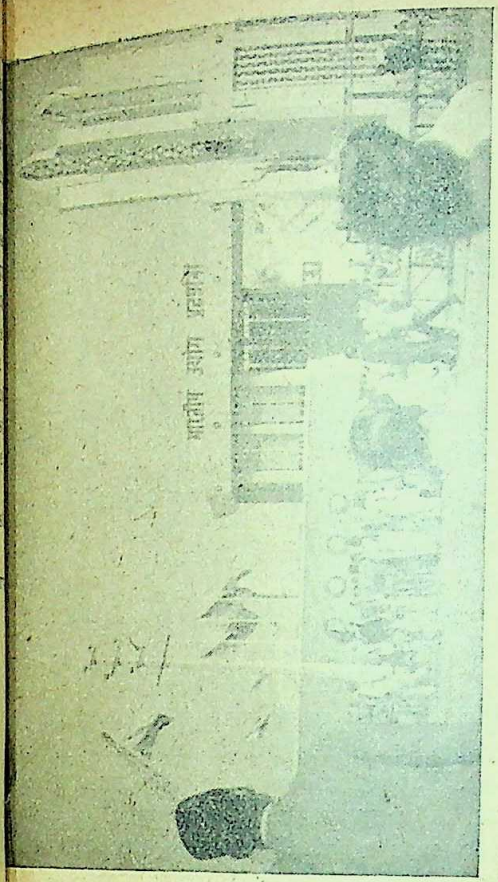
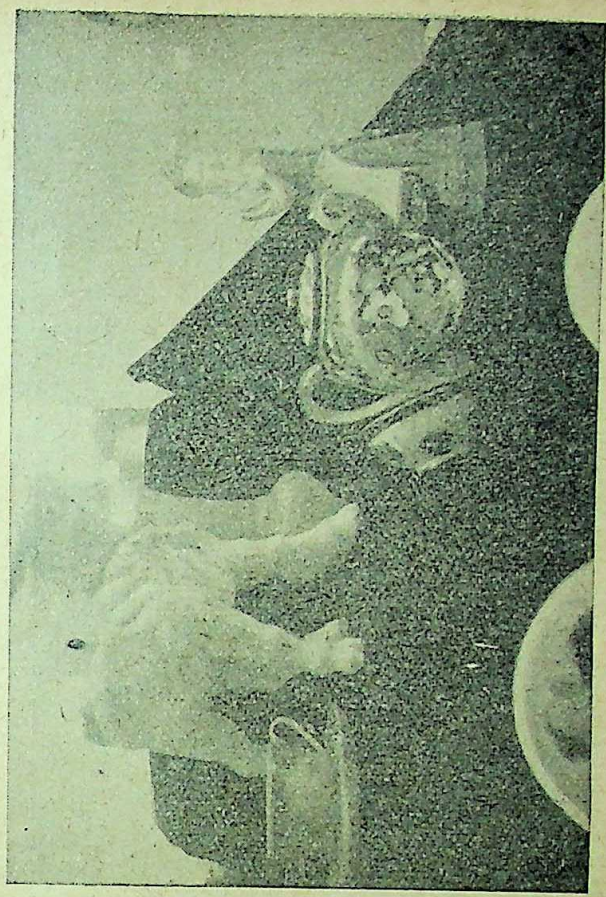
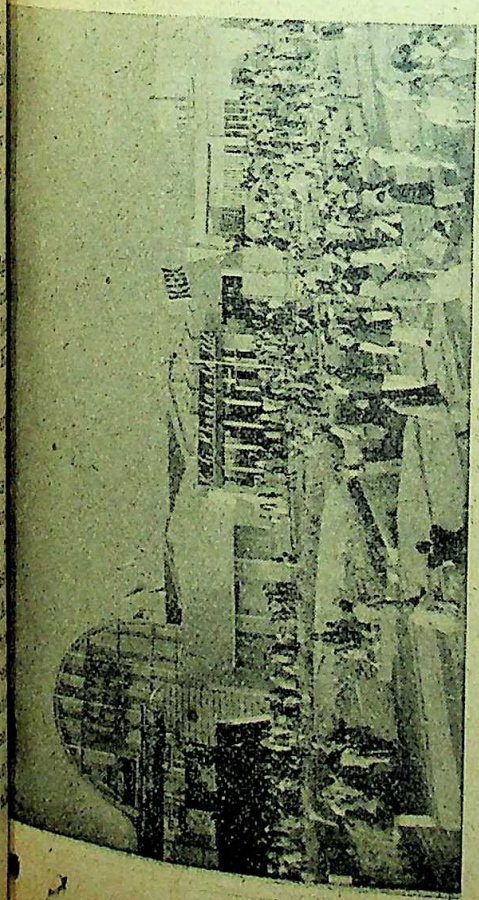


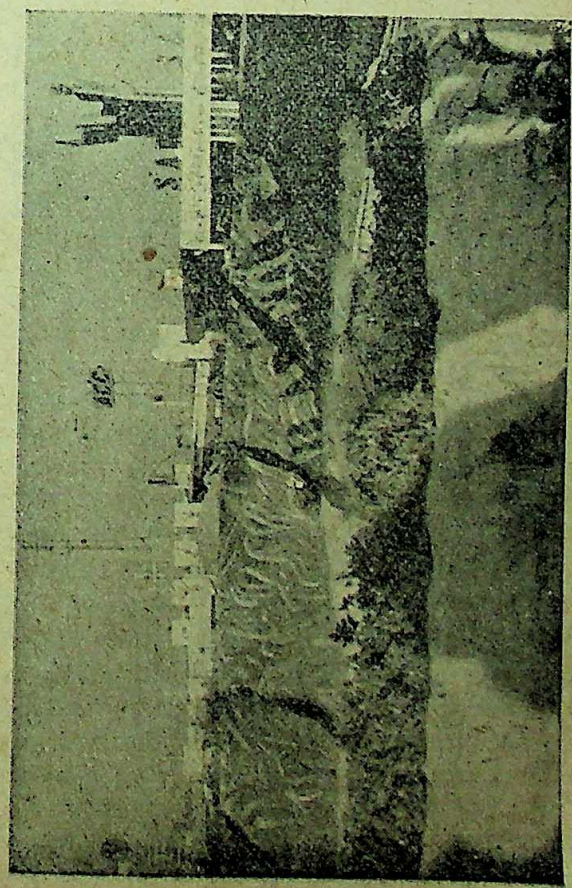
The streamlined Gate



China-clay potteries and dolls



An inside view of the Fair



Yakra-Nangal project model

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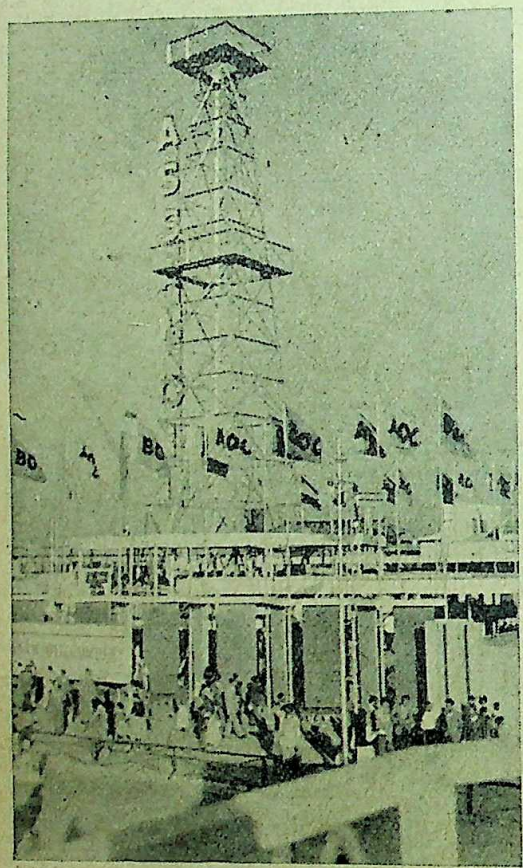
Television programmes provided by the Philips and the U.S.S.R. were very popular.

In one of the pavilions of the East European Democracies fancy goods and toys were so attractive that in the visitors' book kept there one could come across remarks like, "What a pity your goods are not for sale," "Still yours is the best show." I am sure most of the visitors would generally agree with such remarks.



The Assam Oil Co. Pavilion

In the main entrance to the Russian pavilion the white clay model of Lenin was really remarkable. On the walls you could see life-size enlargements of photographs of Shri Nehru and Russian leaders shaking hands, indicating Indo-Russian friendship and co-operation. In the general layout the aesthetic stress on the items exhibited could be noticed throughout. Agricultural products kept either open or in beautiful glass jars fascinated many. China clay potteries and dolls compared favourably with those brought from the land of China.

The Chinese pavilion was built in the typical Chinese fashion in size as well as in construction well illustrating the tremendous efforts towards progress made by that great people. Many of the articles exhibited, specially the electrical instruments, did not, of course, represent an 'A' class finish, but one could not miss the sincerity of purpose and unstinted effort behind these articles and the firm resolve and to make a beginning for self-sufficiency. I entrance to the main hall was placed a gigantic clay model of Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the C People's Republic.

The East German pavilion brought in curious to see the Glass Man depicting the system hidden underneath the skin. The hig precision instruments exhibited do not requ special mention as they are already famous respect.

The Indian pavilion occupying the largest the Fair provided a lot of varieties, though not indicating high industrial progress. Various mo Indian life and activities, and the general lay the Second Five-Year Plan and what it can have been well-illustrated by charts and figure the various river-valley projects, the model recently started Bhakra-Nangal project was impressive.

The still model of a Dehati on Cycle on t of the Star of India pavilion and the paddling of an youth inside the Hind pavilion would any visitor. Both these models came near to Assam Oil Company very successfully ex the various aspects of their activities starting drilling to refinery. A walk through the rooms Imperial Tobacco Company would give you in ing historical details of smoking and show yo making and packing of cigarettes in an au machine.

Although the Fair covered as big an area acres of land, yet the general outward display artistic throughout. Just in front of the stre entrance gate the sculpture of a couple stepp in unision to greet visitors indicated the cordi India. Then there were the murals and relie depicting the agricultural and industrial life of The attractive lighting at night and the co changing colours of the fountains would almo you in a dreamland.

All these would have been of no avail ha been no arrangements for refreshment and re Justification for such a remark cannot be un unless it is known that to pass through all the P of the Fair one would have to walk about miles. On this long-winded path you would have hundreds of thousands of articles exhibited. To you in your long walk there were restaurants rias and tea and cofee stalls arranged by the Tea and Cofee Expansion Boards. There were for your joy-ride and amusement park wit Wheels and other attractions for children as their parents.

The Fair was a big thing covering a space acres requiring some three crores of rupees the show in which some nine hundred par

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ian and foreign, brought in goods to show. In spite all these I think it would not be out of place to tion certain things which probably could have n avoided with a little care. Although in holidays crowded moments, persons attending the various ls could have no chance of explaining things to tors, yet whenever a question was put it should e been correctly answered. But unfortunately this cedure was not followed in all instances.

Somebody has called the Fair a buyers' lounge those who went to see it during the last few days uld agree to this remark. In the majority of cases machines and industrial products were affixed with cards with the word 'sold.' It is said that East Germany alone secured orders worth two crores of rupees.

Had you happened to walk out of the Fair about the closing time and wanted a taxi or a tonga it would have been almost asking for the moon. If, by necessity, you had to catch an outgoing train that night, then you would have been ashamed to see the frantic efforts made by your host to catch a taxi or a tonga. You would then be forced to hire one at an exhorbitant rate. As it rushed to destination, you would look back to have a last glimpse of the beautifully illuminated dreamland of the Fair.

Photographs by P. C. Mukherjee.

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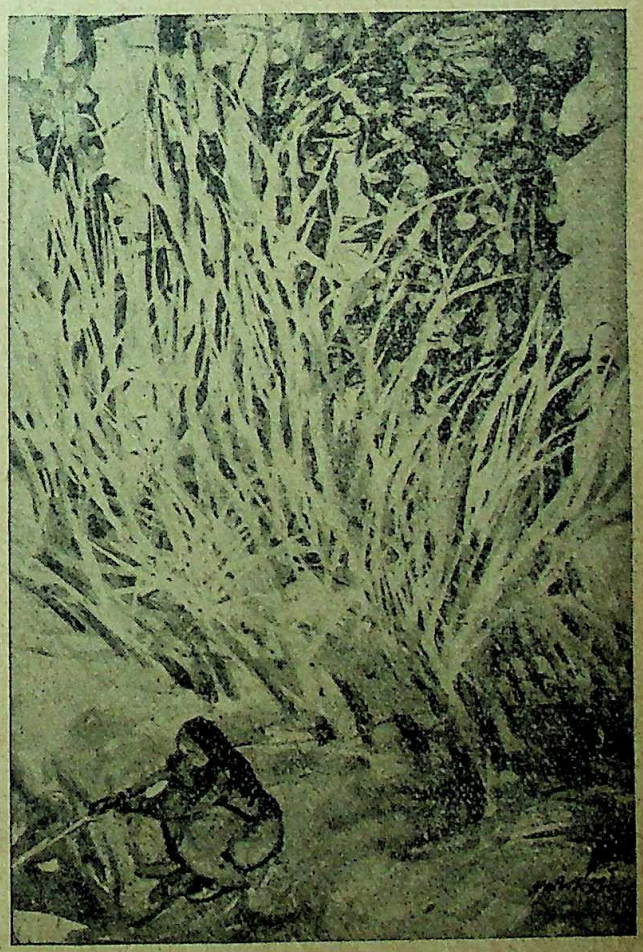
ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS, CALCUTTA

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

E 20th Annual Exhibition of the Academy of Fine s was opened by the Governor at the Indian useum on the 16th December, 1955, in the presence a large number of distinguished guests, the Maharaja and Maharani of Nepal, and all the top-ranking ists, art-connoisseurs and critics. The Governor's eech was an inspiring address, dilating on the high tus of artists in society and also making a passionate peal to the citizens of Calcutta to patronize art d artists. It remains to be seen what response to s appeal will be made by our good citizens, who, a rule, extend their patronage more to music and erature than to the productions of visual arts. Ever ce Abanindra Nath Tagore began his new movent in Indian Art in this city, continued attempts e been made to awaken the art-consciousness of citizens and to induce them to encourage and ronize artists, but it is notorious that notwithnding incessant exhibitions of paintings and other rks of Art, held throughout the year at the hospible halls at No. 1 Chowringhee, at the Artistry use, at the Indian Museum, and, at other places, re has not developed any great demand for Art d there have been more exhibitions than buyers of tures. Indeed, it is notorious that the number of employed amongst artists is growing every year, ile their counterparts in the field of music are king in the sunshine of prosperity, thanks to the cession of Music Conferences and the crowded grammes for music on the Radio. Even our great rary luminaries love to boycott our picture exhitions, where they are seen very rarely with the ult that art and literature live in water-tight comtments—and the literature of Art has not yet en its birth in India,-for our cultured gentry have yet acquired a trained eye to look at pictures, h less power to understand and critically appraise them. The Visva-Bharati and our Calcutta University have tried, in a feeble way, to arouse the interest of students in the visual arts, but the majority of our



At pond
By Gopal Ghose

scholars, our Bachelors and Masters of Art, file out of the portals of our University, every year, in formi-

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dable battalions without any nodding acquaintance with our masterpieces of painting and sculpture, whether of the old schools or the new. So that the products of our Universities, our future citizens, never qualify for performing the duties of good citizenship by setting up public galleries of Art or by helping artists to live and contribute to the spiritual hunger for beauty and fulfil the demands of the higher aspirations of life. It has not yet been realized that Art has a dynamic role to play in building up a truly socialistic pattern of life, of which we frequently hear

Day's catch
By Rathin Maitra

so much, as hackneyed slogans on the lips of Communists as well as Congressmen. The above reflections are provoked by the rich array of paintings and sculptures assembled in the current exhibition of the Academy of Art. They have come from all parts of the Indian Union, Madras, Bombay, Delhi, Mysore, Nagpur, Darjeeling, Dehra Dun, Nasik, Poona and Santiniketan. Such a variety of exhibits offer convenient evidences, on which one can judge the prevailing trends and tendencies in Indian contemporary art. They at once prove to any casual observer that most of our practising artists are suffering from a debilitating fever of imitating the language of the various "Isms" of the Modernistic art of Even artists, formerly treading on the sober Realism and Vision, such as Kanwal Krishna yani Krishna, and Makhan Datta Gupta, have to worship at the shrine of Cubism, and Abs ism, shamelessly ignoring the brilliant his Indian painting, covering a period of five years. The painter of beautiful Himalayan la is attempting in vain in his *Shakti* (206) to in the name of progress the solemn symb *Vajra-yana* mysticism in the 'vulgar' lang European jargon, disdaining the lessons Nepalese and Tibetan masterpieces. Yet the canvases contributed by Pannikar (178, 185, 1 197, 211). Makhan Datta Gupta, Rathin Mai others in their emphatic and impassioned comp and vigorous brush works, lift their heads fa the mediocre levels of the exhibits in oil Academic manner. But the two unassumin canvases of Jagadish Roy: *At the Door* (17 *Grey and Green* (267) hold their own in their restrained treatment of homely themes, ex tons of beauty in the much-maligned Academi ner. We are still expecting our Indian Constab Turners to set down in the sober language the permanent records of beauty, which our d lated Bengal villages are still nursing in their dance. One would not repudiate them even are interpreted in the brilliant colours and vi brush works of Van Gogh illustrated in his la of the French "Provence" or in the dreamy P lism of Seurat. Whatever may be the tec used, they must represent Bengal, her cottages paddy fields, and her river scenes. There are Bengal landscapes in the Oil section (233, 2 262, 269) and a few very picturesque forest sc Assam by S. Basu Roy Chowdhury (25, 37, 41, 136), but they do not attain the honour of a nent place in our National Gallery. Special should inspire our talented Constables to set d permanent records the beauty of rural Beng the domain of Portraiture, we have several artists in Bengal as well as in Bombay and centres, but our best talents are not receiving missions to paint worthy portraits of our les politics, literature, and science, to fill our Valhala. The poverty of portraits in the show is tragic. The pretentious though vigorous brus of A. P. Santaraj's *Portrait of an Old Ma* easily outstrips the sober if somewhat tame of Sri Kisory Roy's *Mother's Portrait* (224) accomplished and restrained beauty of G. Ba *Portrait of a Friend* (273). But they do not r the height which many of our portraitists are cover under intelligent official patronage and national call. The mere display of skilful brus in the puerile portrait of Rabindranath Tagore

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does not enhance the reputation of modern portrait-painting in India. This will be evident if one refers to the brilliant study of our national Poet painted by a modern Japanese master, reproduced in colour in

Grey and green
By Jagadish Roy

an album, widely circulated in this city and cited in a small block in the current Number of *Desh* (10 December, 1955, p. 434). There is no justification whatsoever for placing on the wall a large canvas by the same artist, entitled *Lest We Forget*, a slipshod work with no drawing, no colour, or sense of composition. As pointed out by another critic, many items in the water-colour section have been accepted by the Hanging Committee, which should have been omitted if only to raise the general level of the show. We have no critically trained public to judge and appraise independently the merits of works of art correctly and dispassionately, and the inclusion of mediocre works only help to confuse honest picture-goers, beginning to understand what to admire and what to depreciate in current productions of Art.

As usual the Academy has appropriately assigned a special room to pictures in Indian style. But this has unfortunately emphasized the general low level of this section, this year, which the Academy has attempted courageously to redeem, by way of ballasts, by citing three examples from the brush of Dr. Nanda Lal Bose, which seem to rebuke the weak and futile conceptions of the majority of the "Indian" pictures. Yet brilliant pieces rear their heads above this slough of despondence: (1) *The Bee* (334) in which A. Almelkar has creditably presented Rajput traditions in a new and developed form with convincing decorative qualities, (2) *Balcony* (336), in which A. Chowdhury gives a convincing interpretation of Indian style in a new, original, and progressive technique of astonishing merit, (3) A brilliant study of *Palasa* (349) in the Japanese manner by Indra Dugar and (4) *Danuja Dalani* (316), in which Dipen Bose has put new life into the conventions of Ikon-painting in Bengal. His work, recently exhibited in a one-man show, have raised high hopes for the languages of indigenous Indian painting, which he is assiduously pursuing, demonstrating, incidentally, that "Indianism" is, after all, the best form of "Isms," suitable to the genius of Indian artists. In this connection a happy surprise is provided by Sri Samar Gupta (one of the famous stalwarts of the Tagore School), who exhibits three pieces of Oil, never encouraged by devotees of "Indianism," and he demonstrates that the Indianists can equally handle the medium with conspicuous success, as in his *Basket Weaver* (236), *Captive* (278) and his vibrating study of *Yacca Gloriosa* (308).

Some "problem" pictures are contributed by Anil Bhattacharyya: "No. 1" (222), a cryptic *Cup of Poison* and No. 2, and No. 3 (259, 307), which though revealing careful craftsmanship, are marred by the unfair use of "spraying."

The bee
By A. A. Almelkar

The water-colour section has very few high lights to attract attention. The only pieces worth mentioning are: *Lane in Khatmandu* (64) by Ganesh Haloi, Anil Paul's happy study of *Nakhoda Mosque* (142) and Ramen Dutt's *Station Under Mist* (46). The black and white section is equally disappointing and enveloped in gloom, which is redeemed by D. Mitra's able study in brush, *Drawing* (98) and Adinath Mukherjee's *The Cranes* (105) which skilfully extracts poetry out of a sordid, prosaic subject-matter.

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The sculpture section is very rich in numerous successful pieces, in a diverse variety of techniques, ranging from the Academic to the Abstract. It is easy to admire the sentimental treatment of a pair of goats, *Greedy* (36) for their grass. But there is a stately solemnity in the moving piece of architectural sculpture: *We Open the Gate* (35) contributed by Kumar Robin Roy, deserving high praise. This could be fittingly utilized by our city-fathers to decorate any of our city-roads. In this kind of decorations there is plenty of scope for Municipal patronage to provide employments for many of our talented sculptors, eager to render their services to transform our city squalor into a city of beauty. The kind attention of the Mayor and the ex-Mayor of Calcutta may be drawn to this serious demand for contribution of citizenship.

The Exhibition offers many valuable lessons, for what to admire in contemporary Art, what to buy to fill the walls of our National Gallery yet to materialize and how to utilize our living artistic talents to enrich and glorify the hard-earned Independence of the Indian Union.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"China and Asian Stability"

Permit me to point out a few inaccuracies in the article "China and Asian Stability" by Dr. Kalidas Nag in *The Modern Review* for December, 1955.

(1) The author writes on p. 445: "After a second revolution on July, 1913 Yuan Shih-kai was elected President." But Yuan had been President since an earlier period in the sense as Dr. Sun Yet-sen was President. With Dr. Sun's resignation Yuan acceded to the presidency of the Republic of China on March 10, 1912. The "Second Revolution," so called, was an abortive effort of the southern provincial lords to oust Yuan from the presidency. After the failure of that attempt Yuan, through murder and intrigue, obtained his own election as the regular President for ten years from October, 1913.

(2) The statement about thirty years' Communist war against Chiang is hardly borne out by history.

(3) Bandung Conference was held in April, 1955, and not in July, 1955, as stated on page 446.

(4) Chou En-lai did not "finally emerge Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic" (p. 446) but rather as the Premier of the State Council under the 1954 Constitution.

(5) Mme. Sun Yat-sen (Soong Ching-ling) is not "also Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic." No doubt she had been so in the beginning. But after the promulgation of the new constitution in September, 1954, she has been one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China.

(6) China again is not "a sub-continent of 32 provinces and 12 municipalities" (p. 447). At least in the recent past she had not been so divided administratively. Until June, 1954, China (except Taiwan) was administratively divided into 28 provinces grouped into six Greater Administrative Areas and fourteen centrally administered municipalities. After the reorganization of June, 1954, China (except Taiwan) is now divided into 25 administrative provinces, two national autonomous regions and three centrally administered municipalities.

[See Liao Kai-lung—*From Yenan to Peki*, pp. 146-150; Chou En-lai—*Report on the Work of Government*, delivered before the first session of the National People's Congress of P. R. of China in September, 1954, p. 33; Shie I-Yuan—"Changes in China's Administrative Divisions" in *People's Chi*, May 16, 1955, pp. 28-30.]

(7) The characterization of the ten years 1939-1949 as the period of the liquidation of the Kuomintang was neither in accord with the facts nor with the accepted history. The period 1937-1945 was marked by Kuomintang-Kungchantang alliance against Japan. Even the Chinese Communists do not regard 1939-1949 as a period of struggle against KMT. During the period of the anti-Japanese National United Front the most notable incident straining the KMT-Kungchantang relations was the New Fourth Army Incident in 1941. But the controversy was not pressed by either side. Therefore, the reference to 1939-19[illegible] as the period of the liquidation of the KMT was [illegible] clear.

(8) The omission of any reference to the adoption of the new Constitution in 1954 made the history of the period incomplete in an important respect.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKAR

"Capital Formation in India"

I have read with great interest the article "Capital Formation" by Miss Bela Bose in your journal of January, 1956. Before discussing the question it would be better to put compendiously Miss Bose's views on the subject. She states that

(1) In an underdeveloped country, like that of India, capital formation being a function of savings is very low, as the latter itself is very low, being the result of the low real income which itself is due to the low productivity, thus constituting a vicious circle.

(2) The problem of capital formation is thus a problem of increasing the income of the majority.

(3) The passive role that is played by the various Banking institutions and the Bank Rate and the Open Market Operations in increasing Savings and Investment is discussed.

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(4) She favours nationalisation of industries, provided, of course, they are profitable!

(5) Lastly, a surplus budget is favoured and high taxation is rejected on the Colin Clarkian principles.

It seems from the outset that Miss Bose is quite partial to the classicals. The problem of capital formation is not a function of savings but of creating something new which does not exist, say up to the mark. "It is a problem of curtailing consumption and diverting the existing factors of production from producing consumers goods to producers goods." This is true only in case of highly developed countries and the question of restricting consumption for capital goods in an under-developed country does not arise as an under-developed country has many idle resources which are not all exploited. The idea that the economic development conditioned as it is by growth in the stock of social capital is essentially limited by what may be termed as the 'savings fund' is out-dated and wrong.

"In recent years there has been a growing inclination among economists to regard such a pre-existing 'Savings Fund' as a myth; and in general terms the argument that a country's potentiality for investment is not limited by any such factor is now sufficiently familiar. This general argument amounts to the contention that the margin between income and consumption may be enlarged by augmenting income as well as by lowering consumption and that the carrying out of plans of capital construction will augment income from the moment of their inception. While the margin between income and consumption will thereby be widened, this can occur without any absolute fall in the consumption either of the community as a whole or of any individuals in it. This latter conclusion depends on the assumption that the economic system contains elements of reserve productive capacity, *and this is true of an under-developed country,** which can be mobilised for constructional work without competing with the production of consumption goods. Subsequently as the capital equipment under construction comes into operation it will have the positive effect of facilitating consumption: new sources of power or new technical equipment will raise the productivity of labour already engaged in the production of consumers' goods."†

Even accepting the contention that the problems of the war and planned economies stand on the same footing with regard to the developed and under-developed countries and a sufficient gap must be created between income and expenditure so as to have capital formation there is no limit how much the consumption can be curtailed provided, of course, the wage rates are increased. That would lead indirectly to deficit financing. Deficit financing would no doubt lead to a rise in prices which would stimulate further production not only in consumption goods but in capital goods as well. If the increase in consumption goods is greater than the capital goods, so far the better, for an under-developed country needs badly an export surplus for the import of certain capital goods which cannot be produced in the home country itself.

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* Italics mine.

† Maurice Dobb: *Soviet Economic Development Since 1917*, p. 23.

—:O:—

WORK ON GANGA BRIDGE PROJECT IN FULL SWING

The field work on the Rs. 16-crore Ganga Bridge Project at Mokameh is now in full swing. Over 12,000 men and women of all categories are working round the clock on the erection of the approach bank and the construction of a guide bund, both of which have to be finished before the next monsoon.

The approach bank will require 40 million cubic feet of earthwork and the guide bund 25 million pieces of pitching stone and 30 million cubic feet of earthwork. About 90,000 cubic feet of pitching stone, equivalent to a load of 500 ordinary metre-gauge wagons, is being carried daily across the river to the site of the guide bund by the Wagon Ferry. This represents a record performance for any single ghat working in the country.

About three miles upstream of the bridge site, the river Ganga flows into two channels, north and south. The north channel which carries 30 per cent of the river-discharge is being blocked by the approach bank to be protected by stone pitching leaving the south channel to be bridged across.

Bridge Foundations Work in Progress

The work of bridge foundations is also in progress, and well curbs for five piers out of the 15 have already been laid, and sinking and concreting started on two. The wells have to be sunk into the river-bed up to 165 to 175 feet below the winter water-level. The launching of caissons for the three wells which have to be laid in 20 to 30 feet deep water this season is also on this month's programme. The foundations will need 4 million cubic feet of concrete. The entire quantity is being manufactured by a crushing plant with a capacity of 100 tons per hour erected on the south bank of the river. The manufactured product—both coarse and fine—is loaded mechanically by an endless rubber conveyer belt into boats for taking across the river.

Temporary but suitable accommodation has been provided for the personnel close to the site so as to avoid inconvenience to the staff. Tube-well water supply has been arranged and canteen and medical facilities provided near the site of work.—*PIB*.

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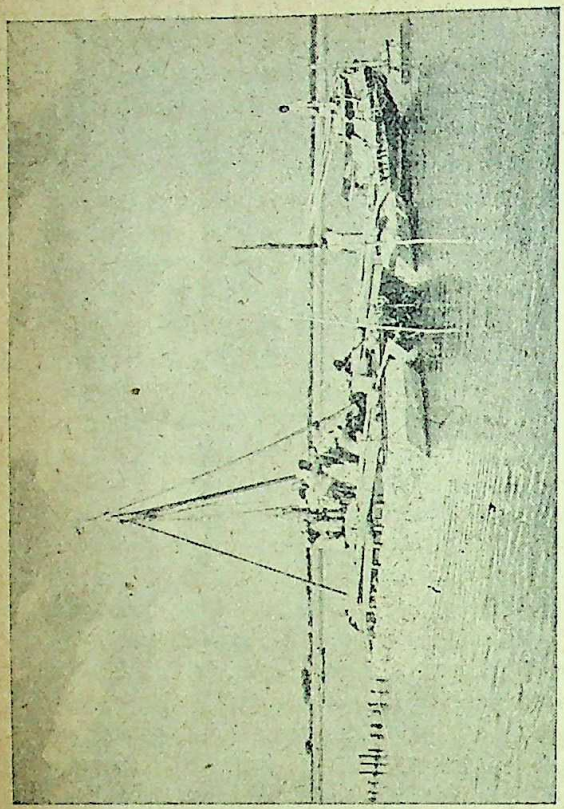
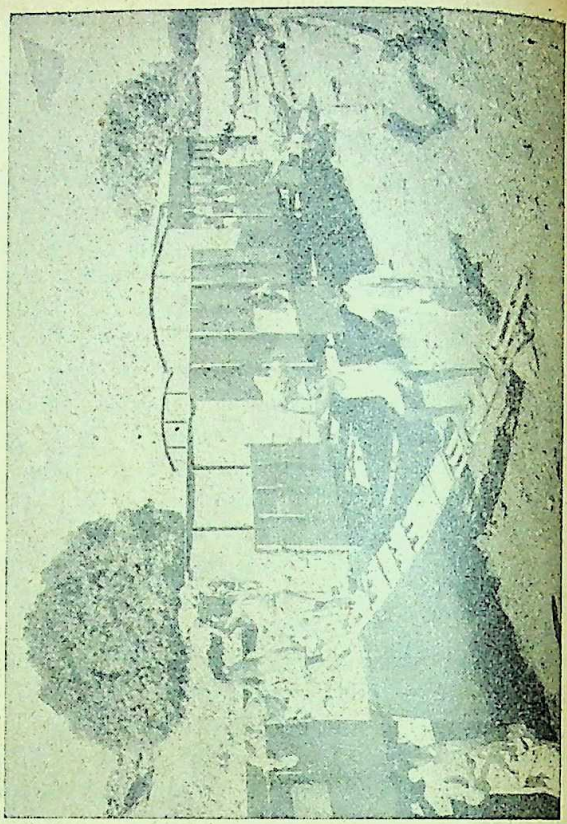
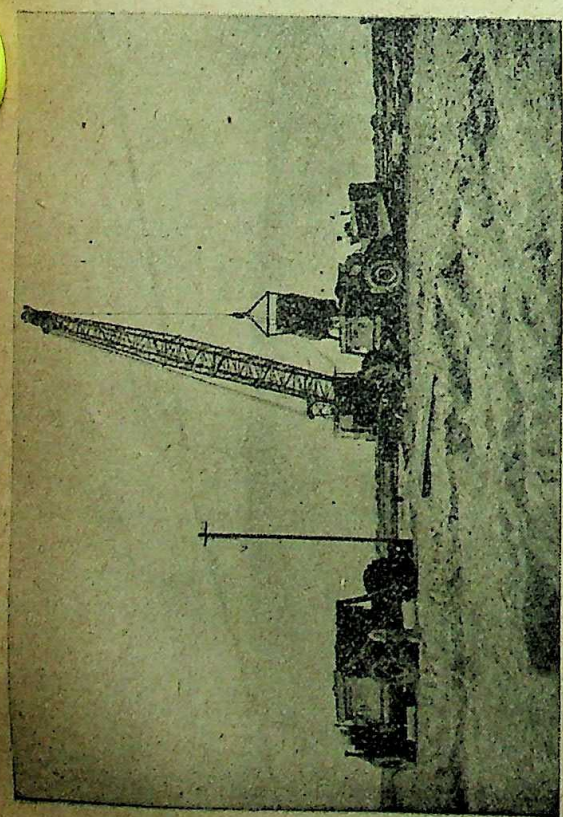


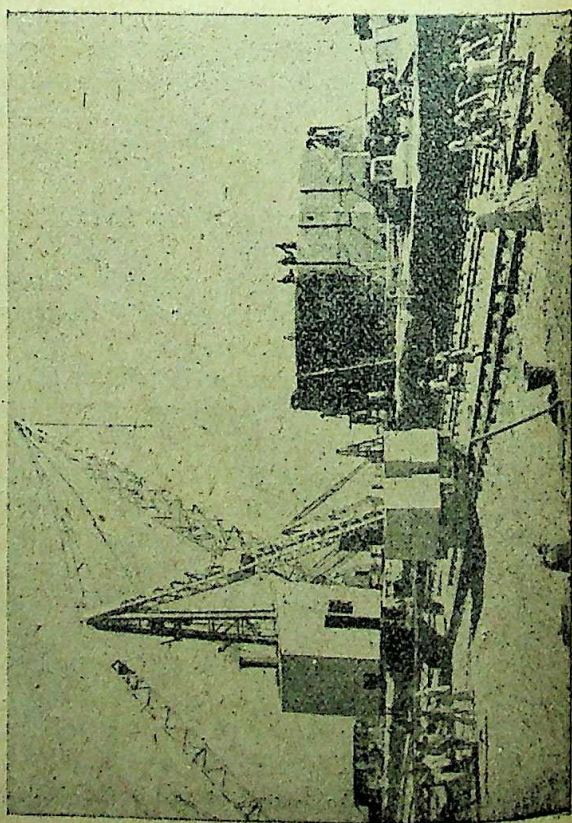
Bandalling being done in Ganga river to reduce flow in North Channel of the river, which has to be blocked



Loading stone for transport across river for Guide Bund of



Earthwork by dragline excavators and dumpers on the construction of Guide Bund of Ganga Bridge



Erection of a wall each weighing 140 tons for 400 ft. spans of

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THE UNITED NATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

By Dr. SUSHIL CHANDRA SINGH, M.A., Ph.D., D.LITT.,
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The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is not a creation or a discovery. It is an evolution, a growth, the low-bought gain of the ages. The Congress of Berlin, the Brussels Conference and the two Hague Peace Conferences were the earlier steps towards recognition of the human dignity. The ruthless suppression of the human personality during the two world wars brought into limelight the problem of safeguarding human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Allied statesmen realised the need of emphasizing the respect for human rights. President Franklin D. Roosevelt put forward his ideas for four freedoms—"freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and fears everywhere in the world"—in a message to the Congress in 1941. Mr. (now Sir) Winston Churchill declared: "When this struggle ends with the enthronement of human rights, racial persecution will be ended." The Atlantic Charter, the United Nations declaration of 1943, and Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, 1944, gave expression to the aspirations of the common people for the protection of human rights. In 1940 a committee sponsored by London *Daily Herald* drew up a model International Bill of Rights. Individuals and organizations created public opinion for a world recognition of human rights. The result was that the United Nations Charter framed in June 1945 at the San-Francisco Conference contained no less than seven emphatic references to human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Charter laid down the foundations of a plan of human rights. The Commission of Human Rights was set up early in 1946. As a result of its efforts during 1947 and 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights gradually took shape. It was finally passed by the 3rd session of the General Assembly on 10th December, 1948. It was adopted without a single dissenting vote.

Significance of the Declaration

As the declaration itself shows, it is "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations." It is a proclamation of historic importance and has been ranked with the Magna Carta of 1215, the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679, the Bill of Rights of 1689, the American Declaration of Independence in 1776, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in 1789. It is a landmark in the struggle for human rights and freedoms. As Carlos P. Romulo, President of the fourth session of the General Assembly, said, it is "the most comprehensive document, the first in history to define from a truly universal standpoint the basic rights and fundamental freedoms to which all men everywhere are entitled." Mr. Trygve-Lie thinks that the Declaration "is destined to become one of the great documents of history." Herbert Evatt of Australia believed that millions of people all over the world will receive inspiration from this document. Charles Malik of Lebanon regards it as "a document of the first order of importance." Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt regards it as "the international Magna Carta of all men everywhere." Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru hopes that the Declaration will give impetus "to certain positive values in life which we must respect and hold on to, if life is to be made worth living."

There are certain chief features of the Declaration. It represents the highest aspirations of the common people—the aroused conscience of mankind. It defines rights without any discrimination whatsoever. It has a universal application. It is meant for all peoples of all countries. For the first time a large majority of the nations of the world have accepted in theory at least the principle of the recognition of human rights. The list of rights mentioned in the declaration is a very comprehensive one. All types of rights, social, domestic, political and economic have been mentioned. A survey of all these rights brings before us the fact whether it is at all practicable to confer all these rights on citizens. It seems as if the duties are submerged in the ocean of rights.

The Impact of the Declaration

Already the declaration has been published in 36 languages of the world. The General Assembly has passed a resolution urging the various U.N. bodies to popularise the contents of the declaration. The U.N.E.S.C.O. has taken a leading share in publicizing the declaration. It has prepared pamphlets, radio-scripts, films, posters, special articles and exhibit materials throwing light on the various aspects of the declaration. Dr. Torres Bodet, U.N.E.S.C.O's Director-General, took initiative in launching the idea of the national and international observance of the anniversary of the declaration. As a result of its efforts, Human Rights Day has been solemnized the world over. Various international organizations representing trade unions, women, businessmen, Christian associations, Churches, Jewish organizations, Catholic missions and various other persons and institutions have taken steps to emphasize the principles of the declaration. The World Federation of U.N. Associations seems to have dedicated itself to do this work.

The human rights programme of U.N. includes a wide variety of activities concerning freedom of information, status of women, discrimination, protection of minorities, abolition of slavery and forced labour, etc. Already various commissions and committees of U.N. are tackling problems concerning human rights.

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The General Assembly has taken keen interest in finding solutions to problems concerning human rights. It has discussed several times the treatment of the people of Indian origin in South Africa. The General Assembly recommended to the Soviet Union to withdraw the measures which prevent the Russian wives of citizens of other nationalities from leaving their country with their husbands. During its fourth session it took action on the question of discrimination practised by certain states against immigrating labour. It recommended the inclusion of certain rights and freedoms in the Eritrean Constitution. It applied the declaration to non-self-governing territories. The Social and Economic Council has taken various decisions based on the declaration. It has urged equal pay for equal work. The Trusteeship Council has cited the declaration in its various decisions. The specialized agencies like the I.L.O. are playing their part in implementing the declaration. In various international agreements, such as, Netherlands-Indonesian Union, Somaliland agreement, the European Convention for the protection of human rights, Japanese peace treaty, etc., show an impress of the declaration. Various national constitutions show its impact. The Indonesian constitution is the first case in which the human rights have been based almost entirely upon the declaration. The constitutions of Costa Rica, Syria, El Salvador, Haiti have been effected by it. Laws have been passed in France, Canada and Germany embodying some provisions of the declaration. Even the International Court of Justice has taken note of it. In the dispute between Colombia and Peru involving the right of asylum of Mr. Victor Haya de la Torre, Judge Jose Azevedo in a dissenting opinion cited the declaration. The various U.S. Courts have done the same.

Efforts Towards Implementation

The Human Rights Commission has taken up the task of drafting the Covenant on human rights which would constitute a treaty binding on the various states and prescribe measures by which they could be implemented. In the beginning the idea was to draft a single Covenant, as desired by the Assembly. The Human Rights Commission, therefore, drafted a single Covenant and submitted it to the Economic and Social Council in 1950. In 1951, however, the General Assembly asked the Commission to prepare two separate Covenants. By the middle of 1954, the Commission had practically done its work. It sent the two Covenants to the Assembly. The matter came up before the Assembly in December, 1954, when it gave for the first time a first reading to the Covenants and decided to consider them article by article at the next session.

The two Covenants have a common preamble with much of its language derived from the preamble of the Declaration. Attempt has been made to show that human rights belong to the nature of man. They are not the creation of an external authority. All people and nations have been given the right to self-determination. States which agree to the Covenants must consent to promote the realisation of the right in territories. One draft Covenant deals with economic and cultural rights and the other draft Covenant with civil and political rights. The draft Covenant economic, social and cultural rights contains regulating provisions on non-discrimination, on limitations on the exercise of these rights and retention of existing rights. Progressively legislation be introduced to implement the provisions of the nant. A reporting system has been suggested. draft Covenant on civil and political rights en all individuals within the territory of a state th in the Covenant without discrimination. Each agrees to take the necessary steps to adopt sub lative or other measures as are needed to im the provisions of the Covenant. Judicial remedy violation of these rights has been ensured. A Rights Committee is suggested. It will implem rights in the civil and political Covenant. Th mittee will consist of 9 members to be elected International Court of Justice. It would be mediate disputes between states over alleged v of the rights given in the Covenant. A reporting has been suggested here as well. The two C are fairly exhaustive. They deal with nearly every of the individual's life in society. If fully imple they will go a long way in ushering in a new peace and understanding.

Lack of Understanding

The declaration is good so far as it goes. is not enough. Something more is needed. W want is its implementation. Already we have m the steps taken towards that end. We believe t declaration is greater than the United Nations its contents are accepted in right earnest the necessity of the U.N. or rather the work of th is immensely facilitated. That is what we aim at we talk of the U.N. and its activities. As Lec declared about the French declaration of the R Man that it was greater than all the armies of N similarly we may assert that if all nations are the declaration, it can surpass all the resolutions in international conferences so far and even armies recruited by the U.N. to combat ag But if wishes were horses, beggars would ride o There is a real lack of understanding among Today they accept one thing, tomorrow they viol have seen how the Hague decisions, Locarno Pa of Paris, London and Washington decisions b thrown to the winds. Today we know how In being treated in the South African Union. They political rights worth the name. They are being like helots in different parts of South Africa. clear challenge to the whole United Nations O tion and in spite of its best efforts has materialised so far. The people of West Africa have been tagged against their wi White dominion of South Africa and they

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y any right at all. This treatment to a dependant ple is being meted out by South Africa, a so-called lised country and member of U.N. and day in and out supported by the white nations of the British mmonwealth. The French Government which claims base her policies on the declaration is not following when it is a question of her colonies. We know political opposition is being suppressed in rocco, Africa and elsewhere. The British Govern- t which claims to base its policies on self-govern- t is adopting very slow steps towards political ncipation of her colonies. She is adopting a halt- attitude in her colonies. We are already familiar h the Sereste Khama case when the Labour Govern- t refused to recognise a tribal chief because he had mitted the so-called sin of marrying a white girl, h Williams. This was the action of the Labour vernment of Mr. Attlee and this was done to nour Dr. Malan. Already there are rumours going that the British protectorates of Swaziland and huanaland may be handed over to the South African on. The British Government has created a tral African Federation only because they want that region of Africa be dominated by the Whites Southern Rhodesia. The U.S.A. has been the senal of Democracy' and Roosevelt was the American President who enunciated the four fundamental freedoms. Every time the U.S.A. stands for human dignity and political integrity. Wilson played a leading part in the evolution of the League of Nations and the mandates system. The American policy in Philippines, in her overseas territories and in her Trust Territory is worth emulation and worth admiration but what is happening to the Negroes within her borders is a matter of constant blame to the successors of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. The recent Dulles-Cunha statement on Goa has shocked enlightened world opinion. It seems as if the traditional policy of anti-colonialism is being reversed. The U.S.A. is indirectly supporting the cause of western imperialism. Nearer home, the communist governments of China, Russia and eastern European countries have played with the rights of the people who are living in a region of Iron Curtain, regimentation and totalitarianism. All this is happening at a time when we have already on the Statute Book of the United Nations a declaration known as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We should pray to God and create necessary public opinion, world-wide in scope, so that the declaration may not be a farce but may be "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and nations" as it is supposed to be.

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A FLOOD AND ITS CONTROL

By SURATH NATH SARKAR, M.SC.,
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devastating effects of floods are too well-known to described but the gravity of the problem is generally fully realised and often soon forgotten. It is only repeated and severe losses from disastrous floods people are aroused to adopt measures for protection them.

Floods at any point on a stream are caused by the reaching there from above in larger quantities the stream can carry at its bankful stage. When capacity of a channel at any place is inadequate to off this abnormal quantity of water it will cause river to overflow its banks and inundate surrounding low-lying areas. Frequently, an arbitrary elevation many important rivers is marked as the so called ger level' to specify the flood stage. Floods ubtedly follow certain natural laws which have more ess been known, but they generally involve much plexity. To forecast the flood conditions is thus a cult problem, but it is on the correct forecast that success and adequacy of the protective measures ted largely depend.

It is to be noted in this connection that the need for flood-control arises mainly from man's attempt to make use of the flood plains of streams. The encroachment of river channels and flood plains due to growth of cities and industrial concerns, railways, highways and bridges has restricted the natural flow of rivers and thereby caused water to flow at a higher stage so as to overflow the banks. Flood problems have thus aggravated now-a-days much more than they were before. True it is that floods will occur for all time to come and they cannot be prevented completely for ever, but they can certainly be controlled by regulating the flow of natural channels.

Before dealing with flood-control measures, it will probably be not out of place to discuss briefly the various factors which contribute towards floods. The two main factors affecting the magnitude of a flood are: (i) Excessive rainfall and (ii) size and characteristics of the watershed.

Excessive Rainfall

This is the principal cause of all floods throughout

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the world except possibly in the polar region. But adjacent to oceans floods may be caused by unusually high tides due to wind and storms. Besides, flood stage may sometimes be augmented due to debris carried away from the watershed. Generally speaking, an intense precipitation over a small watershed or heavy precipitation for a number of days over a large watershed or warm spring rains over accumulated snows are the causes of serious floods. The intensity, duration, and distribution of rainfall all are important factors. The amount of precipitation required to cause flood again depends on topography, size and shape of the basin. When a large deposit of snow over a watershed starts melting during spring as a result of continued high temperature and if this is accompanied by heavy rain a flood is to be apprehended.

Characteristics of the Watershed

The surface slope of the catchment area is an important factor. The steeper the slope, the more rapidly water will flow and the shorter will be the period of concentration. If the ground surface is loose and dry, the run-off may be considerably reduced and flood may not occur. Since the infiltratinn capacity depends on the nature and vegetative cover of the soil, they also play some part on the magnitude of flood. The distribution of channels is also to be considered in this connection.

Let us now come back to the problem of flood-control. In developing flood-control measures, it is highly important to estimate the probable magnitude of future floods on which the success of a project will largely depend. For this purpose, the rainfall data, the size, shape and other physical characteristics of the watershed require to be carefully studied. A detailed record on the magnitude and frequencies of major floods for a catchment over a long period is extremely useful for the design of flood-control works. Systematic discharge records of a stream for a number of years is of great importance for this purpose. The discharge measurement aims at obtaining data showing relation between discharge and stage of a stream. The discharge figure is obtained from measurement of the cross-sectional area of a stream and the mean velocity of the flowing water. But unfortunately no systematic record for a long period exists on any river. Although long-stage records have been kept in some countries they have served little purpose because of incompleteness of data. It is often found that records of rare floods do not exist so that recourse must be made for estimating probable floods based on rainfall data. The consideration of rainfall is thus an important adjunct in flood-control studies.

The measures for flood-control may broadly be divided into two classes. The first comprises provision of adequate channels that will hasten the flow of flood water from the watershed. While the second comprises use of those which retard the flow by storage, damp down the peak intensity of flood and regulate the flow to such extent as the channel can safely carry. W[illegible] former may be accomplished by channel impro[illegible] the latter is done by means of reservoirs. Impro[illegible] of a channel for flood-control is usually made [illegible] straightening and deepening it or (ii) by provid[illegible] pass to direct a part of the flow down the [illegible] away from the river or (iii) by construction of [illegible] to prevent or reduce overbank flooding. Re[illegible] suggestion has gained ground that by controll[illegible] vegetation of a drainage basin and adopting i[illegible] agricultural practices, flood flows may be dim[illegible] But the efficacy of it has not yet been fully demon[illegible]

The improvement of existing channels increa[illegible] carrying capacity whereby the flood water wi[illegible] faster. The duration as well as the height of flo[illegible] be diminished as a result. This can again to a[illegible] in two ways, namely, (i) by increasing the cross[illegible] of a stream and (ii) by enhancing the rate of [illegible] water. The first one is only practicable for a [illegible] and shallow stream having a small watershed. [illegible] channel can be dredged to some depth and wid[illegible] necessary, which is neither practicable nor econo[illegible] feasible for a large river. The hydraulic propert[illegible] stream as well as its sediment characteristi[illegible] determine the method of control and its effect. [illegible] velocity or the rate of flow of water can be in[illegible] by reducing the roughness of the river bed, inc[illegible] the hydraulic radius or the slope of the water s[illegible] This is also possible only for small streams wh[illegible] removal of weeds and other obstacles may be easi[illegible] to reduce the roughness of the bed. The river [illegible] which also form obstacles to flow may be elimin[illegible] short cut-offs. The hydraulic radius may be in[illegible] either by deepening or widening the channel, the [illegible] being more effective than the latter. It is g[illegible] better to raise the banks by levees than lowerin[illegible] bed by dredging operation. Slope can be alte[illegible] straightening a stream by means of cut-offs. B[illegible] action may be justifiable only after careful exa[illegible] of the nature, size and width of the flood plai[illegible] stream. It is only in small streams or s[illegible] whose beds and banks do not easily erode, t[illegible] off channel is made as wide as the natural c[illegible] On a large alluvial stream, usually a narrow ch[illegible] dredged down to its low water level. When wate[illegible] through it during the rising stage, the chann[illegible] enlarged gradually by nature. Shortening of [illegible] stream having wide flood plains is usually no [illegible] remedy. Because the volume of flood water ma[illegible] large that the increased discharge due to cut-[illegible] not be enough to prevent overflowing the [illegible] Construction of levees away from the banks is a [illegible] practice in such cases. Levees for confinement [illegible] bank flow produce two effects, namely they redu[illegible] sectional area for high stages resulting in [illegible] scouring, and the reduction in channel width [illegible] tendency for the river to increase its slope. [illegible] may disturb the regimen of a stream for ma[illegible]

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above and below and the stretch of increased velocity may be subjected to severe erosion. The cost of such operation may also be very high. Alluvial streams sometimes present peculiar problems. They generally do not possess stable banks or bed. They wander back and forth across their flood plains. The river bends of such streams deflect current whereupon the concave banks are eroded and materials thus scoured get deposited away on the other side. Such a stream rectified by cut-offs may get crooked again as before. But large streams may, however, be improved by cut-offs, if the banks above and below the stretch are rivetted against possible erosion controlled by diking and dredged above to adjust the bed slope and deposits that may be formed below are removed. The effect of tributary flows *i.e.*, the size and location of tributary streams and the time required for their flood water to reach the main valley should also be considered for channel improvement purpose. The shortening of a channel by cut-offs will decrease the channel distance and flood water from both may be concentrated simultaneously to cause a maximum stage in the lower stream the effect of which will be disastrous.

Bypasses are sometimes adopted for local control of flood. This is done by diverting a portion of flow through another channel, and thus relieving the present channel of part of its burden. The chief effects of bypasses on the flow in the main stream are steepening of slope above the point at which the channel leaves it and the local flattening of slope and reduction of discharge below. Carving of banks often reduces the carrying capacity of channels by forming sandbars downstream. Such banks are protected by structures of pile-dikes, tree-retards or rivetment. Clusters of piles are driven to river bed, braced and lashed together in the pile-like method. This retards water and causes deposit on the downstream. Tree-retards consist of a number of trees bound together into a raft which is anchored along the bank to be protected to concrete piles that are sunk into the bed. These rafts form permeable dikes which retard water flowing through them.

Levees are small earth-structures placed away from the banks to serve as artificial channels during flood periods and protect the low lands from being overflown. Levees as measures for flood control have been widely used from olden times. But the design of a levee for a particular flood discharge, its spacing and height, alignment and grade, etc., are not an easy job. Measures are to be adopted for protection from seepage, erosion by current or wave action. Generally, concrete lining, sheet piling along the toe of the slope and some sort of grass cover are used for this purpose.

Reservoirs can no doubt prevent flood, but the cost in most cases becomes prohibitive. In fact, the feasibility of controlling flood by building reservoirs depends on the cost of construction, availability of proper reservoir sites and on the value of benefits to be derived. If the topographic conditions are favourable for storing a large volume of water the construction of a reservoir will be economically justified. The beneficial effect also rapidly diminishes with distance, depending on the storage capacity and inflow to the valley below the reservoir. Reservoirs are therefore built near the area desired to be protected by them. A series of reservoirs on the tributaries will involve huge cost and for this reason, reservoirs are generally built for multiple purposes, like irrigation, power and navigation and not for flood control alone. Of course, a number of reservoirs have been built solely for flood control purposes in different countries.

Reservoirs for flood-control are very effective and well applicable to small watersheds. A system of reservoirs, one on each of the principal tributaries solves the problem for a larger watershed. Reservoirs are to be located at the headwaters or the upper reaches of a stream. There are generally two types of reservoirs according to their functions, storage and detention reservoirs. A storage reservoir is provided with gates at the base of the dam so that flood water may be emptied out in quantities as desired. A detention reservoir has a number of openings in the base which remain open for all times. They will always store water in excess of that the openings can discharge. Storage reservoir has the advantage of flexibility of operation to meet any emergency and these can be used for multipurposes. The advantage of detention reservoirs is that they are not manually operated but their use is mainly restricted to flood control purposes only and applicable to comparatively small watersheds.

It will appear from above that the economic factor stands mainly in the way of constructing flood control projects. Multipurpose dams are generally therefore looked for solution in such cases. But the requirements for such purpose are generally quite conflicting. Reservoirs for flood control should empty out water as soon as possible so as to be ready for the next storm, whereas for irrigation and other purposes water is to be stored and taken out only when required. Moreover, multipurpose reservoirs should have much greater capacity than those required for flood control.

It is to be noted that flood-control either by reducing flow by means of reservoir or protecting flood plains from overflow by levees always constitutes a local problem which admits of no general solution. On some rivers levees may serve best, on others the reservoirs and on still others a combination of both. In fact, each particular case is to be judged on its own merits. Where a combination gives the correct solution the extent to which each can be used is also to be determined. Each situation requires to be studied carefully by means of river models with reference to practical and physical considerations.

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THE PATH THAT LEADS TO SCHOOL

By KALIDAS RAY

[*Translated by Umanath Bhattacharya, from the orginal Bengali*]

The *babul* in blossoms brings to my mind
  The dear old way,
Along whose slender path in early youth
  To school I used to go, day by day.
Enclosed with hedges greeen, here and there,
  In tiny door-yards of cottages gay,
  The children run and play ;
How busy are their mothers with household care !
Beside a holy tomb, in ruins and bare,
  With eye-lids down, in prayers entranced,
  Full many a soul, a-kneeling in rows.
Conches blow in the Siva's Shrine; Aglow's
The Dutch graveyard with blooms of divers hues ;
Rightward smiles the pool, with lilies in bloom,
Leftward swings in winds the clump of bamboos to and fro.

Bellows blow in the smithy hearth ;
Beneath the *bakul*-trees the gipsies pitch their tents ;
  Strewn's the earth with half-burnt logs.
Ding ! Dong ! Swells the bell in the Armenian Church,
Slowly comes the parson. infirm and old ;
  Under the arch he takes his stand and greets.
There the chapel is ; No more the devotees ;
  No more the people of the fold.
The priest to-day, alone he hears the chimes of Time,
  And his hour awaits.
To tiny pitchers trickles th' juice
  In the roadside dates
The wind's in the palm-trees ;
  The nests of weaver-birds it shakes.
Ah, with these, and many such glimpses untold,
  The woodland-path doth gleam in my mind !
To lips of mine did language give
  The school-shrine ;
Messages brought from home and abroad ;
My empty bowls it fill'd with treasure fine
  And fit me for the journey.
  Time and again, I salute her !
And that sylvan path ! It did kindle in me
  A torch of hope and intuition,
  A fondness and feelings deep,
Gave me a new birth, and roused me from sleep ;
Gave wings to my imagination, spurred my fancy,
  Stir'd up the yearnings of my soul—
  Taught me divers modes of Muse
  And fit me for the poet's role—
  Never shall I forget it.
To this weary, desolate life, to this day
  Solace it brings with manifold gifts,
  Transcends and uplifts ;
A new eye and a new ear it gave to me,
Put forth new impulses of soul and sense,
  Never shall I forget it !

With its shady green, with what tender care
  How often would it wipe away my cares !
The fatigue of reading, languidness,
  The fret and sweat and melancholy gloom !
Ah, a part of my life hath it become, that tender care
Like a creeper abloom,
  Its memory hath entwined me for ever
  With Nature fair.
The prime of my life haunts there still !
The pollens of my blooming days
  Lie scatter'd on its dust ;
What an attachment deep did I feel
  For each shrub and tree !
  Every cot to me was dearly known.
Stretching their supple arms from stems of trees,
  Fluttering in the breeze,
Oft would the creepers greet me in the way,
  With their floral bliss.
Hallowed with sweet dreams of boyhood,
  How vivid are they today
  Those objects of tender ties,
  Associated with that path !

When and how a purple twig
  With leaves of emerald green did shoot,
When and where a tender bloom
  Mellowed to a dainty fruit,—all this I knew.
In this bosom is writ on what trees and when
  The fury of the North-wester struck the branches dead
  They lie shatter'd in the dust here—
The fond hopes of my boyhood-day
  That built their homes on those boughs !
Yes, that path ! it knows, it knows my vows
  And all the secret of this life !
Many a hush'd wish of my youth
  Have I left behind with the birds,
  Twittering in the coppice there !
Still wet is the grass with tears I shed,
  My joys and sorrows cling to it ;
Dappl'd with light and shade, dank with dews,
  How sweet
An' sublimated, lovely an' variegated
  Are they to-day—
  In dust and dirt and breath of the woods !
  In the quiet neighbourhoods,
All my wistful desires are sobbing still
  Night and day, in the choir of the crickets,
  Pining for the kindred.
And the gilded dreams of youth are blossoming still !
  Lo ! The Yellow clusters, they throb and thrill
  Upon the boughs of the Laburnums.

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INDIAN SHIPPING AND SHIP-BUILDING INDUSTRIES

By Prof. G. S. KAMAT, M.COM., M.A. (Econs.)

Even before the birth of Christ, Indian ships plied the seven seas. Thereafter a period of uncertainty and dependence intervened and the past bright tradition was cut off. Now we are a free nation. Our old aspirations have naturally risen again. We have the inspiration and encouragement of our past glorious history and the sea is as if beckoning to us to re-establish our maritime traditions. It is true that it will take time but we must hurry up before it is too late to bring our shipping and ship-building into their own.

It is intended to review the present position of these industries on this background in this article.

India has a coastline of 3000 miles and she is in need of an adequate merchant navy for the transport of her goods and passengers. India's volume of overseas trade is growing very fast. Further a strong navy serves as an efficient second line of defence for the country.

The present volume of cargo exceeds 22 million tons per annum. But India's merchant navy falls too short for its handling. The aggregate Indian-owned shipping registered tonnage for operation on coastal and overseas routes was 4,75,000 by October, 1954. It is not even half per cent. of the world tonnage. India's share of international trade exceeds 2 per cent. But with the present tonnage harldy 5% of it is carried with great difficulty. India needs at least 2 million tons to satisfy the immediate needs. Between 1947-54 India paid nearly 150 crores by way of shipping freight for the import of foodgrains only. Had there been an adequate navy for its carriage there would have been a considerable saving in the foreign exchange. As per the First Five-Year Plan, by 1956, India proposes to reach the target of 600,000 G.R.T. With the marked activity now being shown by the Indian shipping companies it is hoped that the target will easily be reached.

Shipping and ship-building industries belong to the category of heavy industries. They require crores of rupees by way of capital. But this itself will not suffice. There are many other factors. Some are within the control of shipping companies and some are beyond their reach. For example, national and international circumstances, import and export policies of Government, ability of the country to find markets for its goods abroad, modern facilities at ports, rail-sea co-ordination, co-operation of labour, etc., all these are beyond the control of the shipping companies. On the other hand, size, type and speed of the ships, organisational efficiency, etc., are matters entirely in the hands of the ship-owners.

A coastal ship costs nearly 50 lakhs of rupees while an overseas ship requires nearly a crore of rupees or even more. Capital formation is very difficult in an underdeveloped country like India, with the result fresh additions to the fleet by constructing new ships become difficult. It is true that the Government has been providing liberal loan facilities to the shipping companies for acquiring new ships. But a further liberalisation of terms and conditions is being asked for. At present the Government gives 85 per cent. of the cost of the ship whether newly built or second-hand, at 4½ per cent for the coastal ship and 2½ per cent for the overseas ship. This rate though it apparently looks attractive imposes a big burden on a shipping company, particularly as a unit in the overseas trade where there is keen competition. Supposing a ship costs a crore of rupees and a loan for the like amount is to be returned within a period of ten years, the annual burden in case of one steamer alone would be in the region of about 10 to 12 lakhs and when it is further realised that minimum depreciation of 6 per cent has also to be provided, the two items will account for as much as 15 to 17 lakhs of rupees. Ship-owners are, therefore, rightly suggesting that the rate of interest should be reduced and the period for repayment may be raised to the normal life of the ship *i.e.* 20 years. The period of repayment also should start after the fifth year and not as at present.

Since the Government gives financial assistance to the shipping company and in view of the fact that India has a ship-yard of her own it is natural that the Government should insist on ships financed by them being built at the Vizag Yard. It is doubtless the intention of the patriotic ship-owners as well. But the present practice of pricing the Vizag Ship on the U.K. parity results in a considerable disadvantage in regard to his competitive capacity as compared to a ship-owner who runs ships built in Germany or Japan where deliveries are also quick. There have been unconscionable delays in the delivery of the Vizag Ship criticism about which was voiced on the floor of the Indian Parliament recently. We hope this is a temporary phase and in any case it cannot be allowed to last long.

For a cheap and efficient transport the shipping companies must evince a greater care in regard to type, size and speed of the ships. Requirements of coastal trade have been met and continue to be met satisfactorily by ships of 10 knots speed. But in overseas

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services after World War II especially all newly built ships have a greater speed reaching 14 knots cruising speed (which is above the economic speed). Doubtless there are some ships having 10½ knots speed. As regards fuel used it is worthy to note that a large proportion of vessels in the overseas trade is oil-burner, coal-using steamers being confined to coast only. It is natural as India's supplies of coal are abundant.

It is unfortunate that the existing merchant navy should be dominated by secondhand ships. Nearly 60% of the tonnage added or to be added during 1946-56 is old and hence not economical. Out of 138 ships (5,68,227 GRT) 94 ships (3,48,118 GRT) have been secondhand ships. These ships required a sum of nearly 20 crores of rupees. The remaining new ships would require an amount of 31 crores of rupees. It is very difficult to raise so much amount. Old vessels are not economical and also affect the efficiency of companies. Both factors are important in the overseas transport where keen competition cannot be avoided. The Government should, therefore, discourage Indian ship-owners from going in for secondhand tonnage.

As disclosed by Shri S. N. Haji during the discussion, some time ago which I had the honour to have with him, the average age of the ships is now coming down. In view of the new tonnage ordered by the Scindia Steam Navigation Co. Ltd. it is expected that it would come down to 11 years or so by 1956-57. It was 23 in 1945-46.

Since national lines provide a number of established services between India and many other countries, it is reasonable and just that the companies should look to the Government for patronage which will provide opportunities both for the improvement and expansion of Indian shipping. Government of India has been practically the largest single importer of goods for the last few years. In 1951, nine million tons of cargo was imported on the Government account. In 1952 the figure stood at 6 million tons. Now that food position has improved, imports of grains will be reduced. However, a large tonnage of goods will continue to be imported under various international agreement such as Technical Co-operation Agreement, etc. It is estimated that imports on the Government account are likely to remain in the neighbourhood of 4 million tons per year. If Indian shippping companies are afforded an opportunity to undertake the transport of these it will increase their receipts and will enable them to add new tonnage. Moreover, crores of rupees which India pays annually to the foreign companies would be saved and would strengthen the exchange resources of the country.

At present it seems, there is lack of co-ordination or co-operation among different ministries on this subject. Shipping and ship-bulilding are closely connected. But at present its charge has been divided among various departments and ministries. The problems pertaining to this field are at present looked after by three ministries. The subject of import and export is handled by the Commerce Ministry, shipping by the Transport Ministry and construction aspect of it by Directorate General of Supplies and Disposal work under Housing, Power and Works Ministry. These activities of Government need to be co-ordinated as suggested by Shri Haji, India would benefit a lot activities of these are canalised through one central ordinating agency. It may be explained further in connection that while ship-building is wholly Governmental, shipping is private and therefore, the problems of each are distinct; one is the producer, the other consumer. However, co-ordination should not difficult.

The XVth biennial Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce was held in Tokio last May. The subject of "Flag Discrimination" was placed on agenda. The representatives of leading ship-owning countries presented some cases "as flagrant cases 'Flag discrimination.'" While charging in this way they had least regard to the views of the representatives the underdeveloped maritime countries.

India holds the view that every maritime nation has a right to develop its mercantile marine according to requirements of trade and defence. The Government must protect national shipping as it protects other industries. The Government as a shipper has a right to choose its own ships and such choice cannot described as "Flag discrimination."

India has long back accepted the provisions contained in the International Maritime Ports convention of 1923. It aims at preventing restrictive practices regarding port dues and navigation in case of ships belonging to other contracting states. The equality of treatment of facilities such as allocation of berths, loading and loading facilities, as well as dues and charges of kinds levied in the name or for the account of Government, public authorities, etc. India signed convention when she was not a free nation. But today after becoming independent, she continues honour these provisions.

Till World War II the term 'Flag discrimination' was limited to port dues, berthing facilities, etc. Now its meaning has been stretched a bit further so as apply to patronage to national ships. And this have no end. Really any attempt to extend the scope 'flag discrimination' is uncalled for. Even the existing leading ship-owning countries has adopted various discriminatory practices in their earlier stages of development and they are today what they are! Nobody opposed them at that time. The restrictive navigation laws of England are well-known to the students history. But the same practices have come to be charged as 'flag discrimination' today.

The Inter-Governmental maritime Consultative Organisation (Geneva, 1948) has also recognised assistance and encouragement given by a Government the development of its national shipping and for purpose it does not constitute discrimination. Of course, it does not curtail freedom of shipping

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all other flags to take part in international trade. Therefore, to term "subsidies, tax concessions, loans at concessional rates of interests, reservation of state cargo to national vessels, insertion of suitable clauses in bilateral trade agreements concluded with other countries" as 'Flag discrimination' is not correct. Even today British writers like Mr. N. D. Rothan remarks that "When we cease to discriminate against ships of other flags we will have a stronger argument to bring forward that other countries should cease discrimination against British vessels." (1955 Annual of *Fairplay*). Coastal trade is wholly reserved for the national vessels and is not termed as 'flag discrimination'. Similarly, whatever is done for the legitimate development of national shipping cannot be termed as such. Calling upon shippers and importers to patronise the nation's ships are not more reprehensible than the slogans: "Buy British, Buy American," etc. India has recenly become a free nation. She has a coast of 3000 miles and was in the past a leading maritime nation. She is economically progressing, her industries are growing. She must have, therefore an adequate merchant navy as early as possible. Reservation of 100 p.c. of coastal trade and 50 p.c. of overseas trade to national ships should be regarded as reasonable and attempts for fulfilling the legitimate ambitions of a maritime nation should be regarded as just. The national flag to grow needs all legitimate protection.

Conferences provide another headache to the national shipping companies. The economic position of our shipping companies is not very satisfactory. They have practically no reserves with the result they cannot stand competition. Hence they have to adopt a policy of negotiation for securing the right to lift cargo from ports situating on their regular runs. Indian companies experience difficulties on getting admission into conferences which govern trades between the intermediate ports in the India-U.K. continent sector. The Indian ships cannot lift cargo from the intermediate ports although foreign members of the same conference are allowed to do so. For example, an Indian ship loading cargo from Calcutta for discharge at Colombo will not be allowed to load cargo from Colombo for say London although this port situates on its regular route.

This restriction normally affects the earning capacity of the Indian companies. A ship should always sail with as little empty space as possible. But Indian ships have to suffer on this account. Unless our Government takes a bold initiative and enables the companies to face the competition in the international services, we may not be quite hopeful about the future of Indian shipping.

The Union Minister for Commerce and Industry while speaking before the Import Advisory Council's Meeting on 21st May, 1955, warned the foreign shipping companies who have threatened to bring about an unwarranted rise in the freight surcharge on goods carried to India, that their ships will not be allowed to touch our ports. These companies want to raise their freight surcharge by 25 to 30 per cent because of delay in clearance due to labour trouble. But non-co-operation of the dock labour is experienced not in India alone. It has become a usual thing in foreign countries like U.K. also. We do not, however, hear about a similar threat being given by any shipping company touching the British ports. It is hoped that they will put off their decision of levying a freight surcharge in case of Indian goods.

Commenting on the warning given by the Commerce and Industry's Minister of the Government of India, Shri Haji said that it was not possible for India to prevent foreign ships from touching our ports, because we are bound already by the International Regime of Maritime Ports (1923) convention; but instead we may impose a surcharge on the income accrued to them from the carriage of Indian goods and this will be more effective.

Another question pertains to rail-sea co-ordination. It has assumed a serious proportion recently. For example, coal is being carried more cheaply by rail than by sea against a well-accepted canon of economics that sea transport is cheaper than rail transport. However, this queer position is going to be examined by the proposed Committee for Rail Coastal Shipping Rates Co-ordination whose recommendations, it is hoped, would put the business on its natural footing.

Ship-owners have been urging government for tax concession. Indian shipping industry is still in its infancy. Today it is concerned with salestax, duties and levies on stores, etc. Especially, the 1946 amendment to the Income Tax Act has hit the industry. Under this the sale proceeds and amount realised from the underwriters for maritime mishaps are being taxed. There is a higher frequency of accidental total loss as also of disposal of fully depreciated ships. The shipping interests want an exemption from the operaton of this clause. It is true that the Government have allowed initial depreciation and double normal depreciation in respect of new assets and in case of ships, they are allowed on secondhand ships also. The ship-owners feel that this does not give them a real relief but merely defers the payment of tax to a future date. According to them not merely underdeveloped countries but even the leading martitime countries have granted various concessions in regard to taxation. For example, the U.K. Government have recently sanctioned an "Investment allowance" to the extent of 20 per cent of the new plant and machinery. The Indian National Steamship Owners' Association had recommended this relief of granting an Investment Allowance on U.K. lines, to the Taxation Enquiry Commission. The companies should be encouraged to plough back as much amount of their profits as is possible on which it may be sug-

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gested no tax should be levied or the rate charged should be nominal. These concessions will enable the Indian shipping companies to develop on sound lines and rapidly.

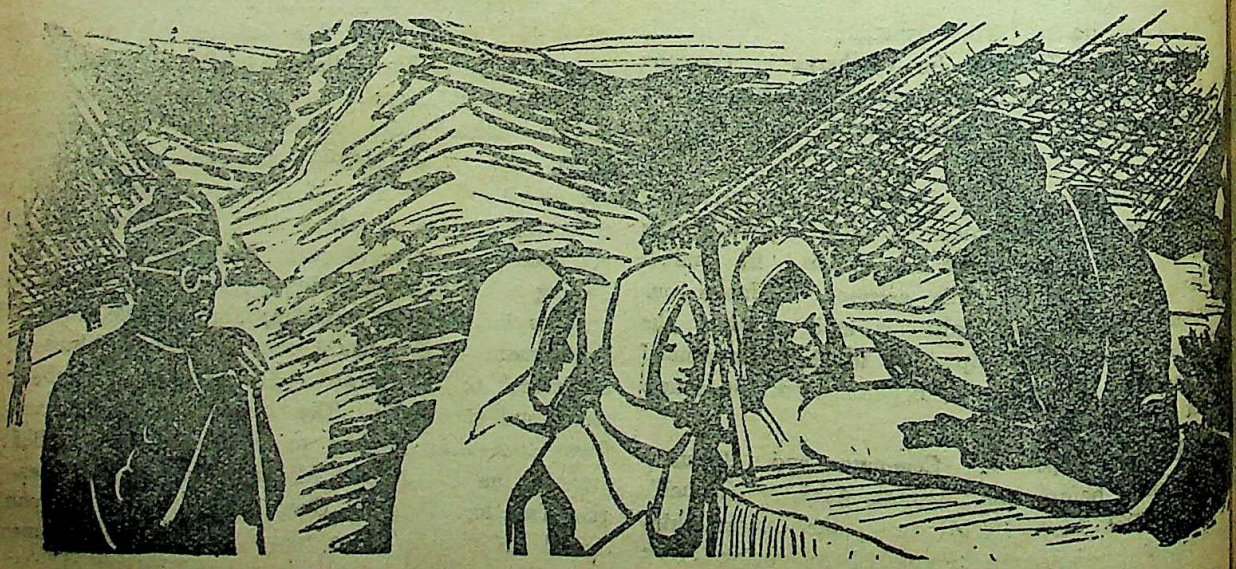
This article will not be complete without a reference to the "Tanker Fleet." Now that the oil refineries have come to be established in Bombay, Indian ships and others concerned have been agitating about their share in transport of crude oil imported for being converted into refined products and again their transport to various consuming centres in India. The national fleet would not be complete without an appropriate quota of tankers. It is estimated that for the transport of 1½ million tons of refined oil and oil products, our country would require 20 tankers of about 9,000 tons D.W. in addition to 10 tankers of about 18 to 20 thousand tons to import the crude oil from outside. Further it must be noted that the terms of the agreement entered into by the Government of India with the oil companies have also given rise to criticism as it debars the Indians indefinitely from the transport trade. Thus on the coast about a 1½ million tons of refined products will be carried by the foreign ships in spite of the fact that the coastal trade has been reserved for the Indian national ships.

However, there has been difference of opinion about the building up of a national tanker fleet. For example, Shri V. S. Vallabhdas has expressed in his article published in the Air Rail Road and Marine Transport Supplement of the *Times of India* (dated 25th February, 1955) that it would be unwise for India to invest money in tankers at this stage, when the tanker building is undergoing a sort of revolution. The size and speed of tankers is being considerably raised and tankers of 45,000 to 47,000 tons having a speed of 17.5 knots are under construction in the important ship-yards of Europe. These would make the present tankers obsolete. Hence, according to the said au rity we may allow the oil companies to handle crude oil imports and oil products in their bo and carefully watch the position for some tim come. We shall benefit from experience of others.

There is also a great necessity for up-to-date facilities which would lesson the delay in clearing goods from ships and docks. The recent controv in connection with the dock labour have made it that delays in turn-round of ships is due to fa such as inadequate trained personnel to meet cu routine, inter inadequacy of modern equipment ports and last, but not the least, the 'go-slow' polic labour whatever the reason thereof. It will be re that a day's delay costs a shipping company a loss to the tune of Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 and the panies have lost in this way 50 to 200 days in a ye

A word must also be said about the manage of Indian shipping companies. It is necessary promote economy in all directions. In this conne a causal study of the management of foreign comp would be instructive. Most of the companies are the managing agents and it must be stated their credit that no problems have arisen in industry of a type comparable to that one in textile industry. It is satisfactory to note that the Companies Act which will be probably passed in July/September session of the Indian Parliament introduce much needed reform in this system whole.

Thus stands our shipping and ship-building We have, there is no doubt, a bright maritime f Shipping companies should remove the shortco which are within their reach and for the remov other drawbacks the national Government must forward. The next five years, it must be said be the testing period for Indian shipping.



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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

GLORY THAT WAS GURJARADESA (A.D. 550—1300): *By K. M. Munshi. Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay. 1955. Parts I and II. Pp. xxi + 505. Price Re. 1-12 for each Part.*

This is a very painstaking work on the history of a region comprising modern Rajasthan, Malwa and Gujarat (forming according to the author from c.700 A.D. onwards the homeland of a people called after their territory by the name of Gurjaras) during the period from the downfall of the Gupta Empire down to the Muslim conquest. Though this tract was not of much consequence before 700 A.D., it rose thereafter to imperial greatness under certain famous rulers of the Pratihara, the Paramara and the Chaulukya dynasties. This explains the titles the first, the second and the third empires applied successively by the author to the dominions of Nagabhata II and his successors, Munja and lastly Jayasimha Siddharaja and some later rulers, with Kanouj, Dhara and Anahilavada as their respective capitals. The author has utilized all available source-material with commendable diligence. What is more, he has frequently balanced the conflicting evidence and provided critical estimates of character as well as of the springs of historical movements. The history of the ruling dynasties is accompanied by periodical reviews of the social, the religious and the economic conditions of the land. Genealogical charts, maps, appendices on selected topics of history and archaeology and a good index, add to the usefulness of this work. A few general statements of the author, however, we think, require reconsideration. While the indigenous origin of the four Kshatriya clans, the Pratiharas, the Chahamanas, the Paramaras and the Chaulukyas may be taken to have been proved, is it correct to state (p. 8f.) that they were (evidently in contrast with all other neighbouring dynasties), "united by blood, tradition, and the country of their origin and then they remained closely knit together throughout the period from A.D. 500 until 1300?" Did the weakening of "the Aryavarta-consciousness" with the accompanying decline of "the Chakravarti idea" and the stiffening of the Chaturvarnya scheme into distinct castes date only, as the author variously thinks (pp. 61 f, 273 f, 330 f), from the decline of the Imperial Guptas, or from the invasions of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, or from the death of Harshavardhana? Was the exclusive spirit of the Kshatriyas due entirely or mainly to their adoption of the practice of universal polygamy? Was the rise of "popular forms of Arya-dharma like Buddhism and Jainism" (*sic.*) due to "the failure of the lofty Aryan learning and ritual to satisfy the aspirations of the newly-absorbed masses" and did "these new movements" connote "Aryavarta-consciousness" as a mere "literary and mythological concept?" (pp. 332-33). It is right to characterise (p. 122) Mihira Bhoja as "not merely a Caesar nor a Pontiff such as the imperators of Rome and Byzantium," but as being "thrice sacred" on the grounds stated by the author? Can the transition from Ancient to Mediaeval India be dated in the precise year 997 A.D.? (p. 235).

U. N. GHOSHAL

PROBLEM OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA: *Edited by Dr. B. B. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Bharati Bhawan, Bankipore, Patna. Pp. ix + 310. Price Rs. 10.*

The volume under review purports to be a collection of papers on different problems of Public Administration, both of a general character and also with special reference to India, read and discussed at two consecutive sessions of the Indian Political Science Conference held under the aegis of the Indian Political Science Association and edited by the President of the 14th session of the Conference. The book falls into five different sections. Section I is devoted to a study of administrative problems in general, Section II to Public Corporations, Section III to Executive, Section IV to Judicial Administration and Section V to Local Administrations. Considering the great importance that public administration has assumed lately not only in this country engaged as it is in gigantic experiments in rehabilitation of its economy on the attainment of independence, but also in other parts of the world engaged in post-war reconstruction, the authorities of the Indian Political Science Association are to be congratulated on conceiving the idea of bringing out such a volume containing the well-considered views of the best scholars of the subject throughout the country on its different aspects and studying from different angles. Like all such compilations it shares both the good points and defects of such a work. We have had the advantage of having the mature thoughts of a number of acute minds working on the subject from different backgrounds and thus getting a proper perspective in regard to the problems. On the other hand, we find some amount of overlapping inevitable in such a publication. The volume does not make the extravagant claim "to deal exhaustively with the vast field of public administration in India," but the modest claim of the editor of the volume indicating "the lines on which further studies in this subject are necessary" is more than justified. The volume will not only prove of interest to scholars of public administration

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in every country but serve a useful purpose by way of offering a good reference book on the subject of which there was great dearth in this country, at any rate, to University students reading the subject in their course of studies in Political Science in many of the Indian Universities.

A. K. GHOSHAL

1. WOMEN AND SOCIAL INJUSTICE: *By M. K. Gandhi. Demy octavo. Board-bound. Pp. iii + 202. Price Rs. 3.*

2. THE STORY OF MY LIFE: *By M. K. Gandhi. Abridged and simplified by Bharatan Kumarappa. Pp. vii + 207. Price Re. 1-8.*

3. REBUILDING OUR VILLAGES: *By M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. Pp. v + 126. Price Re. 1-8.*

4. THIS WAS BAPU: *By R. K. Prabhu. Pp. xiv + 179. Price Rs. 2.*

All published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

1. As I read through the book the title of a brochure by Manu Gandhi came to my mind—Bapu, My Mother. And he himself writes: "I have mentally become a woman in order to deal with her heart. I could not steal into my wife's heart until I decided to treat her differently than I used to do and so I restored to her all her rights by dispossessing myself of all my so-called rights as her husband" (p. 91). Gandhi disdains to call women the weaker sex: "It is the nobler of the two, for it is even today the embodiment of sacrifice, silent suffering, humility, faith, and knowledge" (p. 129). He answers a poser with a counter-question thus: "Has not independence of man and his holding property led to the spread of immorality among men? If you answer 'yes' then let it be so also with women" (p. 184). Texts of the scriptures that discriminate between the sexes or assign an inferior position to women are repugnant to Gandhi and he would scrape them (p. 15).

Nevertheless, he would not, for the life of him, have her shoulder the rifle. That he regards as "reversion to barbarity and the beginning of the end" (p. 25). Nor would he, with all his tender care for her rights, give her anything that is not hers by merit. He says, "they should seek justice, not favours" (p. 185). Gandhi asks girls in schools and colleges to "refuse to disappear into the kingdom of dolls" (p. 174). No one in history has done so much for women as he has. They owe their emancipation to him. Such as it is, I wonder why the book does not sell by lakhs. The book carries a foreword by Sri Amrita Kaur. The paper used is good, so is printing. There is a printing mistake there in No. 78, first line.

2. The volume under review is presented in response to the request of the teaching profession for a still smaller volume than its predecessor—*Gandhiji's Autobiography, Abridged.* So it needs no recommending to such as are in charge of shaping the future of our youngsters and so of the nation. A school that goes without it may well be rated as a poor institution. The book contains grammar exercises by Dr. C. N. Zutshi, M.A., D.Litt. (Col.).

3. Village development projects and Community Welfare Centres are being organized in various parts of the country. And there is the Bharat Sevak Samaj. The Samaj is organizing camps all over the country. Let our service to villages be not exotic. Every nation has its own genius. And to be fruitful it must be according to our genius. Rebuilding our villages shows the true way. We may not go without peril, al for material prosperity ignoring the spiritual va This book should be in the hands of all engage such village work.

4. Sri R. K. Prabhu, it appears, is the fourth the line of Gandhi anecdote-givers. The first wa Ramchandran with his *A Sheaf of Gandhi Anecd* The second was Sri Kaka Kalelkar with his in parable *Stray Glimpses.* The third was Sri Cha chankar Shukla with his *Incidents of Mahatma's* All these are love's offerings. And love sees as no else so truly sees. We should be grateful to these letting us have a peep at what they in their abundant saw of the Master. Anecdotes are no light fare. They are a rich repast too, if we remember the pithy saying of Dr. Martin, the p sopher: "Trifles make perfection but perfection is a trifle." The foreword to this Sri Prabhu's book Kaka Kalelkar is illuminating. By presenting public with these anecdotes Sri Prabhu has la under a debt of gratitude.

BIRENDRANATH GH

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN SOUTH AS *Edited by Dr. A. Appadorai. Published by the O Longmans Limited, Bombay, Calcutta and Ma Price Rs. 4.*

The Asian Relations Organisation organised the Unesco sponsored a Social Science seminar New Delhi in December-January, 1952-53. contribution of social sciences to studies in the r of women in South Asia" was the subject for di sion in the Seminar. The volume under review based on discussions in the above Seminar.

The discussions threw a flood of light on S Asian womanhood from various angles. Ten pages in the Seminar are given in the Appendices (- Each stimulating and thought-provoking in its way, gives a lot of information not known to m The papers by U. R. Ehrenfels (Appendix I), D Mukerji (Appendix III), Lakshmi N. Menon (Ap dix V), and Richard J. Coughlin (Appendix among others, deserve special mention. The points out that the matrilineal organization of so in which succession to family and other social and the inheritance of property are traced th the mother, was not a primitive social form. T further contended that "Men are not ruled women, or submitted to severe restrictions in m lineal societies, such as women are in patri societies" and that "Matrilineal culture-traditio played a major part in fashioning the cultural ground of South and South-East Asia in the pa may provide fruitful elements for shaping the fu The author's contention that Buddhism was in "a renaissance movement of Indian womanhood with this, of non-Aryan, non-Patriarchal featu however, a controversial one and may not be ac by many.

Mr. D. P. Mukerji's paper, "Indian Women a Modern Family," gives much food for serious th He points out that the middle class women in m India is "hovering between two worlds, one (dying (religious) and the other still unborn (dual). Much of her psycho-physical trouble from this uncertain social situation . . . family life itself is often jeopardised by this c vacuum. There is more stress and strain in the life of the upper classes than before." This affairs is due not a little to the fact that values, which are pushing out certain

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values, are not being installed in their places. There is a big "gap in knowledge of classics and the latest text books." The gap is not conducive to culture.

The learned author reminds the new Indian woman that "As carrier of the best of the modern and as store of the best of the old values" she has a duty towards the quality of the evolving Indian culture. She can stand as a bulwark against brutalisation and vulgarisation, against the reduction of humanity into a mass of undifferentiated individuals, to which we all seem to be doomed." The pity is that the modern Indian woman is not doing it. She has further to give clear answers to the questions posed in the paper—"What type of family do educated Indian women want?" "What social learning does the type of family they want offer?" "What is, in their opinion, the relation between familial education and social service, which they must needs perform in the evolving Indian society?" The matter is urgent and the well-being of the nation at large demands prompt answers.

Mrs. Menon's paper "Political Rights of Women in India," on the other hand, is more factual than critical. So also is Mr. Couglin's paper "The Position of Women in Vietnam." These together with the other papers incorporated in the Appendices give much valuable information, unknown or little known to, perhaps,, most of us. A perusal of them is sure to prove an intellectual treat of no mean order.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

1. WHAT BECOMES OF THE SOUL AFTER DEATH: *Pp. 227. Price Rs. 3.*

2. FIRST LESSONS IN VEDANTA: *Pp. 198. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Both the books are by Swami Sivananda and published by the Yoga-Vedanta Forest University, P.O. Sivanandanagar, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

The first book discusses an important subject—the meaning of death, state of transmigration, reincarnation and different worlds passed through by the disembodied soul. The frontispiece is picturesque and depicts the journey of soul after death. In the tenth chapter considered views of the German philosopher, Schopenhaur, and the beliefs of ancient Egyptians in hereafter are quoted and discussed. Biblical conceptions of resurrection and judgement are specially compared with Hindu views of *karma* and rebirth in a separate chapter.

The second book contains elements of Vedanta and is meant for beginners. Categories of Vedanta and the two Upanishads—Sarvasara and Niralamba are also summarised. Select passages from the Upanishads, attributes of Brahman and Sankaracharya's *Atma-satka* are added at the outset. The Vedantic maxims and Vedanta in alphabet given in another chapter are immensely instructive. A perusal of the book will acquaint the reader with the essentials of Vedanta. Vedanta which is the pinnacle of Indian Thought should thus be popularised in order to stabilise our philosophy in the modern society. Swami Sivananda is doing yeoman's service to the country by broadcasting Vedanta through such readable manuals.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SANSKRIT

KRITYAKALPATARU OF BHATTA LAKSHMIDHARA (Vol. VI, Vratakanda): *Edited by Rangaswami Aiyangar. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LXXII. Baroda, Oriental Institute. Price Rs. 17*

We have great pleasure in noticing Vol. VI of the *Krityakalpataru*, a voluminous digest on *dharmasastra*, of which Vol. V (the first to be published) was noticed in these pages in December, 1946. In the meantime several other volumes have been issued and the work is nearing completion. The existence of the present section of the *Kalpataru* was not known to the world of scholars till the more or less recent discoveries of two manuscripts at Nagpur and Ujjain. It is on these two manuscripts that the edition is based. The volume deals with 175 *vratas* or vows among a legion known in different parts of the country. A number of them are quite interesting but few of them have any agreement with *vratas* current in Bengal or recorded in old literature of the place. A close agreement, however, exists between the descriptions found in this work and those in the *Vratakhanda* of the *Chaturvargachintamani* of Hemadri. This is clear from the footnotes which record variations noticed in Hemadri, the *Bhavisyapurana* and the manuscripts referred to above. The volume will supply valuable material for the historical and comparative study of feasts and festivities of the land and its various parts.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RABINDRA SAHITYER PARICHAY: *By Sachin Sen, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. Third edition. Readers' Corner, 5, Sankar Ghosh Lane, Calcutta-6. Price Rs. 7.*

The volume and variety of Tagore's works justify the expanding critical literature on them. The present author has tried to follow his trend of thoughts carefully and give a fair estimate of his poems, novels and dramas. The poet himself acknowledged in a letter: "You have viewed the poet with care and spirit of enquiry." Signs of scholarship and hard work are evident and the issue of the third edition of the book clearly proves that it has enjoyed popularity.

The book is divided into five chapters: (1) Rabindranath's Ideas, (2) Rabindranath and the Meaning of Literature, (3) Introduction to Rabindranath's Poetry, (4) The Novels of Rabindranath, (5) Rabindranath's Dramas. The writer seems to be inclined towards analytical study. On the whole the book is informative and useful.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

DIYA JALA, DIYA BUJHA: *By Yadavendranath Sharma, "Chandra." Ramapuria Prakashan, Calcutta-20. Pp. 197. Price Rs. 3-8.*

A novel with vigour and verve. It portrays the life of the now dying feudal chiefs of Rajasthan, who ruled over their subjects with unqualified and unashamed autocracy. The only two pillars of their reign were their personal whim and want, specially in the matter of gratification of their passions without the least moral compunctions of any kind. The present publication paints all this in lurid and ghastly colours. The play of light and shade like the burning and snuffing out of the lamp, against which the whole drama is enacted, is masterly. And yet in the midst of the despicable degradation of humanity, simple and pure love asserts itself and ultimately triumphs as well.

G. M.

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GUJARATI

PUNIT PAGALUN : *By Pravir Vakta. Published by Purnima Shah, Ahmedabad. 1950. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 121. Price Rs. 2-8.*

A "Righteous Step" is a tale written by Shri Vakta to assist the Prohibition policy of the State of Bombay. He is a young writer and free of enthusiasm to do something for his fellow brothers and sisters. He has secured a chorus of approval for work done and contemplated to be done in this direction from those of the highest status, like Governors and Ministers. He is fond of art and culture. Trikala is his Kala Kendra (Art Centre). He writes in Hindi also, and provided he gets help, encouragement and co-operation he is sure to do better.

SHATPATHA BRAHMAN : *By Popatlal Dayaram Raval, L.S.M.F., Morvi. Printed at the Sandeshalal Press, Ahmedabad. 1950. Illustrated. Card-board cover. Pp. 164. Price Rs. 2.*

The *Shatpatha Brahman* is a part of the Shukla Yajurveda and is more than 6500 years old, thus older than the Hebrew, Buddhistic and Christian religions. The tenets comprised in this composition are found to have been prevalent in Mesopotamia, when the Aryans lived there. The writer who has made a very deep study of its contents, in the light of observations of Vedic scholars of the East and the West, comes to the conclusion that its language is symbolic, and the rituals are also symbolic. He finds princi[illegible] modern science like Physics, Electricity and [illegible] Activity, set out there in unmistakable terms, pr[illegible] only one can understand the symbols. He pr[illegible] to bring out only one part, out of four, into E[illegible] namely that relating to Radio-Activity. Our [illegible] mendation is that he should do so for the w[illegible] the book. Laymen all over the world should [illegible] that Indians knew all about Electric energy [illegible] Radio-Activity, six thousand years ago, and that somehow or other forgot it all.

NIRMAL SHYAM RAS : *By Kumari [illegible] Devi. Published by Mrs. Lakshmi Behan H. [illegible] Bombay. 1950. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-[illegible] Pp. 224 + 5. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Miss Nirmal Devi is Vedant Tirth, Kavya [illegible] Vyakaran Visharad, etc., and a scholarly young [illegible] who has already by her learned and religious ac[illegible] established her name as a speaker and a guide [illegible] trends of the Vaishnavite Creed. A devotee o[illegible] Krishna, the Shyam Sundar, Shri Devi as she herself, has published 105 songs in Gujarati and Sanskrit, the contents of which remind one o[illegible] devotion of the Gopis to Krishna, immortalise[illegible] over India, old and new, by poets of all pro[illegible] That such devotion still exists, is a proof of how [illegible] seated it has been. Nirmal Devi deserves to be [illegible] gratulated in every way.

K. M.

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ADVAITA ASHRAMA

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Gandhi and the Modern World

Ethel Mannin writes in *The Aryan Path* :

There is a sense in which "Gandhi-ism, is a misnomer, since the doctrine of non-violent resistance to evil and of personal purity of flesh and spirit was the teaching of Jesus two thousand years earlier; the Buddha, six hundred years before that, taught reverence for life in all its forms, human and animal alike, but not the specific doctrine of *satyagraha* ; but the term is valid in that Gandhiji was of our time and brought to our world moral force such as the world had never known (Jesus in his time did not so kindle the imagination of millions), and as a moral force Christianity has ever been pitilessly punctured by expediency.

It is true that India, since independence, can no more be called a "Gandhi-ist" country than England, or any other Western country, can be called Christian —whatever the professions, as devout as they are hypocritical, of Christianity. Had India deeply absorbed and accepted the teachings of the Mahatma it would have been unthinkable that his assassins should have been executed.

Vachel Lindsay's poem would seem singularly appropriate applied to this twentieth-century saint :

> Now you were ended. They praised you,
> . . . . and laid you away.
> The others that mourned you in silence
> and terror and truth . . . .
> That should have remembered forever,
> . . . . remember no more.

There is a sense in which Gandhi has become a name—who once was a living spiritual flame.

There is also a sense in which that flame still lives in men's hearts, not only in India, but the world over, and will continue to live until the planet is entirely given over to the powers of darkness, which it cannot be until that living flame is finally quenched. Which means that it may never be.

We have seen in connection with the Goa demonstrations that the spirit of *satyagraha* still lives in India; we have seen that spirit kindled also in the recent demonstrations in South Africa, in which Gandhi's son, Manilal, played a leading part. Now, it seems, ironically, that a peaceful invasion of Kashmir is being planned by Pakistani *satyagrahis* (organized by the Christian Zamindara Labour League of Lahore), ten thousand of whom plan to march peacefully into Indian-held territory.

Gandhi's spirit still lives, even with those who denounced him in his lifetime.

And it will continue to live, because the alternative is the extinction of the human race. The scientists have warned the world that recourse to atomic weapons, in total war, that is to say, can only mean total annihilation. This means that in the modern world there must be total renunciation of war—for they deceive themselves who aver that atomic weapons whold not be used, that the atomic bomb, in its ever-increasing hideousness, is a power for peace. Whatever country henceforth resorts to the arbitrament of war lets loose total destruction upon the entire planet ; in a radio-active world life cannot be sustained in any form, and those who survive death by burning or blast can only do so to die of starvation. Mankind is already gradually destroying the earth's fertility by chemicals and machines, creating dust bowls and soil erosion, adding man-made desert to desert. This destruction of fertility can be halted and remedied; there can be no halting of an atomic war or any remedying of its consequences. The idea that science will somehow throw up something effective in the way of defence in an atomic war is the sheerest wishful thinking—there can be no defence in total war, as the scientists have warned us, from Einstein downwards.

But war in any shape or form is an abomination, a crime against life to which those who venerate life as Christ and the Buddha and Gandhi venerated it, cannot in any circumstances lend themselves. It is a sad comment on human nature that many who denounce the latest atomic bomb are nevertheless quite prepared to accept a non-atomic war—in spite of the napalm horrors of the Korean war. *The hope for humanity lies in the growing number of people, the world over, who are gradually coming to accept the principles of non-violent resistance to evil, as taught and demonstrated by Gandhi in our own time.*

It has tremendous, and heartening, significance that many leaders of the African nationalist struggle against imperialism have been influenced by Gandhi and have urged *satyagraha* methods upon their followers. This was observable in 1953, in East Africa and down to Cape Town, and many Africans in Northern Rhodesia were to be seen wearing "Gandhi buttons"—badges with the profiles of the Mahatma engraved on them. This is all the more interesting when it is remembered that Gandhi's career began in South Africa. If the teachings of the Mahatma are largely rejected in his own country, by a generation which has grown up in the violence of the newly launched atomic era, among the less sophisticated and less Westernized peoples of Africa, the country in which he began, his spirit is still active.

In India itself the success of the land-distribution campaign conducted by that remarkable old man, Vinoba Bhave, points to a revival of the Gandhian spirit. Vinoba has followed directly in Gandhiji's footsteps by going into the villages, without any fanfare of preliminary publicity, with nothing "organized," relying entirely, as Gandhi did, on the moral force of his appeal to what the Quakers call "that of God in every man." Such an appeal, however, would be made in vain without the driving power of love behind it. Gandhi declared, "The hardest fibre must melt in the fire of love"; he demonstrated the fact over and over again in his own life, and now Vinoba Bhave is similarly demonstrating it. When the fire is not strong enough

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there is no response. In Gandhi's case it was strong enough to make him so profound a moral force that this "half-naked fakir," as Churchill scornfully called him, could pit himself effectively against the great weight of the political power of the British Raj. The possessionless, thin little man in the loin cloth had to be cajoled and conciliated, because by love alone he had a nation of some four hundred millions behind him. When the people, lacking his moral strength, resorted to violence on occasion he grieved and prayed and fasted. *He would have no more to do with the unorganized violence of the masses than with the organised violence of governments. He declared that he would prefer to be crushed between the two.*

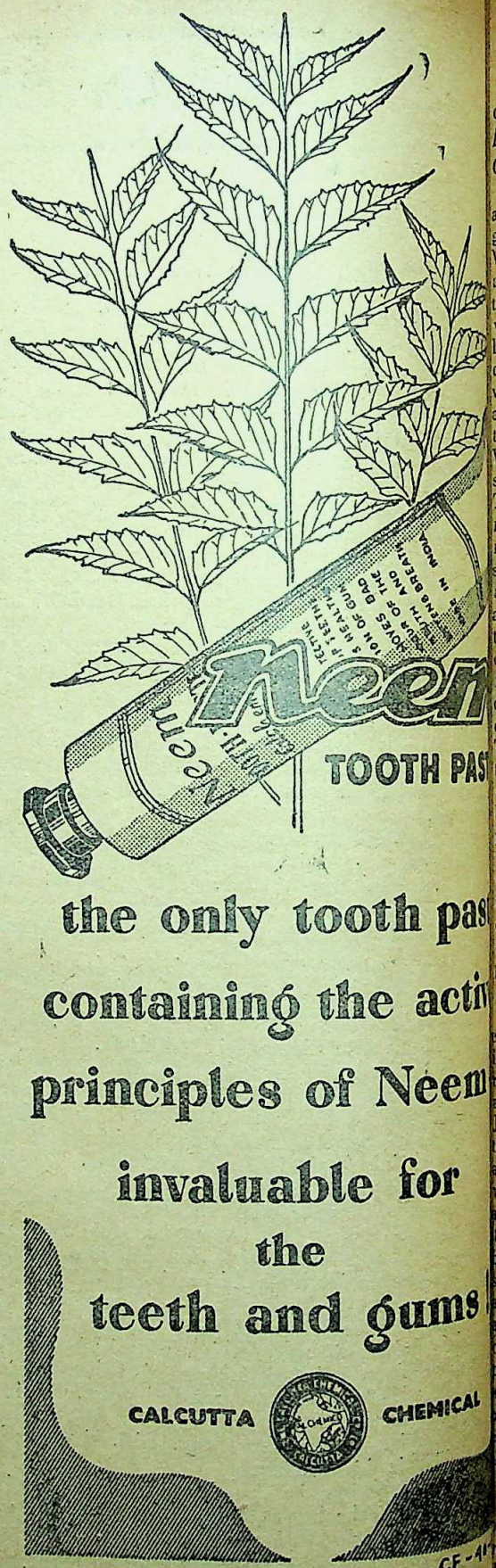
Reginald Reynolds, in his book, *To Live in Mankind: A Quest for Gandhi*, writing of Basic Education, which teaches people how to live co-operatively as opposed to Westernized education which merely provides a smattering of Western culture and is bound up with the acquisition of degrees, declares that "India's ultimate problem will not be the untouchables but the unteachables." It could be said with equal truth that *the whole world's ultimate problem is the unteachability of the mass-produced mentality, for which the press, cinema and radio are largely and jointly responsible.*

The real hope for the salvaging of civilization would apppear to be in the East. Not merely is the bulk of the world's population in its "teeming millions," but that bulk is ninety percent agrarian and as such not corrupted by the lies and false values of what passes for civilization in the West. The young people —especially—of Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon are perhaps as much bound and delivered over to shoddy notions and false values (usually in the name of "Progress") as their counterparts in the West; an insidious Americanization, the Coca-Cola civilization, has invaded urban life in both East and West, from Morocco to Mandalay, from Rome to Rangoon, but it does not penetrate to the hidden villages of the Rif, the off-the-road villages across the Burmese paddy fields, the jungle villages in the middle of the vast subcontinent of India. There still remain vast areas of human existence outside the Coca-Cola belt. Throughout India, Burma and China, there are far-reaching basic educational schemes which, whilst they include literacy, place it lower on the agenda than the teaching, by example, of co-operation in communal living.

Such schemes are in the direct Gandhian spirit, which, along with non-violent resistance of evil, reverence for all life, devotion to truth and righteousness, demands an all-embracing love and co-operativeness in our relations with our fellow humans.

In the West experiments in co-operative living are conducted through the medium of "work-camps," where men and women of good will, young and middle-aged alike, meet to work for the common good: in building a youth hostel or a community centre, for example. Here again the Gandhian spirit of service operates. It might be that because the West has reached a crisis in its civilization it may yet prove fertile soil for Gandhian ideas, even if it does not recognize them as such. It may well be, as Reginald Reynolds suggests in his book, that Gandhi "will share the fate of so many other prophets, whose ultimate effect has been most deeply felt outside their own countries."

The extent to which Gandhi's ideas will endure and develop in the modern world is debatable. What there is no disputing is the world's urgent need of them, as the only guarantee of its continued existence.



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Indian Culture Through the Ages

Dr. Bijan Kumar Mukherjee, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India, writes in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture*:

It is in the simple joyous faith of our Indo-Aryan ancestors that we have the seed of Indian culture which grew and blossomed so luxuriantly in later ages. The Vedic *rishis* attempted to harmonize life in all its aspects, and this is the dominant note pervading all subsequent thoughts and ideas. Life was conceived as an integral whole. The word '*dharma*' was used to mean a rule of life, or a way of self-moulding; and this rule of life was only a phase of the supreme law which upheld the universe. In the long history of Indian culture, the aim of all inquiries has been to find the underlying truth amidst the conflicting diversities of the world. It was in the Vedic age that there began "that quest to discover the significance of the world and of man's life within it." This spirit of inquiry deepened and became more pronounced in the period of the Upanishads. It was certainly not a pursuit after an imaginary or poetic heaven or vain speculation on the mysterious and the unknown. It was an inquiry after 'truth' in the real sense of the world—and in the Upanishadic age it was an intellectual inquiry, the method of which was 'questioning' and *tapasya*, or deep concentration of mind. In the well-known parable in the *Taittiriya Upanishad*, Bhrigu, the son of Varuna, is described as approaching his father and expressing his desire to be instructed in the knowledge of Brahman. The father gives an answer which merely puts the son on the way to discovery. He uttered a formula describing what Brahman is and asked his son to find it out for himself. This formula, which has become an integral part of our spiritual thought, was worded as follows: 'That from which all things are born, that by which when born they live, and into which they enter at death, try to know That; That is Brahman.' Obviously, there can be no deeper problems than those of birth, life, and death which the human reason is called upon to penetrate.

True Detachment

The complaint is often made that Indian culture encourages asceticism and other-worldliness leading to indolence, apathy, and other vices deterimental to the interests of the community. The Vedic seers never countenanced the doctrine of the negation of life. But, as Sri Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out in *The Discovery of India*, the extremely analytical mind of the Indian Aryans adjusted in a splendid way the two opposing tendencies which often exist side by side in man—the acceptance of life in its fullness and the rejection of it. There is a transcendental element in Indian culture, but, properly viewed, it is just this which gives it its sublimity and greatness. The Indian mind was not averse to the enjoyment of material comforts. Arts and crafts, science, architecture, diplomacy, and statecraft all attained to a very high degree of technical perfection in ancient India. To engage in right action with strength and energy, but to remain above it without worrying over results, this was the spirit of Indian culture, and it meant true detachment in life and action and not abstention from them.

The Buddhist Age

The close of the Vedic age was marked by a period of decadence when a whole host of heretical sects came into existence pronounding the most fantastic theories about salvation and ways of life. But upon these ruins rose Buddhism which, though presenting a distinctive form of culture, was yet an expression of the same spirit of India. Although the Buddha did not accept the authority of the Vedas, there is very little in his teachings which cannot be found in the Upanishads or in the writings of the old Hindu sages and philosophers. Like all the great sages of India, the Buddha addressed himself to the eternal problem of pain and misery in the world. This emphasis on suffering has laid Buddhism open to the charge of pessimism, yet surely a philosophy which overlooks pain as a fact in creation affords no real solution to the problems of life. The Buddha's message was one of universal benevolence and love for all; he taught men to overcome 'hatred by love, anger by kindness, and evil by good.' He gave a new direction to the yearnings of the people; old values were changed and the outlook of men in the domain of spirituality and morals was materially altered.

The inherent weakness of Buddhism lay in the fact that it did not make the harmonious adjustment of human life that was made by the Vedic seers. Its negation of life, its monasticism, and its reticence over the existence of an intelligent God led ultimately to its decay. However, there can be no doubt that Buddhism made profound and powerful changes not merely in the ethical, but in the social and outward life and ideals of the race. Its freedom from conventional restrictions and prejudices opened up new and wider horizons. It spread over Central anl Western Asia to the borders of Greece and Egypt and inundated China and even the distant shores of Japan.

Two Distinctive Features of Indian Culture

Among the basic features of Indian culture are its spirit of toleration and its power of absorbing and

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assimilating other cultures and making them a part of its own. There can be no better proof of the vitality and strength of a culture than its ability to do this. This absorbing capacity of Indian culture was at no time more manifest than in the Buddhist and post-Buddhist ages. The Greeks, the Sakas or Scythians, and the Kusanas, all of whom came to India as invaders, were absorbed and adopted as integral parts of the Indian community with far-reaching effects upon its arts and sciences.

The vitality and expansiveness of Indian culture at this time is further demonstrated by the many colonizations that took place in different parts of South-East Asia.

The Pauranic Age

With the decay of Buddhism and with the inauguration of the Gupta period began the classical age of India, which gave rise to the Puranas. The Pauranic culture is a poetic and luxuriant thing. Sanskrit poetry flourished and there were literary and artistic activities of a really high order.

It was during this period of decadent Buddhism that Sankara was born; he was one of the world's greatest philosophers and spiritual leaders, a matchless dialectician and born reformer. He led the movement for the revival of Vedic culture and its sublime philosophy as embodied in the Upanishads. He tried to synthesize the different currents of thought that were agitating the popular mind at the time. He adopted the monastic rules of the Buddhists and, though himself a non-dualistic philosopher, he did not discourage the Pauranic form of worship. The establishment of four monasteries at the four corners of India testifies to his high practical insight and his clear vision of a culturally united India. His numerous works stand as the classics of Hindu philosophical and religious literature.

Mogul Rule

In the eleventh century A.D., India rapidly became weak and disunited. It was then that the Mohammedan invasion gave a shocking blow to the whole fabric. The Pathan and then the Mogul rule lasted for several centuries, until the British came, and, having lost political freedom, any attempt on the part of the Hindus to assimilate the new culture could now only end in the extinction of their own. Hence the Hindu mind became rigid and exclusive, its elasticity and powers of expansion and assimilation ceased; the caste system became stiffer and barriers of various kinds were devised to protect the Hindu religious and social systems from foreign ways and influences.

However, the fact of the Hindus and Mohammedans living side by side resulted in a synthetic approach to each other's thoughts and ways of living, which was particularly noticeable in music and architecture. In the field of religion, it produced a galaxy of saintly persons which included Ramananda, Kabir, Dadu, Ravidasa, Guru Nanak, and many others whose religious doctrines overleapt all barriers of caste and creed.

Modern Times

The stream of cultural life was at a low ebb when the British came to India, and the lowest stage of degradation was rapidly reached with, on the one hand, the prompt applauding of everything European, and on the other, the despising of everything Indian; and those who were supposed to be orthodox were no better, for they were ruled by time-worn usages and rites. Thus, Hindu culture seemed to be nearing its extinction, but a reaction set in led by Rammohun who prepared the way for a spiritual and cultural renaissance which took place through the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, and finally through Ramakrishna who fulfilled the great need for a spiritual synthesis, which could reconcile the apparent contradictions in the Hindu religion and demonstrate its unity amidst a multiplicity of forms. Sri Ramakrishna did this by showing that realization of God was possible in all religions; paths may differ, but the goal is the same.

This has been the spirit of Indian culture through centuries. With the dawn of independence, her age-old powers of adaptability and assimilation must come into return. Without losing her own individuality and distinctiveness, India must adopt and assimilate all that is best in the cultural currents of the whole of the modern world.

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Unemployment in India

S. D. Vishinani writes in *The Indian Review* :

One of the most important causes of increasing unemployment in India, both urban and rural, is the change in the economic structure of the country. The temptation to migrate from the rural areas to the cities and big industrial towns in search of employment on daily, weekly or monthly wages has struck a heavy blow to rural economy. Artisans and skilled workers who could engage themselves in small-scale cottage industries, arts and crafts and thus add to our national wealth, prefer assured regular income or fixed wages against the uncertainty of profits which their cottage industry might bring. The rural areas are thus deprived of their industrial potential and only such population absorbed in Agriculture forms the backbone of the village community.

With this growing influx of labour from the villages, and there being no sufficient work to intake all that come, unemployment among the new arrivals is the result. As more and more people keep on coming from the rural areas they only tend to worsen the unemployment position and add to the ranks of the unemployed.

In the cities and smaller towns where people receive education, either upto the High School stage or the University stage, the problem of finding clerical jobs for all these educated people assumes abnormal proportions. These so-called educated people consider themselves suited only for the desk jobs and refuse to undertake any other work. As private concerns and government departments can absorb only a fraction of these educated people, the remainder have no other alternative but to join the ranks of the unemployed.

If only some of these educated people took to other vocations and professions and started trainig in that direction, the problem of unemployment could be considerably eased. Take for instance the case of a Matriculate. If he learns typewriting, a profession which does not take more than six months to learn, he can easily get himself employed as a typist in a government or private office. The mechanical line also offers good opportunities for employment. Even people with little education can take to the mechanical line.

Another profession which can give good employment and better pay to the Matriculates and Graduates, is the profession of Stenography. All they have to do is to learn type-writing and shorthand at some commercial institute, which are found scattered in large numbers almost in every town. While type-writing can be learnt easily, greater perseverence and knowledge is required to learn shorthand. Instances are numerous where persons started learning shorthand but later gave it up at one stage or another because they either found it boring or could not write with speed. Perseverence, as I have said above, is the key-note to attaining proficiency in the art of Stenography.

The profession of Accountancy also offers good scope for employment to a large number of educated people. Only those who are good at figures and possess a neat handwriting are specially suited to this profession.

There are still a good many professions like those of the electrician, fitter, welder, mechanic, wireman, driver, etc, which offer ample scope for employment opportunities.

If, therefore, those who are educated cease to think only in terms of clerical or the so-called 'white-collar' jobs, and train themselves for other vocations and professions, the problem of unemployment could be solved to to some extent.

Private Sector

In the private sector there is a tendency to employ as few pepole as possible and to extract the highest profits possible. Almost all the employees are overworked. If the greedy profiteer or private employer could realize that it is his moral duty to share his profits with his employees and he should employ as many persons as were necessary for running his business, the result would be increased efficiency and improvement in the quality of work turned out. The employees being contented, would naturally work honestly and put in their best.

It is also a well-known fact that persons employed in private concerns get less pay than those employed in the Government service. This is perhaps due to the fact that private enterprise has to create money and their entire resources depend on the net profit which their business brings to them. Extravagance is, therefore, out of the question unless, of course, they are doing a roaring business.

The development of private enterprise depends upon the natural resources of the country and availability of necessary finance. Our country is rich in natural resources but deficient in motive power. We have to depend on foreign imports of machinery, tools, etc, for our industries. It is heartening to note that we are making up for this deficiency and have achieved some progress in the small-scale manufacture of industrial tools and machinery.

Government Sector

The Government with its vast financial resources and authority to impose fresh taxes or to enhance the existing ones to increase its revenues, is better equipped to employ a vast number of people in its various undertakings.

A large number of persons is required to run the administrative machinery of Government. The Centre and the State Governments employ thousands of people for their various branches. The State has also undertaken numerous welfare activities like transport, railways, airways, posts and telegraphs which give employment to a vast number of people.

Population

The ever-increasing population is also responsible for the growing unemployment among the people. The population of India grows at the rate of 5 million per year while the number of jobs does not increase even by a fraction. It is time our people realized this and checked the unhealthy growth of our population. If population is held in check and less people are born,

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they would not only be brought up well but also become useful members of society. On the other hand, if millions of people are added to our population every year, they would only tend to aggravate the already acute unemployment problem in our country.

FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT

Good work is at present being done to combat unemployment. The Ministry of Labour, Government of India, have opened regional employment exchanges throughout the length and breadth of the country. These Employment Exchanges primarily cater to the needs of educated people and assist them in finding suitable employment. All government departments have been instructed to notify to the Exchange all vacancies arising in their offices and the Exchange in turn sends a number of suitable persons for the posts. All one has to do is to register one's name with the Exchange. The Exchange, in turn, divides the candidates in different categories and issues Introduction Cards for the Employers.

The Employment Exchange also registers the names of uneducated people for employment as Labour and also for other low-paid posts under the Government. The private sector has not yet utilized the services of the Exchange fully as have done the government departments.

People who are not well educated or trained have little chance of getting good jobs through the Employment Exchange. This is mainly due to the fact that Exchanges have to depend mostly on vacancies arising in government departments where educational qualifications count more than mere suitability. A man may be very clever or experienced; but he must have the minimum educational qualifications before he could be recom[illegible] for any Government job. This pre-requisite to a [illegible] paid Government post is a great hindrance in the [illegible] of persons capable otherwise who could not [illegible] higher education for one reason or the other.

Keen competition among the candidates is a[illegible] cause for the disappointment of many. Some p[illegible] are well-connected and influential and they succe[illegible] getting jobs while better candidates with [illegible] influence are deprived of suitable emplo[illegible] opportunities. This is a thing which is not p[illegible] for any agency to check. Favouritism is to be fo[illegible] almost every sphere of life. Rather than conde[illegible] it or trying to cast aspersions on it, the remedy [illegible] increasing one's attainments and once a man co[illegible] the top it is difficult to ignore him. Hard wo[illegible] continued effort are bound to bring good results.

FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The Planning Commission has come forward [illegible] a 11-point programme to combat increasing une[illegible] ment in the country. The Five-Year Plan is being [illegible] in the light of this programme to increase emplo[illegible] potential in the Industrial and Government Se[illegible] Some of the States have come forward with pla[illegible] opening schools in every village and thus p[illegible] employment as teachers to a large number of ed[illegible] unemployed people. The problem is vast and can[illegible] solved in a day. It is, however, gratifying to fi[illegible] National Government trying to do its bit. Let ev[illegible] of us fight this the greatest enemy of mankind [illegible] see that every man gets work to do and earns a [illegible] in return.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Kashmir Issue Today

Dr. Taraknath Das writes in the *Jewish Frontier*, November, 1955 :

There is a striking parallel between the involvements of the UN in two perennial issues, both of which arose in 1947 : the issue of Kashmir between India and Pakistan, and the issue of Palestine between Israel and the Arab states. In both cases the UN failed in the beginning to take a bold position based on the legal realities involved, but tried to solve the problem by well-meant equivocation, without offending either side. In both cases also, the issue having become practically permanent, the UN again failed to take account of realities brought about by the passage of time.

The Kashmir issue had its origin in the Indian Independence Act of 1947, passed by the British Parliament, by which India was partitioned and Pakistan brought into existence. In this act it was enacted that the Indian Princely States—Kashmir, Mysore, Hyderabad, Travancore, Boroda and others—would have the right, by individual voluntary accession, to become parts of India or Pakistan, or to maintain their independent existence.

At first Kashmir chose not to become a part of either India or Pakistan. But, in violation of the Indian Independence Act, all kinds of pressure were used to influence the government of Kashmir to accede to Pakistan. When this failed, Kashmir was invaded by the so-called frontier tribesmen, aided by Pakistani arms, ammunitions and regular Pakistani forces. At this point, Kashmir, in due constitutional form, acceded to India and became part of Indian national territory.

Thus it was the Government of India (not Pakistan) which presented the issue before the United Nations. Obviously, the purpose of India was not to ask the United Nations to determine the validity of Kashmir's accession to India, which was brought about legally and in accordance with the Indian Independence Act. India's purpose was to seek United Nations aid against the Pakistani invasion of Indian territory, and thus to expel an aggressor threatening the peace of the world.

Pakistani officials at first denied their responsibility for the invasion, but it was proven beyond doubt by the findings of the United Nations' Dixon Commission and Graham Commission that the Pakistani government planned the invasion and was the aggressor. Thereafter, Sir Zaffrullah Khan (at that time minister of foreign affairs of Pakistan) admitted in a statement before the United Nations, that the then commander-in-chief of Pakistani forces, British General Gracie, had recommended the invasion. Thus, the United Nations had sufficient evidence that in the struggle for Kashmir Pakistan was the aggressor.

But the UN, under the lead of the Western powers, preferred to follow a course similar to that which they adopted in another case of aggression by Moslem powers, the Palestine case. The real issue—the aggression complained of—was never faced by the United Nations; but for some peculiar reason *an extraneous issue* concerning the accession of Kashmir (which was a settled fact and was legally beyond the jurisdiction of the United Nations, as it was an issue already settled between Kashmir and India and thus an internal affair of India) was pressed by Pakistan, supported by Britain, America and other nations in the Security Council of the United Nations. It was urged that there should be a plebiscite on the question of the accession of Kashmir to India. (In the same way, the Arab states continue, without clear contradiction by Western powers in the UN, to interpret UN resolutions on Palestine refugees and boundaries in a way incompatible with Israel's sovereignty). However, the Government of India *unwisely* agreed to the demand with a reservation that the plebiscite should take place in Kashmir after peace was made.

One should not forget that, in actuality, there is no peace between India and Pakistan, but there is an armed truce such as exists between Egypt and Israel. For instance, only a few weeks ago Pakistani forces attacked Indian border guards in Indian territory, killing several of them. Thus, in Kashmir as in Palestine, a political solution of outstanding issues has been prevented by the lack of peace.

Pakistan and the United Nations have been urging India to agree to a plebiscite unconditionally under the supervision of a United Nations Commission. But if there is to be a plebiscite in Kashmir, which is legally Indian territory, it can be carried out only with Indian consent and under Indian control. India has refused to have any plebiscite unless Kashmir first be freed from the presence of the invading army of Pakistan, or at least the strength of the invading army be reduced considerably. One may venture to say that unless Pakistan agrees to Indian demands, there will be no plebiscite in Kashmir ; and it is quite unlikely that the United Nations, which has no effective force, would use sanctions against India—unless this were the wish of Britain, America, France and other powers which would have to support the Pakistani invading army with forces, arms and ammunition. But it is unthinkable that the United States would even indirectly favor a conflict between India and Pakistan, because such a conflict could benefit only Soviet Russia and Communist China.

During the last five years, the situation in Kashmir has vastly changed politically and materially. The duly elected democratic legislature of Kashmir, by its virtually unanimous vote, once more settled the question of accession to India by its vote in favor of that action. It seems that as far as India is concerned, the whole issue of a plebiscite in Kashmir is a dead one. Recently, Mr. Panth, the home minister of the Republic of India in his reply during a debate on Kashmir in the House of the of the People (the lower house of the Indian Parliament) made the position of the Government of India absolutely clear. The substance of this speech in this : so far as the Government of India is concerned Kashmir is a part of India and it will remain Indian. Pakistan is an aggressor in Kashmir and Pakistani forces must withdraw from Indian soil. India will defend her territories from any form of attack by all legitimate means.

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It should be fully understood by Americans and others that a nation's position on any particular issue is not eternally binding. With a decided change in world politics (especially since Pakistan's repeated refusal to come to an understanding with India by signing a non-aggression pact and the settlement of all disputes by peaceful means while, at the same time, signing an alliance with Turkey and Iran and entering into an arms accord with the United States) India is forced to re-examine and if necessary re-orient her policies with all powers. It is pertinent to recall that the United States of America, Britain or France, as members of the United Nations, did not give up their rights to follow independent and changing policies to suit their own interests. In the same way, India is entitled to pursue policies on all issues, especially on issues involving her territorial integrity, to suit particular circumstances.

Perhaps, it may be worthwhile to remind the advocates of a plebiscite in Kashmir that the United Nations and all the powers in the Security C of the United Nations have quite discarded their t position regarding Japan. It was agreed so that there would be complete disarmament of J But owing to changed world conditions, Japan American aid has developed a sizeable army an force (known as a police force); and she is en in developing a navy, on the ground of her rig self-defense. Only the other day, Japan gave to the whole world in a speech by her defense m that for her defense she may use atomic weapons is interesting that on the matter of the re-armam Japan there is no demand from the United N and the Anglo-American powers and others tha should stick to her constitution and the old imposed by the victorious powers. In fact, Jap urging the victorious nations—the United States Soviet Russia—to relinquish certain islands occupied by them.

It may also be recalled that after the conc

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f World War II, Germany was deprived of her erritories and partitioned by the joint action of the oviet Union, France, Britain and the United States. ut now these powers have discarded the famous otsdam Agreement and are trying to make a settlement on the basis of a united Germany. Dr. Adenauer as given notice that Germany does not relinquish her laims to her former territories, annexed by the eighboring powers. It is reasonable to suppose that ithin a year or two there may well be a united ermany. The present change of status of Germany is ue to changes in world politics. Due to the new orld situation in which Pakistan, aided by American rms, has been pursuing anti-Indian policies on a orld scale, India, in consideration of her territorial tegrity and self-defense, will no longer agree to any easure which would undermine her position that Kashmir is part of Indian territory.

The democratic republic of India is built upon the ndamental principle of a secular state, upholding uman rights irrespective of race and religion; Pakistan, n the other hand, is a theocratic dictatorship upolding Pan-Islamism and denying equal rights to the inority communities. To agree to a plebiscite in Kashmir (which is a part of India) so that the Panslamic state of Pakistan would be enabled legally to etach even a small fraction of India would undermine he very existence of the democratic republic. Thus, embers of United Nations, especially Britain and the nited States which are interested in maintaining riendly relations with India, should not expect that ndia will give up her hold on Kashmir, a frontier rovince vital to her national defense.

India wants peace. But if Pakistan, supplied with uperior arms, commits any further aggressive act, ndia will defend her frontiers and rights with all ossible means, as she did when Pakistan invaded Kashmir more than five years ago. Future peace or ar on the Kashmir issue will be up to Pakistan. ecause India will not surrender her rights in that rovince to any form of external pressure.

Garden City of Modern Rome

A new residential quarter is growing up etween the old centre of Rome and the sea at stia, around the monumental buildings of the .U.R. (Universal Exhibition of Rome). The ew quarter extends over about 1,000 acres and as an abundance of trees and gardens.

Throughout the centuries, in almost every epoch, e City of Rome has continued to expand as a result increasing population. The expansion has taken ace both within the limits of the Roman Walls and yond them into the surrounding countryside. It has en particularly marked during the past 50 years.

It was, in fact, about 50 years ago that the so-lled "Humbertine" quarters, with their agglomerate pect of monotonous and heavy uniformity, grew up ound the centre of Rome. These "popular" quarters cluded the Prati di Castello, bounded on the north, most regimented, by the enormous barracks of Viale le Milizie; the Macao section with the large racks of Castro Pretorio, and the adjacent umbertine" sections of San Giovanni, Esquilino, mentano and Salario. Only 50 years ago these arters were suburban, while today they are part of centre of Rome. A more dignified aspect was given the residential area known as "Ludovisi" in the Barberni zone, north-east of the Quirinale Palace. This, in comparison with the previously mentioned "popular" quarters, was planned more in accord with modern conceptions, incorporating to full advantage the wooded grounds of the noble villas which crowned the old centre of Rome with green.

Then, during the first decade of this century there was a change in the concept o expanison which had characterised the construction of the "Humbertine" sections. The new buildings were designed as part of many "garden cities" to provide a setting for the old centre of Rome. Two typical examples are to be found at opposite extremes of the city. These are the Monta Sacro quarter near the Aniene River, and the Monte Verde quarter on the southern slopes of the Gianicolo.

Urban planning now embodies the principle of "green lungs" for city, incorporating small villas with parks and gardens and wide roads between, with dual or triple carriage-ways. The planning has preserved the general view including the monumental features remaining characteristic of the old centre of Rome. So constructed were the quarters Aventino, Italia, Universitario, Trieste, Delle Vittorie, and above all the Parioli with the ample "green lungs" of Villa Borghese, Villa Savoia and Villa Glori.

Before the Second World War there were other building phases in Rome, different and even opposed in characteristics to the preceding ones. They were determined by urgent need to provide accommodation for great numbers of people, and took the form of estates. At first, these estates constituted an outward leap of the city's expansion; and examples include Primavalle, Monteverde Nuovo, Garbatella, Casal Bertone, Tufello, and Tiburtino III. Then began intensive construction of huge blocks of flats containing a large number of small dwellings. These flats soon took up the space between the urban centre and the suburban "popular" quarters.

The expansion of Rome continues to be a pressing problem because of the continually increasing population (the annual figure is 20,000 persons), and because Rome is becoming more and more a cultural and political centre attracting increasing numbers of visitors and tourists.

Origin of the Garden City of E.U.R.

To meet new and urgent needs it has been found necessary to bring into use the monumental buildings of the E.U.R. site. It will be recalled that construction of these splendid buildngs was started before the war, and that it was planned to hold there, in 1942, an "Olympic of Civilization" together with a universal exhibition. The Second World War intervened. The monumental buildings were left incompleted; and damaged as a result of the war they assumed the aspect of the ruins of a dead city.

The zone called Three Fountains, half way between Rome and Ostia, was excellent for this development, directing the city's expansion towards the sea. And thus, before the war, the great military centre of Cecchignola was constructed in the zone; while in the region of the shores of Ostia Anntca there arose a fine new town, the popular and much frequented Lido di Roma. Meanwhile, in the same direction, to the the south of the Tiber, all the area between Rome and the sea was being developed. Among these new centres are Vitinia, Risaro, and Acilia.

As a result of the success of this building development the project for a garden city in the E.U.R. zone, after the parenthesis of the war, has received fresh impulse and its realisation may now be considered certain. Characteristics of this new residential quarter

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of Rome are the magnificence of its monumental centre, the abundance of trees, parks and gardens, the modern public services, the plentiful supply of water and the numerous fountains and ponds. Maximum practical harmony is being achieved in the development of the area, and there are ample roads and excellent public transport.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MONUMENTAL AREA

The E.U.R. monumental centre, which continues to attract visitors and tourists, consists of many magnificent buildings, some of which at present are being used as ministries and offices and for exhibition purposes. Others are not yet in use. The centre includes the following:

(a) *Conference Building*: with an area of 10,150 square metres and a total volume of 216,500 cubic metres. It has a hall 40 metres in both length and height; and its total volume is greater than that of the Pantheon in Rome. The part intended for congresses has a seating capacity of more than 1,000, with adjoining rooms for the Press and for secretarial and postal services and so on.

(b) *Italian Civilization Palace*: six storeys constructed as a series of arches of which there are a total of 216 on the four sides. Each side is 51 metres high; and the height of the structure from ground level is 68 metres. Its volume is 205,000 cubic metres, and it has an area of 8,400 square metres.

(c) *Office Building*: of four storeys, L shape, covering an area of about 6,000 square metres, with a total volume of 117,000 cubic metres. It has rooms and offices for 800 people, and a hall with an area of 1,240 square metres.

(d) *The Church of S. Peter and S. Paul*: designed on the plan of a Greek Cross, and 72 metres high. It has a dominating position, overlooking the lower Tiber area. The cupola, of 28 metres internal diameter and 31.75 metres external, is the second largest in Rome. The monumental church covers an area of 6,000 square metres and has a volume of 105,000 cubic metres.

Other notable monuments already being built, some in advanced stage of construction, include the *Palace of Ancient Art, the Palace of Modern Art, the Palace of Science* joined to the symmetrical *Palace of Folk Traditions*, the *Museum of Roman Civilization*, the *Armed Forces Building*, the *Sports Palace* and the *Forestry Palace*.

The principal public buildings of the new district include the following:

(a) *Open air theatres* to seat about 6,000, built on circular plan with seating in tiers, covering a surface of 115×70 metres, and with a very large area of stage.

(b) *Cinema*: to seat 1,000, in the I.N.P.S. Building (National Institute for Social Welfare) which is admired by visitors for its architecture and which borders the piazza at the entrance to the E.U.R. grounds from Via Cristoforo Colombo.

(c) *Sports buildings and grounds*: under construction or planned in view of the Olympic Games to be held in Rome during 1960, and will be in the area of the largest hill and those nearby. Work already has been started on a Sports Building which will accommodate 15,000 spectators. It will have a gymnasium and also facilities for boxing, wrestling, fencing, skating and so on. In addition, there will be a stadium for athletics and cycle and motor cycle racing, and a course for horse racing. The stadium will accommodate 20,000 spectators, and will have 200 Press seats, 15 radio receiver rooms, and lockers for 170 comp

(d) *Fairs and Exhibitions*: facilities exte an area of 64,000 square metres. They will be west shore of a large lake which is in project and exhibitions of national and international have already been held on these grounds dur past few years.

(e) *Communications Building*: post, tel and telegraph, situated near the church, and covered area of 2,200 square metres and a vol 29,300 cubic metres.

(f) *The Restaurant*: is near the Office B already is open to the public. It has a cover of 3,000 square metres and a volume of 26,00 metres. In addition to three large and beautiful nished rooms the extensive terraces also are in

(g) *Underground passages for services*: 17 planned 19 kilometres have been completed. are for carrying services including water, ele telephone lines and express mail. Of a plan kilometres of sewers, 23 kilometres have been pleted. Their total network is greater than th any other district of the city.

Drinking water has been assured for the a linking it to the Rome water system. In a there will be an adequate supply of water fo fountains which adorn the area. Plans have bee pleted for construction of *a lake one kilometr and 100 metres wide at the narrowest point.* extend at right angles to Via Cristoforo Colombo branches at this point and so will divide th into three.

The whole area of the E.U.R. has been co as a true garden city, where in the open spaces the abundance of trees will be added gard flower beds. The area already has about 28,000 of various size, and it is expected that this will be increased in the future.

Wide roads and bridges facilitate commun between *Rome and the New E.U.R.* district *Cristoforo Colombo*, which crosses the *E.U.R.* Rome with Castel Porziano on the sea.

Within the new district there is *a net-work roads* with numerous squares. The principal *Piazza Italia, is larger than S. Peter's square.* centre of the piazza the obelisk commemorating coni rises to a height of 40 metres.

Public transport for the area includes a bus service, the electric railway from Rome to and the *new underground railway* which begins E.U.R. grounds. This underground, which wa augurated in February of this year, offers the economical and rapid transport on a route the Basilica of S. Paul, Porta Ostiense, Circo M and the Colosseum, ending at Rome's main station, Termini. It is 11 kilometres long, w surface stations and five underground. There daily service with trains every three minutes, complete journey from the E.U.R. grounds to mini takes 11 minutes.

There are already numerous private houses the E.U.R. area, and these are an example latest urban planning, with their modern lin surroundings of trees and gardens.

Rome is expanding towards the sea, and it enriched by a new quarter, the garden city E.U.R. whose main characteristic is a harmo tween its splendid but severe monuments modernity of its villas and gardens.—*Italian* September, 1955.

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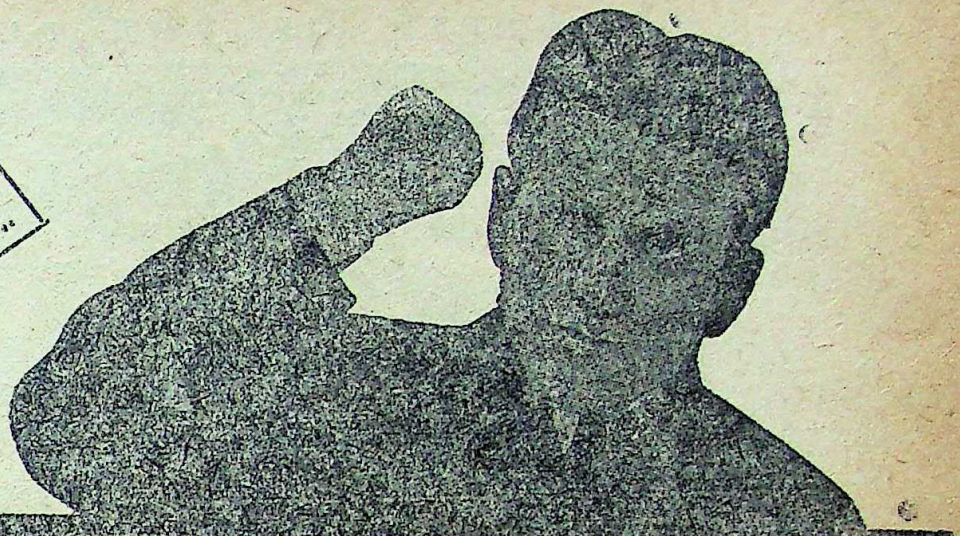

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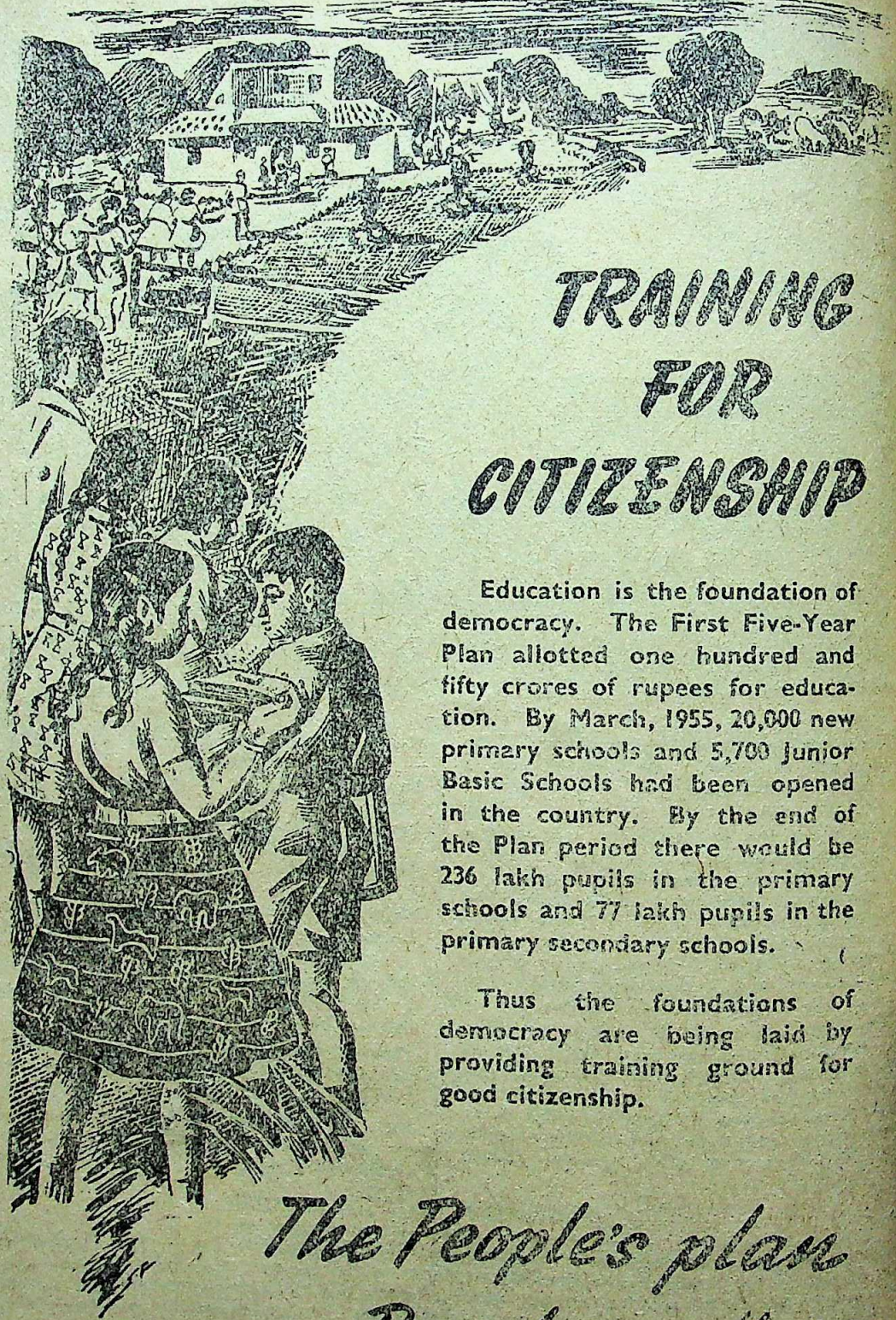

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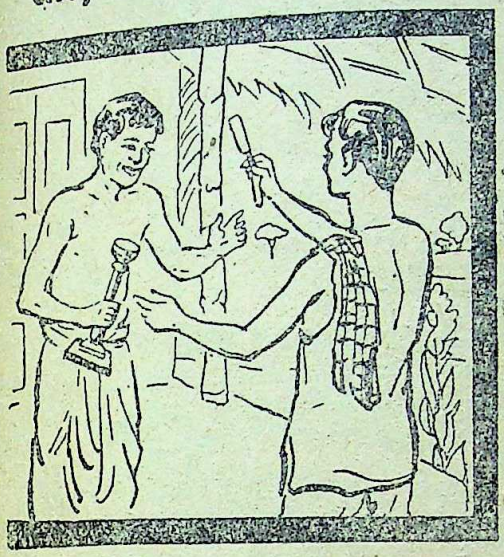

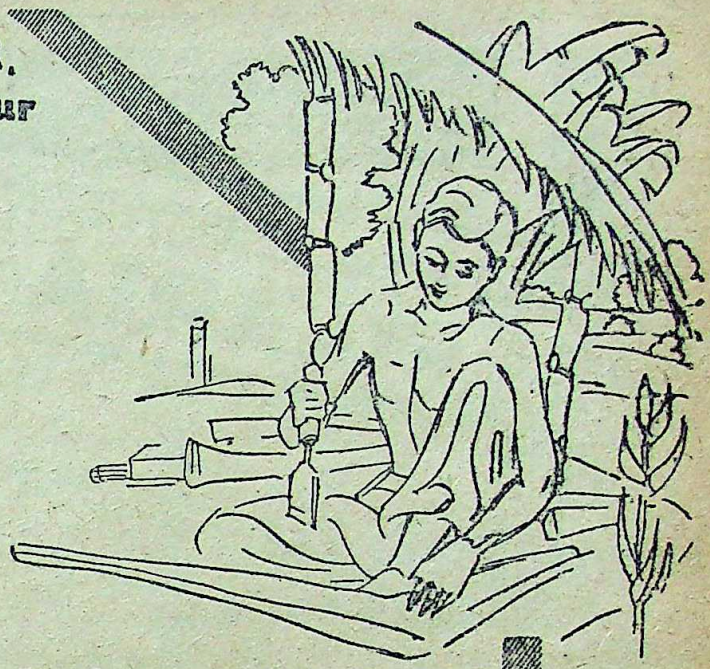

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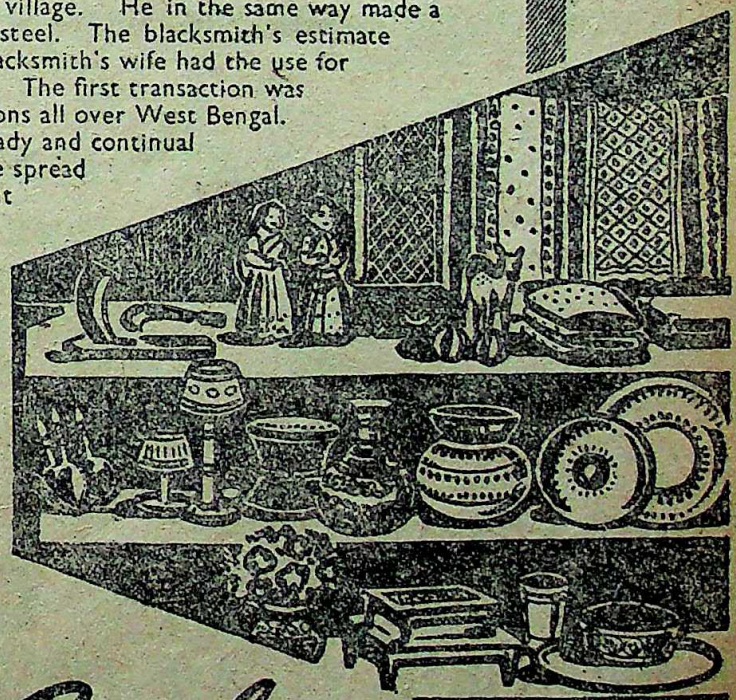

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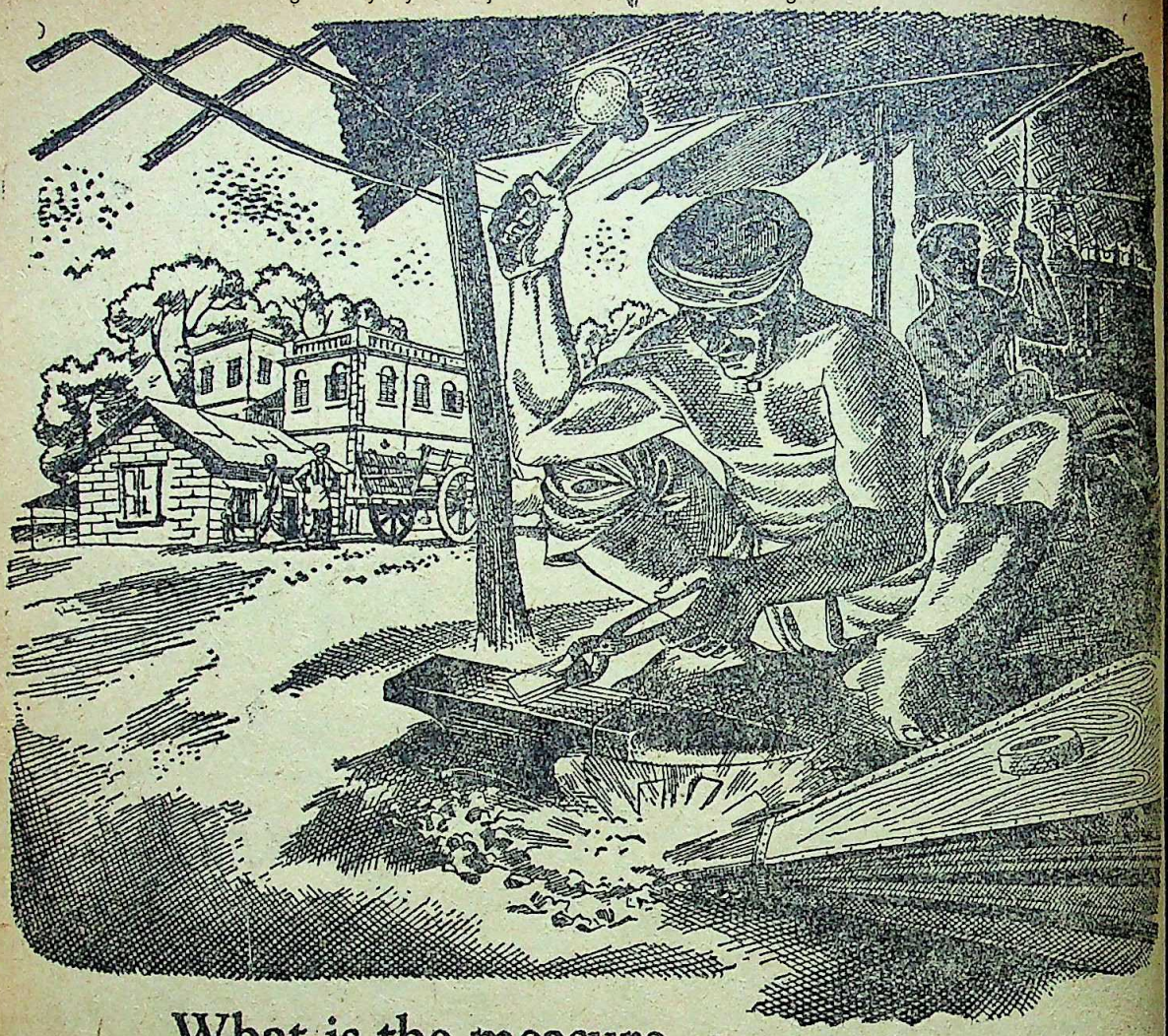

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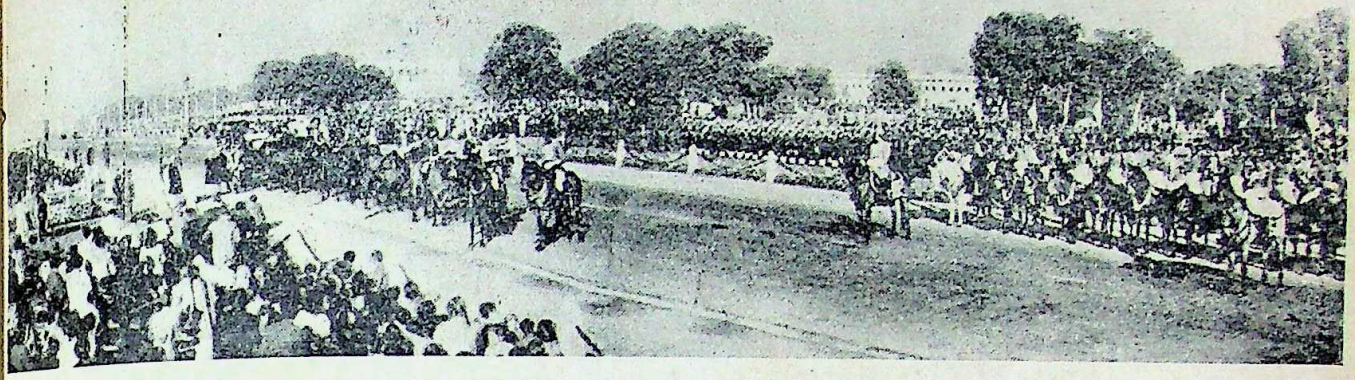

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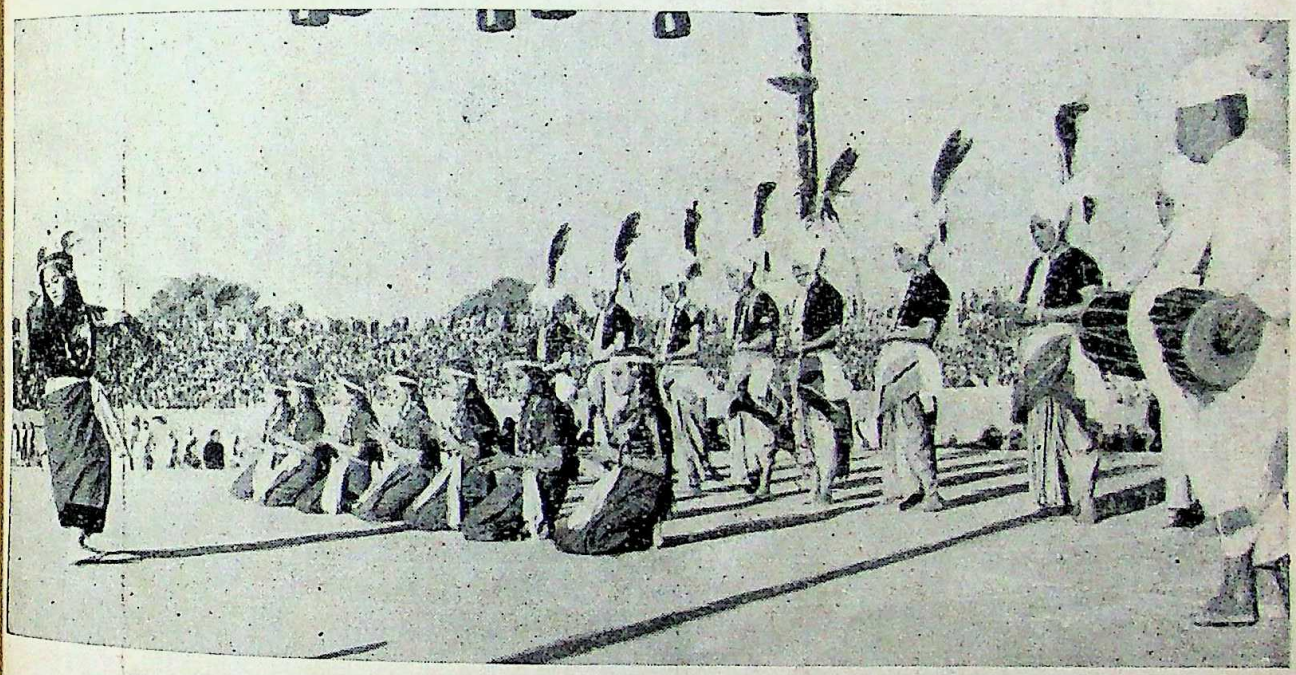

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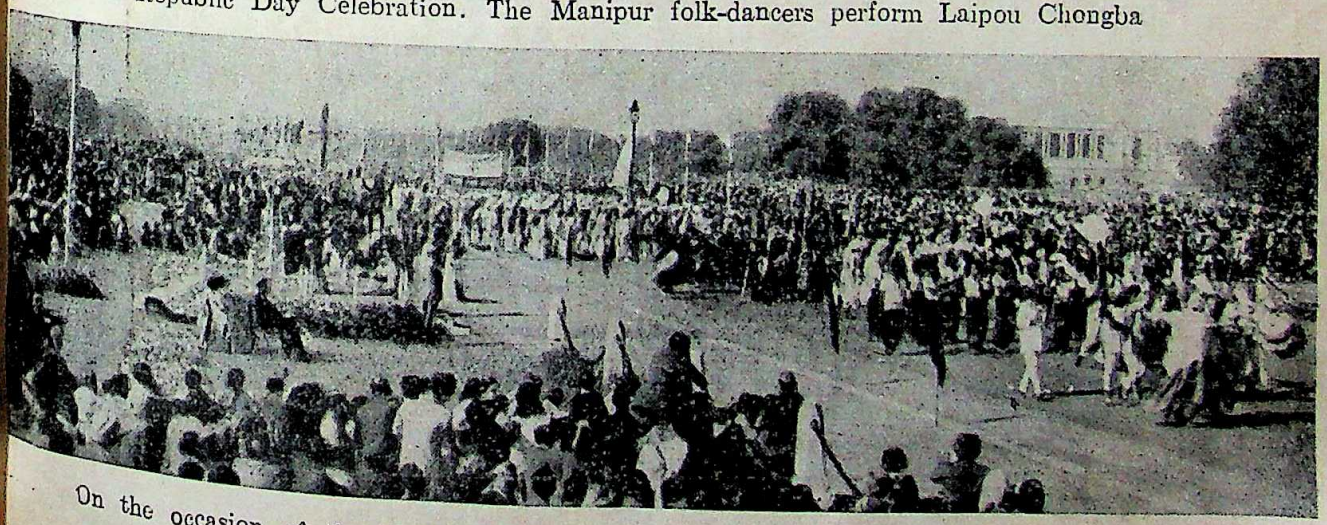

On the occasion of the Indian Republic Day folk-dancers march past the Presidential dais

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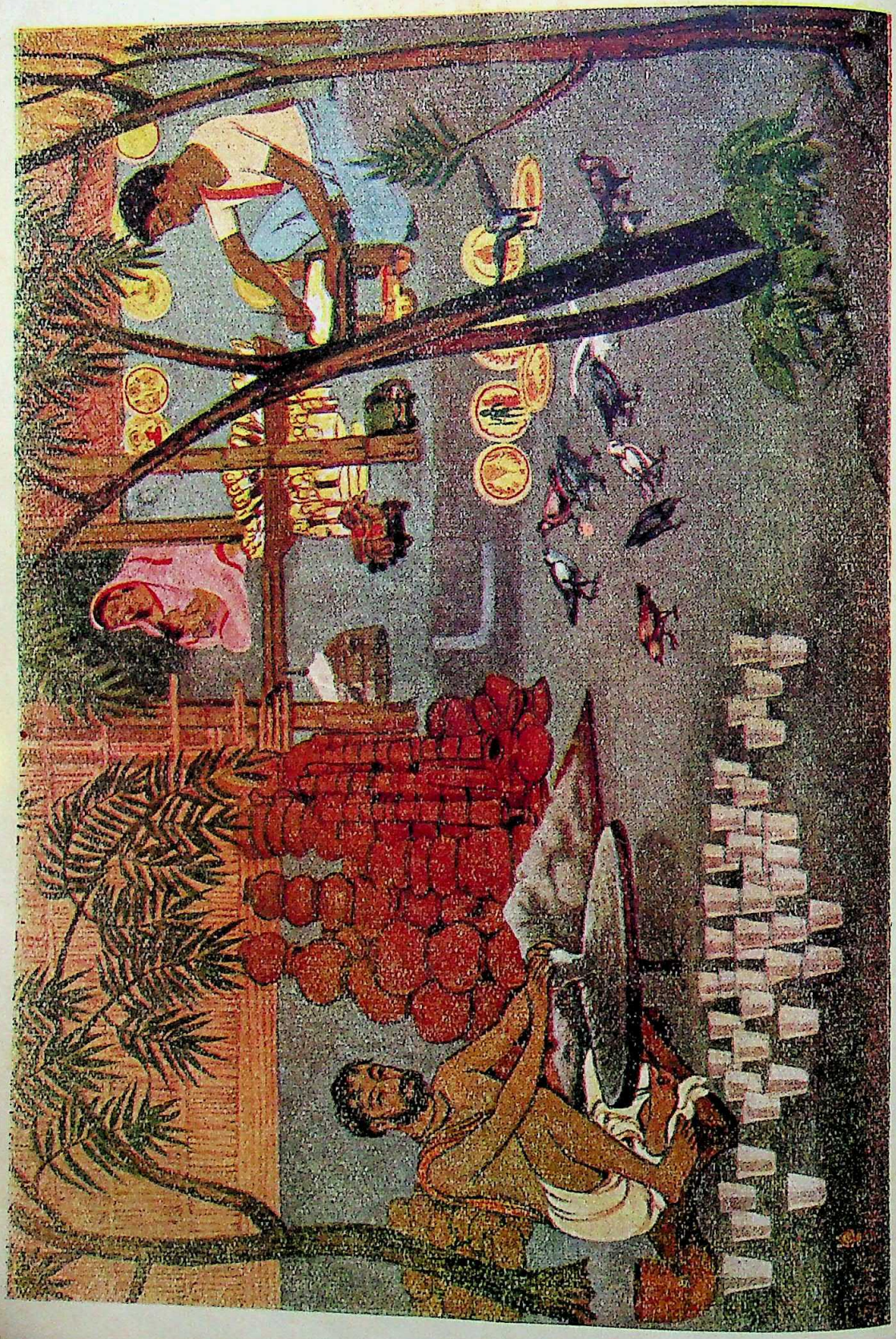

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The Whirlwind

The agitations and disturbances that followed the Central Government and Congress decisions on the S.R.C. Report, has left a bitter taste in the mouth of those who were dreaming of national solidarity and the democratic way of life. Pandit Nehru has been uttering jeremiads, punctuated by fulminations, ever since and the 61st session of the Congress at Amritsar was held under the shadow of that ominous apprehension of internal strife generated by the happenings at Bombay and Orissa.

Disruptionists have had a short, but intensely exciting, season of Saturnalia in Bombay and Puri and almost a field-day in Calcutta, on the 24th of February, when the West Bengal Government hastily abdicated for the day, under the threat of the riots that follow an uncontrolled *hartal*, if an attempt is made by the authorities to protect the peaceful and law-abiding citizens of that unhappy city who wish to carry on with their work.

We have given the extracts from the speeches of Pandit Nehru and the Congress President, with comments, elsewhere in these columns. We have studied them very carefully and as a result we have to come to the painful conclusion that the higher executive of the so-called Indian National Congress is becoming as estranged from its peoples as the Central and State Governments of India, and is—or pretends to be—as oblivious of realities as our bureaucratic Ministries. Indeed, it is becoming more and more apparent that the Congress is now playing only a second fiddle in the governmental orchestra.

The bonds that held the Congress close to the public in India were forged over a period of over six decades. Gandhiji not only strengthened them but he also extended it wide amongst the masses. In less than a decade the Congress has snapped most of the strands and there is now but a few thin strings left. Today the Congress as well as the Ministries at the Centre and the States is composed in the majority by self-seekers and careerists, who have neither the time nor the inclination to get into close contact with the public—excepting of course at election times when money and empty promises are broadcast over the electorate. As a result those that are at the head of affairs, have no means of ascertaining the real causes of unrest and strife, surrounded as they are by sycophants and claqueurs.

The Congress President seems to be as ignorant of the malady and malaise with which

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the public mind has been afflicted. He and Pandit Nehru both have exhorted the people and pointed out the dangers ahead, but neither of them have displayed any inclination to grapple with the real problems.

Why is it so easy for the trouble-maker and the disruptionists to raise the whirlwind? Why do the law-abiding—who are in the vast majority—refrain from helping the maintenance of Law and Order, even though they are the principal sufferers in the havoc caused by disturbances? How is it possible for so few to terrorise into submission so many? Has Pandit Nehru even tried to ask himself this question seriously? He cannot get the answer from those who surround him, because they neither know, nor do they care.

We do not pretend to be prophets or seers, but it is patent to all who try to mix with the various strata that go to make the complex of a nation that the main cause is loss of faith in the government. The public, by and large, does not believe that the government is able to maintain a fair standard of justice in its dealing with the common man, irrespective of his creed, status and racial sub-division.

Parochialism and party-favouritism is rife in all the circles of governmental administration. The favoured few get the plums, the rest do not even get a hearing. This is the consequence of men of little integrity and strength of character, and of poor ethical outlook, who make sycophants *par excellence*, being awarded high office and positions of consequence in the government and in the political caucus. As a result intrigue and jockeying for power and the "fruits" of office, is the order of the day.

Take the case of the Bengal-Bihar merger. The entire approach to the question has been hasty and ill-advised, both by the Chief Ministers and by their opposition. The one has offered it as a panacea for all evils, without taking into account the real problems that have to be provided against, the other has condemned it as a virulent poison, without reckoning the multiple benefits that might come out of it.

The whole affair is now in such a state that no reasonable man can even approach the subject in a decent fashion. And therefore he is inclined to declare "Plague on both thy camps" and retire.

There is no protection for the law-ab in these cases. Indeed, on the contrary.

Pandit Nehru in referring to the d bances termed them as "this whirlwind the following extracts from his speeche Amritsar indicate:

"Prime Minister Nehru made a m appeal to the Maharashtrians and Gujerati others living in Bombay City to 'shake h again and make friends.'

"The real problem today," said Mr. N "was to heal the wounds that Bombay suffered."

"He called upon all to 'get to grips this whirlwind and put an end to it and to together again.' He appealed to them to member that 'every question is easy to solv it is approached in a temperate and fri way and every question becomes ter difficult if it is sought to be solved by vio and coercive methods and threats.'

"If any Government is going to be threat and coerced by these riots, it had better r and go home and do something else. Cert our Government is not going to do that. It no intention of resigning and no intentio being hustled into any action which it disapp But it has every intention of trying to win goodwill of the people whom it has the h to represent."

"The events that had happened rec and the reaction to these events, said Mr. N 'made one feel that some people attached gr importance to State boundaries than to the u of India. Quite rightly, Kaka Saheb Gadgil said something about their not being abl control the strong feeling that had been arou on the issue. 'I can understand that,' said Nehru, 'if you sow the wind, you have to the whirlwind. You cannot run away from You are either sucked away by the whirlwind you fight it and control it. There is no way.'

"Perhaps many of us, all of us, have m mistakes in dealing with this question. May those mistakes were made in a *bona fide* but certain situations have arisen from them there is the whirlwind. This resolution, and call to the nation issued by the Working C mittee some two weeks ago or so, is respec offered to you and to the Congress as a chall

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to this whirlwind. And we shall fight it and control it and not give in to it (cheers). Giving in to the whirlwind and beng swept away by it means you surrender to chaos. That is the basic position that you have to face.

"The basic position that faces the country today is not that of deciding a particular matter rightly or wrongly. We can right a wrong.

"After all the country does not run away and we do not run away, but it does matter a great deal if we allow a situation in this country to deteriorate when neither good sense nor wisdom can play any part and violence takes the field. I say that is the question before the country, not the question of Bombay or Maharashtra or Bengal and Orissa or any other place. And so long as we do not settle that question clearly, the other questions do not arise. I do not care very much if this question is postponed except for the very valid reason that might make people think we are afraid and, therefore, we are postponing the issue. There is no sense of fear, I can tell you, only a sense of sorrow in our hearts that we should have been driven into these unhappy circumstances."

But the point that Pandit Nehru missed is that whether the decision is right or wrong, there must not be any suspicion in the minds of the people that the wrong decision was deliberate and that justice has been denied through unfair machinations. A genuine mistake, made in good faith, can be excused but not a series of wrongs unjustly contrived for justice must be apparent, which it is not in the R.C decisions.

President Dhebar also spoke in the same vein, first laying stress on Hindi as a State language and finally, at the end of his speech, coming to essentials.

"Referring to the need for a common language, Mr. Dehbar said: How can we think of a united India unless we understand one another? The spread of Hindi and the development of other languages in which the people speak and express themselves become inevitable for that purpose. We are apt to place too much reliance upon 'one-language one-State' formula. Switzerland, one of the most peaceful and prosperous countries in the world, has three languages. It is interesting to note that while the French, the Germans and the Italians having their own linguistic States have been quarrelling and even fighting with one another off and on, the Swiss having all the three languages in one State have always remained unaffected. It is the love and respect which we show to a language or languages that is the kernel of the unity of a nation."

"Concluding, Mr. Dhebar said: Our leaders in the Government are trying to exert themselves to the utmost to see that the maximum effort is made. I have only pointed out the three fundamental needs for the success of planning, a correct social approach, the urgent need for reorientation of our political and social institutions, and the need on the part of the Congress organisation to rise to the occasion by dragging itself out from the ruts of easy political propaganda to an organised constructive effort. Last time we considered the question of purity and strengthening of the Congress organisation. You know that a Standing Committee was appointed and it has worked out a programme. It was no part of my intention nor that of the Working Committee to approach the problem of purity and strengthening of the Congress organisation from a negative angle. We are earnestly trying to shift the emphasis from power to service. from expediency to fundamentals, and from mere routinal politics to constructive work. It is going to be a difficult going. But go he must. For it is only our organisation that stands to-day between ordered development and chaos and disruption of this country. Unless the direction is changed, we shall not be able to eliminate pettiness, individual and group loyalties and other ills that beset our organisation.

"We are entering into a crucial period of our history. Whether it is the Second Five-Year Plan, whether it is the States Reorganisation, whether it is the forthcoming elections or whether it is the goal of socialism, the deciding factors ultimately will be a trustworthy leadership, and efficient and an incorruptible administration, and a live, active and zealous organisation, firm in its faith, clear in its objective and loyal to its fundamentals. No revolution in the world has succeeded that has not given to the people these three things. We have the good fortune to posess in Panditji a leader who has carried with him and is still carrying with him the trust of our people, perhaps unequalled anywhere."

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The Harijan

It is with a heavy heart that we reproduce extracts from the editorial of the last issue of the *Harijan*. We feel that this swan-song should be put on record, to show how far the people have deviated from the Gandhian path, as indicated by his disciples:

"In the previous issue of 18-2-56 I had described the circumstances under which it was decided to close the publication of the three historic *Harijan* papers. It is natural to feel regret for this. However, I think, the feeling will not be as intense or keen as it was three years ago, when it was similarly decided. I say so because I feel that, looking from all sides of the matter, the time for taking such a step is ripe enough now. Therefore I hold that the decision of the Navajivan Trust is timely.

These papers have given a very valuable contribution in bringing about the Gandhian Age of India's modern history. They were started for that purpose. Gandhiji started *Young India* and *Navajivan* in 1919-20; a few years later was started the *Hindi Navajivan*. Thus began the first stage of these papers.

In 1930-32 they came to be closed consequent upon the action of the British Government against our fight for Swaraj. Similar causes necessitated Gandhiji's famous fast unto death in jail in 1933. As we know the fast was occasioned by the movement for removal of untouchability. The three papers started again under their new name of the *Harijan*, and they continued to be issued till the advent of freedom as its witness and bold mouthpiece.

Gandhiji passed away in 1948. Some felt then that as his voice was hushed with him, it would not be right to continue the three papers which were Gandhiji's voice as it were. The papers were accordingly stopped.

Against this there was another equally strong view which held that the papers should still continue to expound and guide the people on Gandhian lines in the new stage of reconstruction as well. The trustees agreed with the latter view and the papers were restarted in April, 1948 under the editorship of late Shri K. G. Mashruwala.

The history of the papers since then is fresh to the readers. The most noteworthy change in this new phase of the papers was that they began to function in a period when they could not have the benefit of soaring on the wings of the a fight for Swaraj, but must plod on the dreary p of constructive activities, say with bullock- speed. We might therefore well say that papers entered quite a new stage of their ca That they could not really be the physical voi Gandhiji was obvious, as he was no more wit However they were undoubtedly Gandhiji's pap and as such they were rightly expected to note observe the march of events in New India kee in view the Gandhian principles.

To do such a job when Gandhiji was no with us was bound to be rather hard and diff The reason is obvious. There had begun to a in our midst differences of ideas, ideals and nions at every stage of implementing the nati programme of reconstruction. This could be served happening even when Gandhiji was wit for the few months after the advent of indep ence. Thereafter the process has gone on show itself more explicitly. Today it is quite man If I am permitted, I may say that India's his of the Gandhian Age begins its new chapter u Jawaharlalji. The closure of these papers at time, I therefore feel, is only a result of the na turn of history in India. Decreasing number subscribers and increasing loss to the manage may well be said to be its obvious symptoms

"What do we desire to do about rebuil India now? What should be done about Gandhiji has answered this question from deepest of his heart in his eternal prayer fo —"Lord of Humility" (*Harijan*, 11-2-'56, p. 3 as follows:

"Lord of Humility. dewlling in the pariah hut,.....give us the ability and wi ness to identify ourselves with the masses India....."

"How can we do it? How can we s Daridranarayan? India's poor man dwellin his village hut is generally without gainful ployment worth the name. He needs honou work. That only can give him honest and respectful bread. Such work should be prov for him at his house in the villages of India. can be possible only through his plough and a of land and its inseparable ally—his home village industries. The latter must be so re nized—must find an honourable place in development plans and economy. Their place in the nation's rise to real freedom a rebuilding must be duly accepted."

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The Union Budget

The main feature of the Union budget for the year 1956-57 is the shift of emphasis on indirect taxation. The total revenue is estimated at Rs. 493.60 crores as against the revised estimates of Rs. 501.67 crores in the previous year. The estimates after taxation are placed at Rs. 527.75 crores. The expenditure is estimated at Rs. 545.43 crores. The total deficit on revenue account in the coming year is estimated at Rs. 51.83 crores, and after taxation the gap is expected to be reduced to Rs. 17.68 crores. The overall deficit both on revenue and capital accounts will be Rs. 390 crores. In the matter of direct taxation, the middle class has been spared, and only the higher income groups will be affected. While hitherto, the Government had been following the principle of "soaking the rich," this year they have decided to "soak the very rich." The presumption is that the rich has been partly upgraded to the level of the "very rich," and partly has been brought down to the level of the middle class by the cumulative effects of taxation in the past years.

The following is the summary of final estimates: (In lakhs of rupees)

REVENUE

	Revised 1955-56	Budget 1956-57
Customs	165,00	150,00
Union Excise Duties	140,00	145,45
		+25,00*
Corporation Tax	39,84	41,84
		+6,50*
Taxes on Income other than Corporation Tax	78,70	84,81
		+1,70*
Estate Duty	13	18
Opium	2,27	2,10
Interest	4,22	5,49
Civil Administration	14,21	11,06
Currency and Mint	23,13	23,67
Civil Works	2,38	2,39
Other Sources of Revenue	23,55	19,39
Post and Telegraphs-Net		..
Contribution to General Revenues	2,27	65
		+95*
Railways—Net contribution to general revenues	6,17	6,57
Total Revenue	501,67	493,60
		+34,15*

EXPENDITURE

Direct Demands on Revenue	33,08	31,15
Irrigation	12	5
Debt Services	37,85	35,50
Civil Administration	105,41	135,91
Currency and Mint	3,51	3,76
Civli Works	14,95	15,90
Pensions	8,98	8,84
Miscellaneous—		
Expenditure on displaced persons	24,62	21,42
Other Expenditure	26,62	30,23
Grants to States, etc.	35,79	38,00
Extraordinary items	13,36	14,70
Defence Service (Net)	185,07	203,97
Total Expenditure	489,36	545,43
Surplus (+) or Deficit (–)	+12,31	–17,68

(The figures with asterisks are the effects of budget proposals).

Among the new proposals for taxation are included the following important items: Excise duties on all categories of coton fabrics will be raised by 6 pies per square yard except dhoties and saris of the coarse category the duty on which will remain unchanged; there will be an increase in excise duties on straw-board, soap and art silk fabrics; new excise duties will be imposed on diesel and furnace oils and on vegetable non-essential oils; import duty on flashlights and flashlight cases will be raised from 39.28 per cent to 50.1 per cent; tea export duty in the present price range of Rs. 3-4 to Rs. 4 per lb. will be reduced by 2 annas per lb, *i.e.*, from 8 annas to 6 annas; the minimum charge for inland telegram has been raised from 12 annas to 13 annas for ordinary and from Rs. 1-8 to Rs. 1-10 for express; postal registration fee is increased from 6 to 8 annas; there will be a slight upward readjustment in supertax payable on income above Rs. 70,000-; rebate of 1 anna given to non-Section 23-A companies in respect of undistributed profits is withdrawn; while the rate of supertax payable by Indian companies will remain unchanged, there will be levied in addition a supertax on dividends above 6 per cent, the rate being 2 annas when the dividend distributed is in excess of 6 per cent but up to 10 per cent, and 3 annas on distributions above 10 per cent; there will be a tax of 2 annas on bonus issues; penal supertax on Section 23-A companies (pure investment companies) is raised from 4 annas to 8 annas in the rupee on

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undistributed profits, tax on registered partnership firms with income above Rs. 40,000 will be levied at 9 pies per rupee on incomes up to Rs. 75,000, at 1 anna per rupee on incomes up to Rs. 1,50,000, and 1½ annas on incomes above this figure.

Non-essential vegetable oils, on which the Finance Minister proposes to impose an excise duty of half-an-anna per pound include castor oil, groundnut oil, linseed oil, kardi oil, mustard oil, coconut oil, and sesamum oil. This duty which is expected to yield an estimated Rs. 5½ crores, would be levied only on factories operated by power, and the first 125 tons per year cleared for home consumption from any factory will be exempted from the duty. We are, however, at a loss to understand how mustard oil or coconut oil could be regarded as non-essential oils. Mustard oil is used by the Bengali people as the only cooking fat and so also is the coconut oil in South India. The levy of 1 anna per seer does not apparently seem much, but in reality it will make a great difference. This will give an opportunity to the dealers to raise the price of such oils by a much larger margin so as to reap higher profits. In this respect the consumers will be helplessly at the mercy of the dealers, the Government remaining a mute spectator.

The effect of the taxation proposals will be to raise Rs. 25 crores by new and increased excise duties, Rs. 10 crores by changes in income tax and Rs. 95 lakhs by enhancement of postal rates. The tea industry has suffered a setback in recent months in exports, the industry is practically facing a crisis with large accumulated stocks. It is regretted that the relief now being proposed to be given to the industry has not come a day earlier. The moral of the fable that you should not kill the hen that lays golden eggs is often forgotten in practical life and it brings hazards when it is overlooked by the Government. The higher rates of export duty on jute manufactures once brought a spell of disaster to the export trade of jute manufactures. Again, the Government ignored the impact of world competitive forces in tea export trade and the result is almost a slump in our tea trade. The depression in tea exports is partly attributable to the higher export duties, and partly to the closing of the London auction. Tea occupies the second place in our export trade and it is unfortunate that the authorities misjudged (or did not judge at all) the world market in tea. Ceylon and Indonesia are the close rivals of India in tea exports the raising of export duties by India c favoured the tea exports of these countries relief will have little effect in stepping exports, as its effect on prices will be insignif

Referring to the balance of payment Finance Minister observed that on the tre the first nine months' figures (1955), the as a whole might show a surplus of about R crores as compared with the deficit of Rs. 4 in the previous year. The sterling bal stood at Rs. 735 crores at the end of 19 compared to Rs. 731 crores at the beg of the year. The dollar position has als proved and India made a net contributi $53 million to the Central Reserve in 19 compared with the net withdrawal of $15 m in 1954. The projected increase in the pa development contemplated in the second would impose a heavy strain on our pay position in future. In urging a note of ca the Finance Minister observed that if the s Plan were to proceed according to sch "not only shall we not be able to achiev surplus in our external account but we are likely to be faced with fairly subs deficits." It is, therefore, necessary to pu exports by taking urgent and effective ste modernize and rationalize major industries jute and cotton textiles so as to make capable of withstanding foreign competition out efforts, the Finance Minister urged, required to encourage export industries otherwise to save or earn foreign exchange.

We may, however, point out that since India has been suffering trade deficits, wi exception of 1950 when there was a small s Even in 1955, India had trade deficits on c account. Exports during 1955 were valu Rs. 604 crores as against Rs. 563 crores 1954. Imports rose to Rs. 644 crores fro 616 crores in the previous year. The trade deficit declined from Rs. 53 crores to Rs. 40 crores in 1955. The Gove always cite the balance of payments p and in one sense that is correct beca reflects the total outgoings and incomings country. But it must not be forgotten th our balance of payments position the various items which are not at all earn India by her trade, but constitute a great being mostly loans from international like the IMF and other institutions and co

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The deficit in the balance of payments is balanced by what is known as the compensatory official financing and to that extent the picture of the external payments is misleading, at least it does not reveal correctly the balance on account of current trade.

In the next budget, Capital expenditure is estimated at Rs. 316.7 crores, of which Rs. 113 crores were for Railways, Rs. 26.3 crores for Defence, Rs. 44 crores for the three new Steel Plants, Rs. 20 crores for cash compensation to displaced persons, Rs. 9.5 crores for Government trading schemes mostly for purchase of foodgrains and Rs. 5 crores for the Life Insurance Corporation. In addition, the estimates include, against the original estimate of Rs. 355 crores, Rs. 327 crores in 1955-56 and Rs. 386 crores in 1956-57 for loans to State Government and others mostly for the execution of projects in the Plan.

During the next year the overall deficit is estimated at Rs. 390 crores, the whole of which is expected to be met by expansion of Treasury Bills. Regarding the Ways and Means position, the Government needs Rs. 52 crores for meeting the revenue deficit and Rs. 703 crores for financing the Capital Outlay and loan requirements. Against this, they hoped to raise Rs. 100 crores from the Market Loan, Rs. 70 crores from small savings, Rs. 85 crores from foreign aid and Rs. 110 crores from other miscellaneous debt and remittance transaction. This would leave a gap of about Rs. 390 crores to balance the budget. In other words, deficit financing shall have to be resorted to during the next financial year. Considering the result of deficit financing during the period of the first Five-Year Plan, it can be taken that deficit financing in such small doses can safely be absorbed by the system. In an underdeveloped economy like that of ours, deficit financing undertaken on productive purposes backed with the expansion of employment does not create inflationary conditions, provided of course there is higher taxation and continued flow of consumer goods. The high taxation is already there and the authorities should see that the country has an adequate supply of consumer goods and imports need be directed towards checking inflationary tendecnies.

Dearer credit structure is another deterrent to inflationary tendencies, and the Reserve Bank has already taken timely action in raising the advance rate against usance bills under the bill market scheme. If need be, the Bank rate may also be raised to make short-term borrowing, that is, speculation, a costly affair. As regards foreign assistance India has received economic assistance from friendly countries, mainly from the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The total aid authorized from April 1951 to date is of the order of Rs. 300 crores, of which Rs. 200 crores are expected to be utilised by the end of March 1956.

All-India Rural Credit Survey

The General Report of the all-India Rural Credit Survey Committee has now been for about a year before the public. Some of the more important of the many recommendations made in this report have gained added significance by reason of their substantial acceptance, as the basis of future policy in the sphere of rural credit, by the Central and State Governments, by the Reserve Bank itself and by various all-India bodies representative of official and non-official co-operative opinion. Plans for co-operative development in the various States, are being formulated on the basis of the integrated scheme recommended in the Report, and will be incorporated into the Second Five-Year Plan.

There has been a demand for a shorter version of the Report, not so short, however, as to obscure the argument or be a bare summary of facts and recommendations. An abridged edition has, therefore, been prepared by the Reserve Bank to meet that demand and also to make available the main contents of the full Report to as large a body of the public and co-operative and other institutions as possible. It is also hoped by the Reserve Bank that the abridged edition will serve as a convenient text for purposes of translation into the regional languages of the country.

The Committee made detailed studies regarding our agricultural economy and suggested various means for future development. The Report of the Committee made recommendations for the integrated development of the co-operative movement under the aegis of State partnership. The prescription for the reorganization of co-operative credit hitherto made or tried may be described as attempts to rectify the internal weaknesses of the credit structure without taking into account the weaknesses of the rural structure as a whole, much less its maladjustment to the external mechanism of urban trade and finance.

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Most reforms of the co-operative movement, attempted or effected, have therefore been in the nature of inevitably futile attempts to combine the weak against the strong in conditions in which the weak have had no chance. Thus, efforts have been concentrated on thrift, better living, multi-purpose activity, etc., without the prior preparation needed for correcting the maladjustment between the two economies. The Committee maintains that conditions must first be created in which co-operation can properly function. No criticism of the functioning is likely to be useful or fundamental unless those conditions are first created. The choice before co-operation is, therefore, indefinitely to continue in various degrees to be unable to help itself or to be helped in order that eventually it may not only help itself but need no other outside help.

That initial help, the Committee thinks, can only come from the State if it is to be of the requisite magnitude and of a type which will enable the co-operative organization to withstand the pressure of opposition of vested interests. The manner of the help, therefore cannot be administrative. The State's way of help hitherto has been to over-administer and under-finance. But that is no remedy for a total problem which may now be seen to be one, not of rural-minded credit alone, but of rural-minded credit in conjunction with rural-minded development of agriculture and rural-minded organization of marketing, processing, etc.

The total programme needed may be described as one of rural reorientation of the operative forces of the country's administrative and financial organization. It implies a combination of rural conscience, rural will and rural direction. Such a combination strong enough to be an over-riding factor in the situation has to come from Government and the more powerful institutions of Government. In Co-operation we have what may be described as a combination of the weak at the bottom. The State is or ought to be a combination for the weak at the top. An effective programme is possible only if the State at one end joins hands with Co-operatives at the other in an effort to bring about the rural-mindedness that is needed. The process of collaboration hitherto may be described not so much as the joining of hands as the occasional and ceremonial shaking of hands, the Committee observes.

Thus, through one important part of the Committee's recommendations runs the theme, not only of State guidance and State aid, but of State partnership with co-operatives in e processing, marketing, etc. Since the oper of the banking mechanism as a whole ha important bearing on the first of these aspects processing, marketing, etc., two other basic derations which underline different but com parts of the recommendations are the nee positive State association with a defined sec commercial banking and the need for State tive and State participation in the creation of able institutional means for the promoti storage and warehousing on an all-India sc

The Committee has recommended that Reserve Bank of India should establish two f namely, the National Agricultural Credit (L term Operations) Fund and the National Ag tural Credit Stabilisation Fund. The Reserve should contribute not less than Rs. 5 crore annum to the former and not less than Rs. 1 per annum to the latter Fund. The position gard to these contributions will be reviewed end of five years. In addition, there should initial non-recurring allotment of Rs. 5 crore the Long-term Operations Fund. The oper of these Funds and the planning and exec (within the Reserve Bank's own sphere) of programmes and policies for which they are tended to be utilized should remain the re sibility of the Reserve Bank and its Board their normal functioning, and should not vested in a separate body, statutory or oth

The Committee has suggested that out of Long-term Operations Fund, the Reserve should be enabled to make long-term loan State Government for the purpose of their cribing, directly or indirectly, to the share ca of co-operative credit institutions, whether are institutions which give short-term and med term credit (State co-operative banks, central operative banks, larger sized primary societies, etc.) or long-term credit (central mortgage banks, primary land mortgage etc.), provided the institution is one designed for giving rural credit, either in sphere of agricultural and ancillary activities of cottage and small-scale industries.

The Government of India have acc these recommendations of the all-India Credit Survey and the Reserve Bank Act has amended accordingly in 1955. Under new visions, the Reserve Bank is required to esta

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two Funds—the National Agricultural Credit (Long-term Operations) Fund and National Agricultural Credit Stabilisation Fund. The Long-term Operations Fund has already been credited with a sum of Rs. 10 crores, while the latter has not yet been provided with any credit. Under the terms of amendment, the Reserve Bank is required to contribute annually, commencing from the year ended June 30, 1956, a sum of Rs. 1 crore for a period of five years. The Government of India, however, can authorise the Reserve Bank to reduce or increase the amount of its annual contributions to these Funds.

The purpose of the Long-term Operations Fund is fourfold : (1) to give loans and advances to State Governments for subscribing, directly or indirectly, to the share-capital of co-operative credit societies. The State Governments should repay these loans on the expiry of fixed periods not exceeding twenty years from the date of making such loans ; (2) to give loans to State co-operative banks for agricultural purposes. These are to be medium-term loans and are required to be repaid not before 15 months and not exceeding 5 years ; (3) to give loans to central land mortgage banks for a period not exceeding 20 years ; and (4) to purchase debentures of central land mortgage banks. Loans and advances made to the co-operative banks and central land mortgage banks are subject to guarantee of repayment of both principal and interest by the State Governments concerned.

The increase in the share-capital of State co-operative banks will enable such banks to increase the volume of short-term agricultural credit now supplied by the Reserve Bank. The National Agricultural Credit Stabilization Fund will be utilised by the Reserve Bank for the purpose of granting medium-term loans to State co-operative banks, etc., in circumstances in which it is satisfied that short-term loans of which repayment to it has become due by the State co-operative banks, etc., cannot without serious dislocation to the credit structure of the State's co-operative system, be repaid in due time on account of famine, drought, etc., and consequently that repayment of such loans, or part thereof, may justifiably be allowed to be deferred. The short-term loan will be technically treated as repaid to the Banking Department, but in effect converted into a medium-term loan from the Reserve Bank's Stabilization Fund.

The recommendations of the all-India Rural Credit Survey Committee attached high priority to warehouse construction as an integral part of its scheme for establishing institutional system of establishing rural credit in India. To promote the planned development, on a country-wide basis, of facilities for the storage and warehousing of agricultural commodities (including commodities ancillary to agriculture or otherwise of importance to the rural economy of the country), with the object, among other things, of expeditiously bringing about conditions in which increased institutional credit will be available for agriculture and, ultimately of bringing about the ownership on a co-operative basis of as wide a network of godowns and licensed warehouses as possible, the Committee has suggested for the establishment of the National Development and Warehousing Board. The Government of India have accepted these recommendations and have decided to set up an all-India Warehousing Corporation and a series of State Warehousing Corporations. The Agricultural Ministry will set up no less than 1,700 warehouses and godowns in the principal mandis and markets of the country. These godowns will be owned by large-sized credit co-operatives which would cater to the needs of five villages in irrigated areas. Warehouses will facilitate proper grading of commodities. The Union Minister of Food and Agriculture, in his inaugural address at the meeting of the Agricultural and Food Products Division Council of the Indian Standards Institution held at New Delhi on February 18, emphasised the need for compulsory regulation, according to specified grades and standards of commodities, especially those meant for export.

State Trading in Food

The Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture recently came out with a statement contradicting some of the charges of wastage against the Food Ministry made in a pamphlet entitled *State Trading in Food*, published by the Employers' Association, Calcutta. The main charges made in the abovementioned pamphlet were that the Government had incurred a loss of Rs. 277.4 crores during the 10 years 1944-53 which could have been avoided if there was private trading instead of State trading ; there had been unduly large waste in Government storage of foodgrains ; and the handling charges incurred by the Government had been much higher than what would have been incurred by the trade.

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The Government statement pointed out that strictly speaking food transactions of the Government between 1943 and 1953 could not be called State trading as they did not fulfil the basic characteristics of such trading, *viz.*, purchase of products by the State-owned or State-controlled agency at the cheapest market with a view to their commercial resale at the dearest. "Procurement prices were fair prices and not the cheapest prices. Similarly, ration prices were also fair prices and not the highest prices that could be extorted from the consumer."

The statement continued to point out that much of the so-called loss of Rs. 277.4 crores over food transactions was accounted for by subsidies, bonuses and loss incurred as a result of decontrol. Subsidies had to be given to enable the ordinary consumer buy the imported foodgrains, procured at much higher cost, at a reasonable price. The subsidies had been granted in pursuance of a definite policy "firstly, to keep the prices within easy reach of the consumer and, secondly, to encourage procurement with a view to ensuring a fair distribution of available supplies. To describe the expenditures thus incurred a loss is, therefore, travesty of truth."

It pointed out further that the Government had agreed on the decontrol of foodgrains in the public interest as a matter of deliberate policy though they could easily have continued controls and thus avoided the loss incurred on decontrol.

"Thus," the statement added, "if subsidies, bonuses and the loss incurred on decontrol are taken as deliberate expenditure undertaken in the interest of the consumer, then not only was there no trading loss but, as will appear from the published accounts, a net profit of about Rs. 39 crores over a transaction of about Rs. 1,000 crores was made by the Government in the course of these ten years. This works out to a profit of about 4 per cent and shows how wide of the mark the conclusions reached in the pamphlet are." If Government had been guided by the profit motive they could easily have made a much larger profit.

Referring to the charge of unduly large waste in Government storage the statement pointed out that compared with 1 per cent loss for storage in such progressive countries as Australia and Belgium, and the average per cent allowed by private traders in I for storage of foodgrains, the loss sustained the Government of India during the pe 1946 to 1954 had never exceeded 10 per c "In fact in 8 out of the 9 years the loss va from 00.28 per cent to .73 per cent. By standard this must be regarded as a very g record."

"The administration of food was un taken by the Government at a time when country was threatened with acute shor of food supply and when there was no de of anti-social elements in the country. main consideration for the Government at time was not the price of foodstuffs but to avoid a repetition of the tragedies of Bengal Famine. The grant of subsidies, fixation of issue prices, procurement prices, were all based on a deliberate policy desi to protect the interests of the poorer sectio the population. Private trade could never obtained the urgently needed foodstuffs on same terms as they were arranged by Government," the statement added.

Hindi and non-Hindi Areas' Deman

In the September, 1955 session of Madras Legislature the State Government introduced a resolution for consideration of Questionnaire issued by the Official Lang Commission appointed by the Govern of India. In the Upper House of the Leg ture an amendment had been moved to resolution adding, "and, on such consider this Council resolves to request the Go ment of Madras, in framing their repli the Questionnaire, to incorporate the follo principles and suggestions in their reply:

(1) That, for purposes of administra the State should use the regional language languages ultimately and that Hindi c be adopted for this purpose.

(2) That for the limited correspon between the Central Government or any State and the local State, the State shoul lize the services of translators and interp to the extent necessary.

(3) That, so far as the Union P Service Examinations are concerned, the just method of ensuring equality of oppor for people both in the Hindi and non-

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speaking areas, as laid down in the Constitution, would be to permit candidates to choose a language or languages mentioned in the Constitution and to fix quotas according to the number of persons speaking such language or languages in the country.

(4) That so far as Court languages are concerned the regional language or languages should be used in the courts of the State and in the High Court of the State.

(5) That the language or languages used in the State Legislature should be the regional language or languages and that in Parliament, representatives of the different States should be afforded all facilities to speak in the regional languages mentioned in the Constitution.

(6) That all public servants recruited to the Central Services should be required, after their selection to such services to pass a test or tests in Hindi if they are from non-Hindi-speaking areas and in one of the other languages of the Constitution if they are from a Hindi-speaking area.

(7) That there is no necessity for using Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form.

(8) That so far as the medium of instruction in primary schools, secondary schools, Universities, etc., is concerned, the sound principle that has been enunciated by all educationists that the mother-tongue is the natural medium to be employed by progressive stages, should be borne in mind and if and when English is to be replaced, it should be replaced by the mother-tongue of the particular region.

(9) That finally, in the opinion of the Council, the question of replacement of English by a suitable regional language should be dealt with, taking into consideration the possibilities of the regional language being utilized at different stages of instruction and particularly in regard to higher education, technical, technological and professional, and also the extent to which well-qualified personnel in these higher branches of learning will be available to meet the needs of the changed situations.

(10) That due importance should be given to the study of an international language (English) during the stage of University and higher education, even after the adoption of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction."

The Minister-in-charge Shri M. Bhaktavatsalam said: "In this connection, Sir, I would like to pay a tribute to the manner in which Madras University had prepared their considered replies to the various points raised in the questionnaire. I could say at once that I generally agree with the opinions expressed by the Madras University and I see that the amendment moved by the Hon. Member, Shri Raza Khan more or less embodies the reply given by the University. I can also say that I generally agree with the broad views expressed in the amendment . . ."

The amendment had, however, been withdrawn at the request of Government.

Referring to the aforementioned proceedings in the Madras Legislature Shri Maganbhai P. Desai points out in an article in the *Harijan*, February 18, that the amendment, though not approved by the Assembly, represented, in general, the considered opinion of the University, the Legislature and the Government of Madras. "Shortly understood, we might say that it describes how a non-Hindi State would wish its regional language to be used in its affairs—educational, administrative, judicial, legislative, etc."

Shri Desai writes, the points made in the aforesaid amendment were quite reasonable and must be implemented as part of an all-India policy together with the introduction of compulsory study of Hindi in all schools and colleges with a view to equipping the citizens with a knowledge of Hindi, the medium for all-India and inter-State relations.

Bengal-Bihar Merger

The proposal for merging West Bengal and Bihar into a new State was endorsed by the Amritsar session of the Indian National Congress. It appeared that though generally the Congress leaders were unanimous in commending the idea of merger in the case of West Bengal and Bihar many of them were not prepared to extend the principle of bilingual States to their own regions.

The Communist Party of India opposed the proposal for merger on principle and reiterated its demand for the formation of States on linguistic basis. The attitude of other parties were varied and often self-contradictory.

The Bihar Assembly approved the pro-

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posal for merger of Bihar and West Bengal by 156 votes to 35 on February 25.

In West Bengal, the Government was to introduce the motion for the approval of the merger plan on Friday, the 24th February but did not do so by interpreting the vote on an opposition amendment, on the motion of thanks to the Governor for his opening address to the Legislature, as an expression of support for the proposed union of West Bengal and Bihar.

The Opposition objected to such an interpretation by the Government and the Speaker ruled that the Government interpretation was not correct and that the rejection of an opposition amendment to the motion of thanks to the Governor could not be taken as a verdict in favour of the union of West Bengal and Bihar, so that the West Bengal Assembly was yet to decide its attitude on the merger proposal.

Meanwhile on February 24, when the motion for merger was originally scheduled to be introduced in the Assembly, Calcutta had a complete and 24-hour *hartal*.

States Reorganization and Unity

In an article entitled "Whither Swaraj" in the *Harijan* for February 11, 1956, the editor Shri Maganbhai Prabhudas Desai makes some comments on the developments following the publication of the report of the States' Reorganization Commission.

The reorganization of States on linguistic basis, writes Shri Desai, was "as important and consequential as the merger of Indian States of the British regime" and this "was and is surely one of the first few things that should be achieved under Swaraj."

The measure was already too long delayed and now to postpone or put it in cold storage out of despair "would be another mistake." If the idea of partitioning the country into five or six zones had been put forward as an alternative of reorganization of States out of a weakness and fear to face the issues squarely as an escapist move, Shri Desai avers, "then we might take it that it will hardly profit us by delivering the goods."

People, were asking for reorganisation of States with a view to securing better conditions for the establishment of true Swaraj in the country and the problem should consequently be viewed from the fundamental point of the interest of the masses. "It is necessary that administration under Swaraj should be conducted in their language. If we let go this points of approach, then what else is principle on the basis of which we might guide ourselves when thinking out the reorganization?" Shri Desai asks.

The question of linguistic redistribution of States had got mixed up with the politics of industrial and economic development and therefore it was hanging too heavily on the minds of the politicians or the diplomats, he adds.

Comintern under fire

The Communists always claim to be right. And woe betide a man who dares to oppose the accepted views of the Communists on any question. The position of such a man becomes unenviable if he happens to be one of the members or is living in a country under Communist domination. The current Communist is of right or wrong, especially in matters concerning the Party's political analysis and assessment of party personalities, is interesting indeed. When Tito is denounced as a deviationist and an agent-provocateur in the ranks of the party the Party is right and when Tito afterwards restored to grace and is acclaimed a Champion of the proletariat the Party is right. Not only that notwithstanding such *volte face* the Party's stand must be considered to have always been right. In our country the Communists, frequent admissions of mistakes by adopting equally mistaken policies are quite well known. The Tito affair has apparently shaken the Communist world to its foundations and admissions of mistakes made on the part of the all-righteous Soviet Communist Party are also being made.

During the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a statement was issued under the joint authority of five European Communist Parties (of Italy, Poland, Bulgaria, Finland and USSR) to the effect that the dissolution of the Polish Communist Party by the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the charge that the leadership of the Communist Party of Poland had been extensively infiltrated by enemy agents had been quite unjustified.

The Polish Communist organ *Trybuna L*

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in a leading article on February 19, 1956 on the matter writes that the charge of enemy infiltration of the Communist party leadership in Poland was wholly trumped-up. "The evidence for it had been faked by a gang of saboteurs and provocateurs whose real role was only brought to light after Beria was unmasked. The spuriousness of the accusations then made against many of the most loyal comrades from the C. P. P. leadership, comrades who were highly appreciated by the party, has now been irrefutably established. The party honour of these comrades has been re-established, and they have been fully rehabilitated."

But the tragic irony is that many of those leaders are no longer alive to be physically "rehabilitated." The "rehabilitation" is on paper only.

The statement issued by the five Communist parties have deeper implications and may portend a change of inter-party relationship.

Secondly, the revelations in the statement coming so soon after the admission of mistakes in the treatment of Yugoslav Communist party bring to light the sordid depth to which even some internationally hallowed Communist luminaries may descend to prop up their personal leadership.

Mountaineer Spies

Some time back two Welsh climbers, Sidney Wignald and John Harrop, had been arrested by the Chinese authorities for illegally entering into Tibet. However, subsequently they were let off by the Chinese authorities through the intervention of the Government of Nepal. However, the two climbers did not apparently consider it necessary to explain their position and reasons for entry into Tibet to the Government of Nepal through whose efforts their release had been secured.

In a note to the British Embassy at Kathmandu, the Nepalese Foreign Office lodged a protest at the conduct of the two men and demanded an "unstinted apology" from the Welsh Expedition. The Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain which had backed the six-member Welsh Expedition was also sent a copy of the Note.

The conduct of the two Welshmen was queer to say the least and would tend to confirm the suspicion held in many quarters that the spate of recent expeditions to the Himalayan region was not wholly prompted by considerations of genuine geographical and scientific interest and there was great political motive behind those expeditions. The Government of Nepal had already indicated their approval of these expeditions. But the Government of India also had some responsibility to see that her relations with her neighbours did not get strained through the activities of unscrupulous foreigners at her border areas.

Ceylonese Chauvinism

So long both the Sinhalese and Tamil languages were accorded equal status. But now under pressure from Sinhalese fanatics the ruling United National Party of Sir John Kotelawala unanimously adopted a resolution to make Sinhalese the only official language of Ceylon. The claims of the minority Tamils to give their language an equal status was totally ignored. The Parliament of Ceylon was dissolved to give the people an opportunity to indicate their attitude to the issue of an official language.

In a leading article on February 25, the *Hitavada* writes: "The economic condition of Ceylon requires the full co-operation of every section of the population to make any progress and it will be the height of folly to antagonise a substantial part of the population for satisfying the linguistic variety of the majority. Sir John Kotelawala was long known as a moderating influence on Sinhalese extremism and it is a tragic development for the unity of the island that he has been swept along by the current of linguistic fanaticism."

The decision of the Ceylon Government to hold fresh elections on the issue of the official language was commendable and it spoke for Sir John Kotelawala's regard for constitutional proprieties, the newspaper notes. "But it must also be pointed out here that the present time is particularly convenient to the ruling party to make a good show at the polls, as several lakhs of Ceylon Indians are without franchise rights, still struggling to meet the stringent requirements of the citizenship Act and the vexatious demands of officialdom. It is also stated that the election may not be held for registered citizens of Indian origin, who are

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placed on a separate electoral register to return four representatives under the Indo-Cyelon Pact on citizenship." In a straight fight, in such circumstances, between the Sinhalese-speaking and the Tamil-speaking peoples the result was bound to go in favour of the Sinhalese majority, it adds.

The *Sunday Observer*, weekly newspaper from Madras, writes with reference to the affairs of Ceylon that there were matters in which a majority decision, while being proper in other fields, was not at all just. In a multi-national country like Ceylon where sizable parts of the population spoke different languages the decision regarding the adoption of an official language was such an issue where the views of the minority could be disregarded only at the peril to national unity.

The newspaper commended to the Government of Ceylon the example of Switzerland where there were four official languages with a view to accommodating the legitimate aspirations of the various nationalities; and writes that "Government and people of Ceylon will save their country by their wise decision in this matter of official language."

Pakistan Boycotts SEATO Exercises

Pakistan boycotted the three-day SEATO military manoeuvres held from February 15 on Thailand's eastern border adjoining Laos because she felt insulted over the fact that she had been notified about it just one week before the actual date. Australia and New Zealand, two other members of SEATO, were also reluctant at first to join the exercise but eventually decided to participate so that the first SEADO military exercise—called operation 'Firm Link'—was undertaken by the forces of six of the eight SEADO countries: U.K., U.S.A., Thailand, Philippines, Australia and New Zealand.

Giving the background to Pakistan's public non-co-operation with the SEATO powers Shri K. Bahaman, New York correspondent of the *Hindu*, notes that "Pakistan's anger over being treated as a poor relation is understandable, especially considering that it was she, along with Thailand and the Philippines, who originally suggested that such manoeuvres be held in order to dramatise SEATO before Asian eyes and to show to doubters that SEATO meant business. The organisers of the manoeuvres are saying that the short notice deliberately given, as part of the exercises demonstrate how quickly SEATO members mobilise their forces in an emergency. T explanation does not, however, appear, so to have washed with Pakistan, whose offi are reported, by the *New York Times*, to that the country was invited as an afterthou after all arrangements had been made."

Antarctica

India asked the U. N. Secretary-Gen to place the question of Antarctica on provisional agenda of the Eleventh Gen Assembly scheduled to meet late this year.

Press Trust of India adds: "Conflic claims to overlapping wedges of the S Polar Continent have been made so far United Kingdom, Chile and Argentina. T United States has made no claims on region but at the same time, she does not re nise any claims made by other nations eit The situation is complicated by the fact France, Australia, New Zealand and Nor are also now reported to have staked out cl on the Polar map. The Polar Continent i dentally has been the scene of increased st and exploration in recent months in connec with the International Geophysical Year.

Among the nations now establishing b for exploration is also the Soviet Union."

Britain Abolishes Capital Punishmen

The British House of Commons dec by 293 votes to 262 to abolish the death pen for murder. The decision was arrived at by House on February 17 on a "free vote" o Labour amendment to a Government prop for the retention of death penalty with ma cations of murder law. Opposing the La amendment for the abolition of death pe the British Home Secretary, Major L George said: "This is not the time when ca punishment may safely be abolished" agreed to act on the vote of the House. was the second occasion since the last when the House of Commons on a free decided to abolish death penalty. To be law the measure would have to come thr the House of Lords with a favourable m rity.

Describing the decision of the House

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Commons as a "wise vote" the *Bombay Chronicle* editorially writes that if death penalty was eventually "done away with by an act of Parliament, there will be, if not a gain for all who have reverence for life at least an indication of progress in what is, in the final analysis, a social problem."

The idea of capital punishment, if continues, was an extension of the shameful and primitive concept of a tooth for a tooth and life for a life. As a deterrent to crime the value of death penalty was dubious since statistics showed that there was no increase in murderous crimes consequent on or subsequent to the abolition of death penalty. "As a reformative measure (that is, preventing a criminal from returning to crime) its value is made meaningless by its finality. Besides, modern methods of penological reform and the approach to the criminal from the psychological rather than the vengeful point of view obviate this total punishment."

In an article in the weekly magazine section of the *Hindu*, February 26, Mr. D. Compton-James mentions several instances of judicial error in deciding guilt of persons. Besides the risks of error in justice "there is also the risk that human or mechanical faults may inflict severe suffering on the prisoner. The classic case is that of John Lee, the man they could not hang . . ."

Then there was the question of women murderers. Pregnant women were not hanged because that would take an innocent life as well.

The effects of inflicting capital punishment on the personnel concerned were also not pleasant. "There is a high suicide rate among executioners," Mr. Compton-James writes.

Goa and Cold War Diplomacy

T. B. Cunha, Chairman, Goa Action Committee, writes in an article in the weekly *People*, February 19, that the obstinacy evinced by a third class power like Portugal over the question of Goa could be understood only in the context of Portugal's involvement in cold war diplomacy. True, the present dictators of Portugal could not come round to a suggestion for the liberation of a colonial population when it refused even the smallest freedom to its own people at home. A surrender on the colonial question would lead to a loss of prestige and be fatal for the dictatorship. But the chief inspiration and courage for its obstinacy over the Goa issue, even at the risk of incurring the displeasure of such a great country like India, came from "underhand Anglo-American interference" in the matter. This aspect of the problem would be made clear when it was recalled that as late as in 1946 the Portuguese Minister for Colonies, Professor Marcelo Caetano, had almost given up Goa when he had declared that the future of Goa was for the Goans to decide.

Shri Cunha notes that for three centuries down to the eve of the Second World War, Portugal had lived under the protection of the British. "The Second World War which had brought the downfall of the British supremacy led Portugal to seek more powerful protectors. In the first part of that war, Salazar had ostensibly sided (with) the victorious Nazi Germany, openly denied the bases of Azores to the Allies and ceded an aerial base to Japan (?), in spite of the centuries-old alliance with the British. But at the end of the war, when the fall of Hitler was already in sight, he sought the protection of the United States."

Britain and America were now rivals of each other in the Portuguese colonial market and the USA was gradually driving out Britain from her erstwhile dominating position. According to Shri Cunha, "Britain is no more able to exercise any pressure on Portugal but can, on the contrary, be blackmailed by her former protege. America too with her insatiable ambition for war bases on the continent as well as in the wealthy colonies of Mozambique and Angola is keen on maintaining friendly relations with the obliging dictatorship. Both the United States and Britain are courting Portuguese favour. That explains their dubious attitude in the case of Goa, their 'manoeuvres behind the scenes' denounced by our Prime Minister."

Shri Cunha concludes: "The undue interference of the big powers in our affairs is an affront to the independence and sovereignty of this country. India has every right to ask them to keep off from a matter which concern only us and not to allow them to meddle in a subject of our exclusive interest."

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World Population.

According to the estimate made by the Statistical Officer of the United Nations Organization, world population as of mid-year 1954 stood at 265.5 crores. Some of the breakdowns were: Africa 214,000,000; Asia 1,451,000,000; North America 233,000,000 and the USSR 214,500,000.

Free Honours and Titles

While in India, Marshal Bulganin, the Soviet Premier and Mr. Khruschev, the Soviet Communist Party Secretary, had been offered honorary doctorate degrees by the University of Delhi but they had gently refused to accept the honours saying that in their country such honours had to be earned and, therefore, they could not take them gratis.

Referring to that incident Shri Maganbhai Desai writes in *Harijan*, February 4: "Does not the incident . . . give us a wholesome lesson when we are falling an easy prey to the monarchical tradition?"

Shri Desai points out that the system of showing respect to persons by conferring honours and titles on them "we have learnt and adopted from the British. Our Universities have started conferring doctorates with unseemly haste! And Government, too, is creating Padma . . . and Bharat . . . every six months or year . . ."

He adds that while honours and titles might have a place in monarchical Britain such apish imitation of the imperialist British by Republican India did her little credit.

Assembly Proceedings Annulled

On February 24, when West Bengal observed a 24-hour hartal, some of the Congress members attended the Assembly and the Government got the Premises Tentancy Bill passed in the absence of the Opposition members. On the following day Opposition members challenged the validity of the proceedings of the Assembly on February 24. According to the report published in the *Statesman*: "The Opposition directed their attack mainly on two points. They alleged that the Speaker had lowered the dignity of the Chair and of the House by allowing, at the suggestion of Dr. Roy, the Government, to 'rush through' the contentious Premises Tenancy Bill on Friday in the absence of the Opposition. It was conten that Friday's proceedings were *ultra vires*. Jyoti Basu (Communist) moved a resolu suggesting that the Tenancy Bill and acceptance of the motion for consideration the Panchayat Bill be rescinded.

"They also alleged that the Speaker violated his own ruling given only three d ago by allowing a Government member to a division on an amendment which had b moved by a member from the other side of House.

"The second attack was led by Bankim Mukherjee and Mr. Bibhuti Gh who alleged that the Speaker had, 'under influence of the Chief Minister' changed ruling he had originally decided to give on question of privilege over display in *Am Bazar Patrika* and *Jugantar* of the news of Assembly voting on Monday on an amendm to the motion of thanks to the Governor cr cizing the Government's failure to t measures to counter the move to amalgam West Bengal and Bihar.

"The Speaker categorically stated that charge made by Mr. Mukherjee and Mr. Gh was 'untrue and mischievous.' He explai the circumstances in which he had accep the Government's suggestion to proceed w the Tenancy Bill on Friday and said he adjourned the House after a 35-minute si in the interest of the Opposition. On Mr. Ba resolution, he said it deserved careful consid tion and added he would give his ruling o subsequent day.

"During the discussion, Dr. Roy also c in for a good deal of criticism. His presence the House was demanded repeatedly and was described as 'a despot, a dictator who reduced democracy in West Bengal to mockery.'

"He was charged with contempt of House for a statement which, according to unrevised verbatim proceedings of Friday, had made saying: 'The Opposition members not come. They do not take things serious The other day they came and asked us to b the House adjourned on account of the d of Dr. Meghnad Saha.'

"Mr. Joyti Basu said this was a reflec on the Opposition and on the House it Moreover, Dr. Roy's reference to the adjo

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ent on account of Dr. Saha's death amounted a reflection on the Chair. There was, Mr. Basu said, no difference of opinion about that djournment and the Speaker had acted accordng to the desires of the members.

"Mr. P. C. Sen, Deputy Leader of the ongress party, said the report from which the pposition were quoting was an unrevised ersion.

"Mr. Basu then moved his resolution demanding cancellation of the decision and quoted rom May's Parliamentary Practice to support is contention that this was admissible under arliamentary procedure. He believed that uch a step had been taken in the Lok Sabha n the Constitution Bill. The matter raised by im was very serious and he thought that emocracy is in jeopardy in West Bengal'."

Giving his ruling on February 28, on the oints raised by the Opposition, the Speaker dmitted that the proceedings of the Assembly n Friday, the 24th February, had not been in rder. The *Statesman* report says :

"Giving his ruling on Tuesday the Speaker aid that it was a rule of general application n all Parliaments that no question should be ffered in the same session that was substanially the same as one on which a verdict had lready been given by the House.

"This rule, however, applied only when a uestion substantially the same as one on which previous decision was given was proposed. his rule did not apply, and had not been pplied to the case of an open rescission of a revious decision of the House because a motion hat a decision be rescinded could not be said be the same as that a Bill be passed.

"May, he continued, had, in his *Parliaentary Practice* expressed the same proposion. Lord Asquith also, when Prime Minister, ad moved a motion for the rescission of a preious decision taken in the same session and ted two previous precedents in which the ouse of Commons had rescinded its previous ecisions.

"Speaking on that occasion, Lord Asquith d said : 'To say that this House is not able, t is so minded, under any circumstances atever, to rescind a resolution which upon onsideration it thinks ought not to have n passed, is to deny to the House the first ality of a really deliberative assembly.'

"Declaring that under the circumstances Mr. Basu's motions were in order, the Speaker placed them before the House and requested the members to come to a unanimous decision on them.

"Rising immediately after the ruling had been given, Dr. Roy said that the members from his side of the House were willing to accept the rescission motions. He hoped that this acceptance would not be regarded as a precedent.

"The Government was prepared to reopen discussion on the Bill from Clause 17 and also take up the third reading of the Bill when the clause-by-clause discussion was concluded. He pointed out, however, that it was necessary to have this measure placed on the Statute Book before March 31 when the present Tenancy Act would lapse.

"The Government had no desire to stifle legitimate discussion but a serious situation would have arisen if after March 31 there was no legislation to govern relations between landlords and tenants."

Henry Heras

The great historian, Father Dr. Henry Heras, S.J., breathed his last on 15th December, 1955, at the age of sixty-eight. Born in Spain, Father Heras received his higher education in the U.S.A. On his return to the homeland he was appointed Principal of a college there.

After a year, at the age of thirty-four, Father Heras came to India and got an appointment in the teaching staff at Bombay St. Xaviers College. He was a lover of Indian culture, and was much influenced and inspired by the teachings of Swami Dayananda and Swami Vivekananda. As a Jesuit he took up the vow of celibacy and resolved to pass his days in love and service to humanity. As a professor of history Father Heras gradually came to know and realise what was best in Indian thought and culture. He engaged himself seriously to historical researches, and the result was his many important papers and treatises on various aspects of Indian history. His *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture* stands as a monument to his long-continued researches. This book has transformed the current beliefs and ideas of rela-

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tion between the Aryan and Dravidian cultures.

To carry on systematic researches Father Heras founded the Bombay Historical Research Institute, where bands of scholars conducted research-work under the guidance of Father Heras. The Institute celebrated its Silver Jubilee only recently. Heras was the Director of the Institute at the time of his death.

Haridas Bhattacharya

In the death of Prof. Haridas Bhattacharya at sixty-five we have lost a sincere friend and a valued contributor to our *Review*. He died on 20th January last at his Calcutta residence, and, we may say, almost in harness. Because since his retirement from the Philosophy Chair of the Dacca University, he worshipped in the temple of learning in various capacities, sometimes as a professor of Philosophy in the Banaras Hindu University, and later as the accredited Editor of the *Cultural Heritage of India Series*, published under the auspices of the Ramakrishna Mission Cultural Institute, Calcutta.

Prof. Bhattacharya began his academic career as a lecturer of the Calcutta University. But he joined the Dacca University soon after its start and served it for about a quarter of this century. While holding the University Chair of Philosophy, Prof. Bhattacharya was in later years the Provost of the Jagannath Hall and the Dean of the Faculty of Arts. He once presided over the All-India Philosophical Congress. He was also the Stephens Nirmalendu Professor of the Calcutta University. As an advisor to the West Bengal Secondary Education Board and as a Secretary to the studies of the I.A.S. examinees conducted by the Calcutta University, Professor Bhattacharya made his mark. His lucid exposition of abstruse philosophical and theological subjects revealed his wonderful mastery over them.

Prabodh Chandra Bagchi

Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Vice-Chancellor of the Visva-Bharati University, passed away on 19th January last. He was a savant of a high order. His researches in ancient history have revealed to the world the intimate cultural relations betweent India, Central Asia, South-East Asia and the Far East, including China and Japan. He followed the path chalked out by scholars of international repute like Sylvain Levi and added to treasures of knowledge hitherto unknown educated world.

Born in Jessore, Dr. Bagchi complete academic studies by passing the M.A. amination in Ancient History and Culture unusual credit in 1920. His successful and his inclination to research-work tracted the notice of Sir Asutosh Mukh who appointed him lecturer in the Depar of Ancient History and Culture. Dr. Bagch leave of the University for a year, and wi permission of Sir Ashutosh went to S niketan for collaboration with Prof. Levi researches in oriental studies. Here he to Buddhism and Buddhist literature as his ject of research. He travelled in the Far and the South-East Asia to make h acquainted first-hand with the language, ture, religion, culture as also the people of of those countries. The new archaeological ings in Central Asia opened a new aven research, and Prof. Bagchi ardently ea himself in their studies.

Prabodh Chandra was deputed to Par carry on further research in the subject. again he was fortunate entough to work in co-operation with Prof. Levi. Prabodh Cha compilation of the Chinese-Indian Dicti and editing a rare Chinese MS. with a le preface at once gained him recognition scholarship by the Orientalists in Europ Asia. He won the Doctorate degree Paris University and returned to India to his post in the Calcutta University.

Dr. Bagchi continued his researches wonderful success for decades. He serve Alma Mater up till 1945, after which he the Cheena-Bhavan of Visva-Bharati, professor. While Visva-Bharati turned i regular University under the charge Central Government in 1951, Prof. Bagc came the Principal of the Vidya-Bhava the Research Academy. He was app Vice-Chancellor in 1954. Dr. Bagchi the Indian Cultural Mission to China the leadership of Sja. Vijayalakshmi P some time in 1952.

Jnananjan Neogi

On 13th February last the veteran worker Jnananjan Neogi died in a very circumstance. The melancholy event

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ince while he was speaking on the xed question of 'Merger' in the evening of at day. His loss will be felt by his country-en for a long time to come.

Born at Gaya Jnananjan spent his boy-od at Patna where he came in contact with r. B. C. Roy, the Chief Minister of the ate of West Bengal. Jnananjan was inspired th a love of service even in his young days. e joined the Swadeshi Movement while he as still within his teens. The Social Service ague of Dr. D. N. Maitra had a special traction for him, and it was in its work that found his life's mission of service.

He toured the U.S.A. in 1923, and he was lowed for the first time amongst the Indians address the American Senators on the condi-on of India and her people. On his return he arted the Working Men's Institute, which is ill doing useful service amongst the workers in arious ways. As organiser of the Commercial useum, run by the Corporation of Calcutta, e gave sufficient proof of constructive genius. is *Desher Katha* compiled after the model of e book of the same name by Sakharam Ganesh euskar, was proscribed, and he served several erms of imprisonment for his active connection with the struggle for Indian Independence. He rganised the famous All-India Exhibition in alcutta in 1948. He was a friend of the poor nd the down-trodden. May his soul rest in eace in heaven.

eghanad Saha

A scientist of international reputation and patriot of a very high order, Dr. Meghnad ha, F.R.S., breathed his last in Delhi on e 17th February last under tragic circums-nces. He felt very uneasy while going to tend the sessions of the Planning Commis-on, and was found in an unconscious state ear the gate of its office. He was immediately ken to the nearest hospital, but, alas, suc-mbed before any medical aid could be ministered to him. He was sixty-three.

Being the son of very poor parents Dr. ha had to struggle hard since his boyhood order to build up his academic career. He ured many scholarships and stipends due to merits. After passing his Entrance and Sc. from Dacca, he came to Calcutta and ned the Presidency College as a B.Sc. student. His brilliant academic career and humble behaviour at once endeared him to Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray and Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose.

Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee was then organising the Post-Graduate Department in Science and he picked up Dr. Saha as a junior professor of Physics though he got his M.Sc. degree in Applied Mathematics. Dr. Saha did not fail to make his mark as a researcher, and obtained the D.Sc. and the Premchand Raychand Scholarship in 1918 and 1919 respectively. He went on an educational tour in Europe and remained there for two years, conducting researches in Physics in the laboratories of eminent scientists as Prof. Fowler.

On his return from Europe, Dr. Saha was appointed the Khaira Professor of Physics. But after some time, in 1923, he accepted the post of the Head of the Department of Physics of the Allahabad University. He remained there for fifteen years, after which he returned to his *Alma Mater* as the Palit Professor of Physics. It was here for the last fifteen years that Dr. Saha devoted all his attention to the opening of new avenues of research in Physics. He was instrumental in establishing the Institute of Nuclear Physics in the University Science College and the remodelling of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.

Dr. Saha's original research in the different branches of Astro-Physics established his reputation as a scientist of world-wide eminence and won him recognition from the scientific world, from far and near. He was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society of London in 1927. The French Astronomical Academy and the Boston Academy of Sciences honoured themselves by appointing him an Honorary Fellow. He attended as a representative of his mother country the centenary celebrations of the great scientists of Europe on more occasions than one.

Dr. Saha's researches in Astro-physics brought about a revolution, and his Theory of Thermal Ionisation is regarded as one of the ten epoch-making discoveries since the discovery of Telescope by Galileo. Dr. Saha's reputation was not confined to the scientific world alone. A great patriot, as President of the Science Congress in 1934, he urged his brother-scientists to utilise their discoveries for the development of

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the country's resources. As a result of his advocacy the National Institute of Science was founded. Dr. Saha also pleaded for the establishment of the River-physics Department by the Government to control the rivers in Bengal so that the havocs created by their inundation might be averted. For regular treatment of scientific and cultural subjects Dr. Saha founded the *Science and Culture* monthly conjointly with his brother-scientists. As President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. Saha adopted various measures for energising this oldest institution of Science and Arts. He also revitalised the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, and as its Director he turned it into a first class research institute. Dr. Saha was the Chairman of the Calendar Reform Committee instituted by the Central Government.

His services to the cause of the country in capacities other than the scientist's should also be recalled with gratitude. As a Member of Parliament of India, he did yeoman's service to give succour and relief to the uprooted humanity from East Bengal, to guide the Planning Commission by his sound advice and by organising scientific institutions under the auspices of the Government. He utilised to the full his experiences of the Tenessey Valley Corporation after his return from the Scientific Mission sent by the Government of India in 1944-45. The Damodar Valley and other Corporations of this sort owe not a little to him.

Bijan Bihari Mukherjee

Bijan Bihari Mukherjee, born of a famous Brahmin family of Navadwip in 1891, shone brilliantly in the sphere of law, and from a briefless advocate in early years, rose to be a prominent lawyer with roaring practice at the Calcutta High Court. He joined the Bench in 1936 and remained in that post till 1948, when he was transferred to Delhi as a Judge of the Federal Court, later called the Supreme Court of India. He rose to be the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He was forced to retire in January this year owing to failing health. Mr. Mukherjee was a legal luminary, and his exposition of the Hindu Law in the Calcutta High Court as also in the Supreme Court gained for him great reputation as a profound master of Law. He was the Tagore Lecturer of the Calcutta University. He is the learned au[illegible] some very authoritative treatises on legal [illegible]jects including *Hindu Law of Religious* [illegible] *Charitable Trust*. Mr. Mukherjee w[illegible] votary of Sanskrit culture. He brough[illegible] considerable reforms in the study of Sansk[illegible] President of the Bengal Sanskrit Associ[illegible] The Sanskrita Parishad of Calcutta owed [illegible] to him for its present important status in [illegible] cultural life of Calcutta and Bengal.

Ganesh Vasudev Mavlankar

Ganesh Vasudev Mavlankar, the Sp[illegible] of the Parliament of Indian Union, pass[illegible] on 27th February last after suffering [illegible] protracted illness. He was sixty-eight. M[illegible]lankar made a name in all the fields to [illegible] he devoted himself—as a practising law[illegible] patriotic social worker, a parliamentarian a[illegible] a constructive thinker. He started his c[illegible] as a lawyer in 1913 in Ahmedabad. He [illegible] most of the nation-buildoing activities [illegible] He was drawn into politics in 1917. As a m[illegible]ber of the Gujarat Sabha he made his mark [illegible] political worker. In the various freedom m[illegible]ments Mavlankar threw himself heart and [illegible] and suffered incarcerations. He was Pres[illegible] of the Bombay Legislative Council in 19[illegible] and carried on his duties very creditably [illegible] 1946, Mavlankar was elected to the Ce[illegible] Legislature. His past creditable work as P[illegible]dent of the Bombay Legislative Council g[illegible] him the Speakership of the Central Legis[illegible] Assembly. Mavlankar's services were fully [illegible]cognized in Free India, and he served [illegible] Speaker of the Parliament of India.

As an ardent educationist he pioneered [illegible] educational activities in Ahmedabad. He [illegible] one of the moving spirits of the Ahme[illegible] Education Society which today runs [illegible] eight colleges in Ahmedabad. The G[illegible] University was established mainly throu[illegible] efforts. The offices he held as Chairma[illegible] several educational institutions including [illegible] year old Gujarati Vidya Sabha, was its [illegible] recognition by the people of his contributi[illegible] education. As a parliamentarian and Sp[illegible] of the Parliament, Mavlankar did mu[illegible] instil a new sense of duties and responsib[illegible] in his colleagues.

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GANDHIAN PHILOSOPHY AND WORLD PEACE

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By Dr. J. EDWARDS, M.A. (Cal.), A.M. (Columbia), Ph.D. (N.Y.U.)

Gandhiji's Experiment with Truth

Gandhiji dedicated his life to making an experiment with Truth. This self-dedication is the first and foremost condition of truly moral and spiritual growth. His sincerity of purpose made him give up all sectarianism and impressed upon him the fact that genuine truth-finding is possible only for him who is able and willing to welcome it from whatever quarter it comes. He, thus, opened for himself the flood-gates of all religions for he really loved them all with the result that his life became a living sermon, an abiding source of inspiration for all those who care to make God-consciousness focal and dynamic. Like the honey-bee he frequented all parts of the garden of truth. If his pursuit was relentless, his product was genuine spiritual honey.

Gandhiji's Philosophy of Non-violence

Gandhiji realised that those who use the sword perish with the sword, as Christ warned Peter in the garden of Gethsemene in the hour of his mortal peril.[1] He drew the happy conclusion that "non-violence is the law of our species (and how one wishes that this were true) as violence is the law of the brute."[2] In his book, *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, he is nearer truth when he says:

"The white art of non-violence is the law of the regenerate man."[3]

When, therefore, he designed the Tri-Colour, he expected it to stand, in the first instance, for non-violence, the other two standing for "unity . . . and identification through the 'charkha' of the highest with the lowliest in the land."[4] How great is the challenge for everyone who is privileged to stand under it! He must be regenerate, be born again, to use Christ's expression, be a new person spiritually, so that the white art of non-violence might become the law of life. Non-violence challenges us to tarry no longer in ancient ruins for it is capable of calling in a new world that will redress the balance of the old.

It is said of Gandhiji that he could not intentionally hurt anything that lived, much less fellow human beings even though they might do the greatest wrong to him and his.[5] The reason is not far to seek. He himself gives the answer when he says:

"Though I cannot claim to be a Christian in the sectarian sense, the example of Jesus' suffering is a factor in the composition of my undying faith in non-violence which rules all my actions worldly and temporal . . . Jesus lived and died in vain, if he did not teach us to regulate the whole of life by the eternal law of love."[6]

It was this eternal law of love whose practice, to the extent that Gandhiji was able to represent love in his life in thought, word and deed brought him a realisation of 'peace that passeth all understanding." The non-violence of "Jesus who set the seal of his own blood upon his precepts, 'love thine enemy,' 'resist not evil'"[7] as Gandhiji points out, is "non-violence par excellence."[8] For the practice of this non-violence he felt the inner call. He says:

"I have imagined that He has chosen me as His instrument for presenting non-violence to India for dealing with her many ills."[9]

The concept of non-violence is by no means new to India. But it will be readily conceded that Gandhiji greatly enriched it, particularly by its use in the political and social fields on a scale unprecedented in history. India's political freedom, Zemindari abolition, liquidation of Indian States, abolition of untouchability, providing a sound basis for Panch-Shila, all owe a debt in varying proportions to Gandhiji's philosophy of non-violence. Non-violence in the international field today is termed as non-aggression and non-interference. It is up to each one of us to keep flying India's Tri-Colour symbolising Non-Violence which represents a process of self-purification[11] on the spiritual level, and a practical contribution to world peace on the international level from India's cultural heritage.

1. Matt. 26 : 52.
2. Jag Parvesh Chander : *Teachings of Mahatma Gandhi*, p. 409.
3. M. K. Gandhi : *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, p. 288.
4. Jag Parvesh Chander : *Op. Cit.*, p. 384.
5. *Ibid*, p. 63.
6. M. K. Gandhi : *Op. Cit.*, p. 181.
7. Rajagopalachari and Kumarappa : *The Nation's Voice*, p. 237.
8. M. K. Gandhi : *Self-Restraint vs. Self-Control*, p. 136.
9. Tendulkar and Jhaveri : *Mahatma*, Vol. VII, p. 168.
10. M. K. Gandhi : *Op. Cit.*, p. 101.
11. Rajagopalachari and Kumarappa : *Op. Cit.*, p. 113.

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Is Non-Violence a Virtue of Necessity?

Gandhiji calls non-violence the Moral Equivalent of War. His opponents dubbed non-violence as cowardly. Let us see how he who knew no diplomacy save that of Truth[12] defends himself against the charge. He points out:

"Europe mistook the bold and brave resistance full of wisdom by Jesus of Nazareth, as if it was of the weak. I detected no passivity, no weakness about Jesus as depicted in the four Gospels."[13]

He considers Jesus as "the most active resister known perhaps to history," and rates his non-violence as "non-violence par excellence."[14] He calls him a Prince among passive resisters who uncompromisingly challenged the might of the Sadducees and the Pharisees.[15] With such understanding of Christ's non-violence, fear and cowardice hypothesis is hardly tenable. Gandhiji who considered the example of Christ's suffering as a factor in the composition of his undying faith in non-violence, offered non-violence as the weapon of the morally strong. If non-violence was a virtue of necessity, Gandhiji the very foundation of whose life was Truth,[16] would have to be put down as a hypocrite which is absurd.

NON-VIOLENCE AS MORAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR

A careful analysis shows that non-violence is a real moral equivalent of war. It proceeds from returning good for evil which Gandhiji considers as the true way.[17] He, therefore, advises the follower of Truth and *Ahimsa* to conquer the tyrant by love . . . not to carry out the tyrant's will but suffer punishment even unto death for disobeying his will until the tyrant himself is conquered.[18] This policy of doing no wrong, committing no violence, but simply enduring all the punishments the other side could inflict[19] is obviously moral through and through. Gandhiji himself offers a psychological analysis of the moral equivalent in these words:

"Passive Resistance is an all-sided sword: it may be used anyhow: it blesses him who uses it, and him against whom it is used without drawing a drop of blood. It produces far-reaching results. It never rusts and cannot be stolen. The sword of Passive Resistance does not require a scabbard and one can not be forcibly dispossessed of it."[20]

In the domain of morals non-violence is an ultimate, a method at once civilised and civilising, the main secret of Christ's conquest of the world through love, or non-violence. The great Napoleon did homage to this moral ultimate when he said:

"I built my empire on the sword. It shall perish. But Christ built his Empire on love and it shall survive."

The way to genuine peace is the way of Gandhi, the Prophet of Peace and of Christ the Prince of Peace.

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN REQUIRES THE USE OF NON-VIOLENCE

Gandhiji says, "A living faith in God means the acceptance of the brotherhood of mankind."[21] Christ stated brotherhood proposition thus: "You have one Father and all of you are brethren." Gandhiji's understanding and practising of the brotherhood principle, the acme of spiritual life, is worthy of our attention. He says:

"There is no Christianity or Christ in the world or there should have been no war. That is how I understand the message of Christ."[22]

Do we realise that Christianity and war are contradictory terms? Gandhiji who says "Jesus would own me as a true Christian" offers a criticism which the Christian world unfortunately fully deserves. He says, "I hear the living Christ saying: These so-called children of mine know not what they are doing. They take my Father's name in vain for they disobey the central command of my Father. What is that central command? That central command is to love God with heart, soul, mind and strength, as Christ stated and then added a second like unto the first, to love thy fellowman as himself. Gandhiji rightly concludes that Jesus lived and died in vain if

12. M. K. Gandhi: *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, p. 27.
13. M. K. Gandhi: *Communal Unity*, p. 857.
14. Tendulkar and Jhaveri: *Op. Cit.*, p. 168.
15. Jag Parvesh Chander: *Op. Cit.*, p. 387.
16. M. K. Gandhi: *Self-Restraint vs. Self-Control*, p. 124.
17. M. K. Gandhi: *Communal Unity*, p. 762.
18. *Mahatma Gandhi: The Man and His Mission*, p. 191.
19. *Ibid*, p. 18, Gilbert Murray's Appreciation.
20. C. F. Andrews: *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, including extracts from His Writings, p. 192.
21. Jag Parvesh Chander: *Op. Cit.*, p. 482.
22. Tendulkar and Jhaveri: *Op. Cit.*, p. 282.
23. *Ibid.*
24. M. K. Gandhi: *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, p.

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did not teach us to regulate the whole of life by the eternal law of love,[25] as quoted earlier. If Einstein's testimony: "The ideal of achieving military security through national armaments is a disastrous illusion"[26] is a true reading of the world situation, we have got to listen to Gandhiji who "more than any other man since Jesus . . . manifests the spirit of universal peace and brotherhood which alone can save[27] us." In fact, if we are to create "conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations"[28] as envisaged in Article 55 of the United Nations Charter, Gandhian brotherhood of mankind is the only moral solution. Love imparts reality to the concept of the brotherhood of mankind.

The Value, of Gandhiji's Insistence on Truth, for World Peace

In Gandhiji's philosophy Truth is God. Gandhiji decides to realise this God who is truth. He says :

"I am impatient to realise the presence of my Maker, Who to me embodies Truth . . . if I am to realise Truth, I must obey, even at the cost of my life, the law of love."[29]

Notice the need for obeying the law of love for achieving God-realisation. Love is the central core of the religion of Jesus, which makes Christianity the Marg of Bhakti. Elsewhere Gandhiji calls this 'relentless search for truth and a determination to reach it'[30] as Soul Force. Dedication to this Soul Force had begun to manifest itself in Gandhiji's life while he was yet at school and would not deceive the inspector by writing the spelling of a word as secretly prompted by his teacher, much to the teacher's disappointment. The Hound of Heaven had already started pursuing him. At a mature age he arrived, among other truths fundamental to religion, at 'Truth is God' through the following logical process :

"In the midst of death life persists, in the midst of untruth truth persists, in the midst of darkness light persists. Hence, I gather that God is Life, Truth, Light. He is Love. He is the Supreme God."[31]

If you turn to the Gospels you hear the Living Christ say, "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life."[32] Whoever dedicates his life to be lived in the light of truth puts himself on the way to an increasing release from superstition, unfounded beliefs, propaganda, lies which play so important a part in initiating wars and rumours of wars. If interested parties did not arrange for truth to be the first casualty, how many wars could have been started at all?

Truth and International Diplomacy

Gandhi's diplomacy of truth has a lesson for diplomats of the world in general and of India in particular. It has potency for changing world history by killing war outright and for harnessing the world's greatest industry, the war industry, in the service of peace, prosperity, and plenty for all. That diplomacy abroad is symbolised in a conversation between Lord Irwin and Gandhiji when the former says: "Throughout my conversations with Mr. Gandhi I felt complete assurance that I could implicitly trust his word."[33] Can foreign diplomats say that they can repose complete trust in the diplomats of India? Is it not India's mission to create conditions in the international field through the diplomacy of truth so that mutual trust and confidence will make all secret treaties unnecessary? That diplomacy at home is reflected in Nehru's considering Gandhiji the symbol of uncompromising truth, all the time pulling the Congress people up and shaming them into truth.[33] India's Flag must stand for truth at home and abroad. Truth must be insisted upon in all our dealings with nations and peoples if we are to realise our dreams of the moral leadership of the world. In truth lies the secret of gentleman's peace, abolition of war and dispensing with military expenditures, outright. Without diplomacy of truth, genuine collaboration, mutual trust and confidence are impossible. Colossal military expenditures and peace amount to immoral means for securing moral ends, making the act immoral, leading us to untruth, darkness and death. "If India takes up the doctrine of the sword (goes the way of the world), she may gain momentary victory." Then, says Gandhiji, "India shall cease to be the pride of

25. *Ibid*, p. 181.
26. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated 4. 1. 56.
27. *Mahatma Gandhi : The Man and His Mission*, p. 25, Nagendra Nath Gupta's Appreciation.
28. *The World Almanack and Book of Facts*, 1952, p. 724.
29. Rajagopalachari and Kumarappa : *Op. Cit.*, p. 237.
30. C. F. Andrews : *Op. Cit.*, p. 326.
31. M. K. Gandhi : *The Story of My Experiment with Truth*, Vol. I, p. 7.
32. *Mahatma Gandhi : The Man and His Mission*, p. 167.
33. J. L. Nehru : *The Discovery of India*, p. 312.

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my heart"[34] and shall forfeit all claims to moral leadership of the world by being guilty of hypocrisy of talking the language of peace but secretly preparing for war. Will India too prove untrue to her divine mission of leading herself and others from untruth to truth, from darkness to light like the European nations the sum-total of whose activities, Gandhiji points out, "is a denial of the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount?"[35] It is Gandhiji's conviction that those who today call themselves Christians, do not know the true message of Jesus,[36] and is confident that Christ would claim him to be a true Christian. Gandhiji has unquestioned right to the assurance of being a true Christian for he had sincerely come to the conclusion that 'the lessons that Jesus Christ gave belonged to the whole world'[37] and not to any community.

The Price of Following the Philosophy of Truth

It does not take long to discover that following truth demands a price which may be as big as one's own life. But the more you are drawn to truth the more willing you are to pay its price without counting the cost. Such is the divine nature of man and the inmost longing of his spirit. This longing may differ in degree but not in kind. To some it may come early, to others late but come it must to all sometimes or the other. To Gandhiji the call of truth came early as already noted. By the time he wrote his book *Self-Restraint* vs. *Self-Control*, he could say in retrospect, "Truth has been the very foundation of my life."[38] With what dogged tenacity he stuck to truth is already a matter of history, and there is none to question his sincerity even though critics have pointed out to his lack of self-consistency. His explanation of apparent inconsistency is his 'responsiveness to varying circumstances.'[39] He, however, ventured to bear testimony to truth even at the risk of being forsaken by all confident that though his might be the voice in the wilderness for the time being yet it would be heard when all other voices were silenced provided his was the voice of truth.[40] Christ who came to bear witness unto truth died a felon's death at the hands of an unthinking mob in the third year of his public ministry. At the time of Gandhiji's incarceration by the British people thoughts naturally turned to Christ. They said "A Christ is being crucified," 'a Gethsemane being enacted.' Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's was one of the most touching expressions. She said:

"My thoughts sped across the centuries to a different land and different age when a similar drama was enacted and another divine and gentle teacher was crucified for spreading a kindred gospel with kindred courage. I realised now that the lowly Jesus of Nazareth cradled in a manger furnished the true parallel in history to this invincible apostle of Indian liberty."[41]

After several unsuccessful attempts the assasin's bullets finally ended the life of Gandhiji, showing how little orthodoxy understand or love truth. Gandhiji paid the price of truth with his own blood.

The Value of Truth and Non-Violence to World Peace

Truth and Non-Violence are the two on which Gandhian Philosophy is destined to go round the world to eternity, drawing nations and peoples by its irresistible force and transporting them into a realm of civilisation and culture of the highest spiritual significance. The term 'Non-Violence' has a negative appearance and is in so far rather unfortunate. The sense in which Gandhiji uses it consists it really means active love of the same variety similar to 'agape' in Christian theology. That love provides a firm foundation for the Kingdom of Heaven and is, in the realm of the spirit, an ultimate beyond the paradise of a doubt. It is that love on which the Prince of Peace based his kingdom. The Prophet of Peace equates it with God for verily God is Love. It is a necessary condition of the consciousness expressing itself in the brotherhood of man making war unthinkable. On it alone can be reared the edifice of Peace. In the final analysis it is the Truth of Truth and is co-extensive with truth. Non-Violence and Truth are very aptly called the 'fast and the same coin'![42] The two between them remove every possibility of war once truth and non-violence are accepted as the law of life.

34. M. K. Gandhi : *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, p. 3.
35. *Ibid*, p. 48.
36. *Ibid*, p. 195.
37. *Tendulkar and Jhaveri : Op. Cit.*, p. 342.
38. *Ibid*, p. 124.
39. Quoted by K. L. Shrimali, *The Wardha Scheme*, p. 69.
40. Tendulkar and Jhaveri : *Op. Cit.*, p. 318.
41. *Mahatma Gandhi : The Man and His Mission*, pp. 18-19.
42. Rajagopalachari and Kumarappa : *Op. Cit.*, p. 104.

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unless they are so accepted there is no hope for peace. History shows how foolish man has been and is to think that peace can be secured by preparing for war. The inevitable result of preparing for war has been war. From the bitterest experience we are happily learning that peace can be obtained only through methods of peace, through arbitration, discussion, compromise, co-operation, judicial decision and other similar peaceful procedures. World Peace, thus, inevitably depends upon truth and non-violence which to Gandhiji stand for the highest and the only revelation of God.[43] "Gandhiji likened his faith in non-violence to that of the witnesses in the Second Coming of Christ. It was to take place in the lifetime of the witnesses, though it had taken two thousand years and yet remained a distant dream."[44] Peaceful co-existence can be legitimately expected only from Truth and Non-Violence, a moral end from moral means.

Ethical Significance of the Use of Moral Means Only

The greatest discipline that Gandhiji imposed upon himself and his followers was his insistence on the use of moral means only for the achievement of moral ends. Means provide the axis on which revolves the highest moral act, as we shall see presently. He says:

"Means are after all everything. As the means so the end."[45]

It is the latter part: as the means, so the end, that is most likely to be overlooked by those who think: 'All is well that ends well.' Some things that seem to end well, are only apparently well and may be actually immoral. But Gandhiji got hold of the act at the proper end, the secret of his growth in spiritual life. In the world of action moral means give one the best start and contribute to the deepening of spiritual life as nothing else can. As an inevitable by-product of maintaining the purity of means, one builds up profound self-confidence, an essential ingredient in the building up of personality, and this is magnificently combined with complete resignation to the will of God, fittingly in keeping with the exalted teaching of the Bhagavad Gita. Notice the confidence of Gandhiji. He says:

43. Tendulkar and Jhaveri: *Op. Cit.*, p. 87.
44. *Ibid*, p. 284.
45. Jag Parvesh Chander: *Op. Cit.*, p. 369.

"So long as my cause is truthful and the means clean and non-violent, all is well."[46]

But the consequent: 'all is well' is well only when its antecedents are truthful cause, clean and non-violent means.

If you examine a truly moral act, you will find that it consists of four essential factors: (1) A Moral Aim, (2) A Moral End, (3) Moral Motive, and (4) Moral Means. In pre-independence days our aim was Self-Government. That aim was perfectly legitimate and moral. We pursued that aim consistently through many painful decades and finally achieved freedom which is so clearly a moral end. The motive underlying our struggle for freedom was not only to free ourselves but to work for the freedom of all downtrodden and exploited nations of the world. Let us not forget this noble motive in our hour of success. The call of the spirit is to offer ourselves as a living sacrifice for the freedom of the world still unfree. Our manner of achieving freedom was learnt in the moral school of Gandhian Philosophy whose schoolmaster was Gandhiji himself, the symbol of uncompromising truth who was always there to pull the Congress people up and to shame them into truth[47] and to pin them down to the use of moral means only for achieving India's political freedom. India's use of the moral means will go down in the political history of the world as the greatest achievement of the human spirit in its attempt to realise the Divine, the use of Non-Violence, the Moral Equivalent of War. The greater the use of the moral means, the greater the chances of a more durable and lasting World Peace.

Gandhian Philosophy Empasises Freedom of Spirit

The Gandhian Way emphasises the need of expanding the area of human freedom so that man everywhere might use effectively the process of mutual give and take, of free communication and conference, of consultation and exchange, of unhampered intellectual initiative, of unrestricted and independent observation and of all other disinfectants of human thought. This is precisely Christ's Way of knowing the truth and enlarging the area of human freedom and of deepening of spiritual life for all without

46. Rajagopalachari and Kumarappa: *Op. Cit.*, p. 140.
47. J. L. Nehru: *The Discovery of India*, p. 312.

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exception. Christ did not hesitate to reconstruct and his reconstructions which followed "but I say unto you" have proved to be the very breath of moral and spiritual life. Gandhiji who said, "I have no hesitation in rejecting scriptural authority if it supports a sinful institution" and there are many such, the Caste System, Untouchability, Suttee, Female Infanticide, declined to be bound by any interpretation however learned if it was repugnant to reason or to moral sense.[48] He valued freedom and was willing to pay any price for its purchase because it is the breath of man's life.[49] He laid down the golden rule of testing everything in the light of reason and experience no matter from whom it came.[50] He declined to be a slave of precedents or practice he could not understand or defend on a moral basis,[51] and opined that the court of conscience superseded all other courts and that the only tyrant he accepted in the world was the still small voice within.[52] By fearing no man no matter how high-placed he might be, but only fearing God,[53] he once again signed the declaration of independence of the human soul as was done by the Upanishads of yore.

This large freedom, as large as the world itself, must be the portion of man the world over if truth in the highest sense is to be loved and cherished and its cause advanced to the maximum. This outlook must put a curb on laws restricting the freedom of the press in India and elsewhere and keep freedom inviolable and inviolate as the most sacred tool for finding truth. Governments exist for making good life possible for all besides their own people and this is possible only when we recognise the right of every man to live up to truth as he sees it. Otherwise there will be no peaceful co-existence.

Tolerance, India's Greatest Cultural Heritage, Offers A Way to World Peace

Tolerance, India's greatest cultural heritage, which gave to India a culture which "is neither Hindu, Islamic or any other, wholly but a fusion of all,"[54] is the only basis for peace. It gave to India six less recognised six well-recognised systems of philosophy could co-exist peacefully. It helped us to the doors and windows of our minds ope ting in the fresh breeze of cultures, philos beliefs of all other lands freely into them, ing the philosophy of 'Live and Let Live breath of our nostrils. Our slips, even as ble as untouchability, were not because in spite of our philosophy of tolerance.

This tolerance expresses itself in Ga advice that 'a liberal education should . . . a reverent study of all other faiths states this still more emphatically w says, "I hold that it is the duty of every tured man and woman to read sympathe the scriptures of the world,"[56] and "poin that intolerance is a taboo in all good s and is contrary to the spirit of democracy." told the educator point blank that he it as fatal to the growth of friendly among children belonging to different fa they were taught either that their religio superior to every other or that it was the true religion.[58] Sectarianism of any type intolerance so inimical to peace. As a India has resorted to a secular state. big job to practise secularism for the m Hindu community. Yet peaceful conditions not be created except through dogged and sistent reorientation to a life of genuine tion.

Tolerance of a lower variety is pr sometimes by a superior with reference subordinate or inferior so that the super not called upon to approve of what he to It involves gratuitous assumption of infe of the person or belief tolerated. Even lower level variety of tolerance makes p 'live and let live' or just co-exist peace Gandhiji moved from this lower level higher one, the appreciative level so could say, "I have advanced from tolera equal respect for all religions."[59] Toler the appreciative level marks a higher s social relations and cordiality. It calls fo

48. *Mahatma Gandhi : The Man and His Mission* (Appreciation), p. 30 (by Upton Close).
49. Jag Parvesh Chander : *Op. Cit.*, p. 226.
50. M. K. Gandhi : *Self-Restraint vs. Self-Control*, p. 58.
51. Quoted by J. L. Nehru, *Op. Cit.*, p. 315.
52. Jag Parvesh Chander : *Op. Cit.*, p. 144.
53. *Ibid*, p. 217.
54. J. L. Nehru : *Op. Cit.*, p. 316.
55. C. F. Andrews : *Op. Cit.*, p. 93.
56. M. K. Gandhi : *Christian Missions*, p. 48.
57. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 133-4.
58. T. N. Sequeira : *The Education of India*, p. 17
59. *Op. Cit.*, p. 333.

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operation and sharing, urges one to look dispassionately upon other points of view, and to appreciate what may be good in view-points different from one's own. Such toleration which proceeds from real appreciation indicates culture, or civilisation of a higher order and "enables us to rise above the level of mere brutish existence and makes us truly human, cultured and enlightened."[60] This toleration is the law of civilised life. It teaches mutual forbearance. Gandhiji claims to have learnt this lesson "from the Qoran, the Bible, the Zend Avesta and the Gita."[61] The practice of this appreciative level of toleration made Gandhiji the Prophet of Peace, whose message of toleration seems to express itself in Non-Interference and Mutual Co-operation as embodied in Panch Shila. Christ, the Prince of Peace, whose Sermon on the Mount Gandhiji loved so dearly, must be blessing India saying, "Blessed are the peace-makers: for they shall be called the children of God,"[62] and Gandhiji must be rejoicing somewhere in the unseen realms to know that India continues to be the pride of his heart by virtue of eschewing the doctrine of the sword and following with unflinching devotion the path of peace.*

60. *One Step Forward*, p. 235.
61. *Op. Cit.*, p. 236.

62. Matt. 5 : 4.
* An address before the Gandhi Prarthana Samaj, E.C.C., Allahabad, January 6, 1956.

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RURAL AND URBAN COMPOSITION OF INDIAN POPULATION

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.com.

II

Factors Leading to Decay of Towns

Side by side with the increasing urbanisation must be noticed the tendency of the older towns to be depopulated.

Firstly, changes in regional values and diversion of trade routes in many cases brought about the decline of towns which previously owed their prosperity to the command of river and road traffic, and now superseded owing to railway extensions, *e.g.*, Mirzapur on the Ganga, Patna, Saugor, etc. The engineer cannot always contrive to construct in such a way that railway line should pass by the old urban centres, so that on being left alone away from the main line, some of them have naturally dwindled in importance. Many old towns in Lower Bengal were thus ruined on account of the changes in the course of the Ganga.

Secondly, the decay of urban handicrafts, following the disappearance of the old Royal courts, the rise of European competition, the influx of foreign education and the creation of Indian bourgeoisie, has brought about a decrease in the population in old towns like Tanjore, Amritsar, Murshidabad, etc. Even the sacred towns like Gaya and Banaras are losing their importance as a result of the fall in demand for the products of the old industries of these towns.

Taking into account the two opposite tendencies of the growth and decline of towns, we reach the conclusion that they have so far just balanced each other, though in recent years the tendency to urbanization is slightly gaining the upper hand.

In this connection two things may be noticed. First, that in India the growth of industries has been taking place very slowly. Whatever little growth in towns there has been is due much more to the growth of commerce than industry. Secondly, there is a complete absence from India of any big town-aggregates or what Prof. Geddes calls, "conurbations." The only town aggregate at all resembling the big town groups in Western countries is the group of jute towns on the river Hooghly, along with the city of Calcutta. It consists of six cities (Calcuttta, Howrah, Tollygunge, Bhatpara, Garden Reach and the South Suburbs), twenty one major towns and eight minor towns. Delhi consists of two cities, three major towns and one minor town.

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Growth of Cities in India

Raymond Pearl has remarked:

"The process of urbanisation down through the ages has led to the formation of great metropolitan centres . . . in which so large a proportion of present-day men live out their allotted spans. They represent one of the many quaint ways in which mankind is coming to resemble more and more clearly the termites in modes of life and social philosophy."[13]

The great significance of large cities (*i.e.*, cities with a population of one lakh and over) was stressed by A. F. Weber at the end of the last century.[14] Since then such units, known as great cities, have attracted special attention as typical of urbanization.

Of such cities, India has 75 according to the Census Report of 1951. Of these four are really the suburbs of the metropolis of Calcutta and of Delhi. Till 1941, the Delhi extension of Sahadara and even the growing town of New Delhi were included under Delhi. Similarly, not only Tollyganj and the South Suburban towns but also the great city of Howrah were discussed as a single unit alone with Calcutta by the Commissioners of Census of 1921 and 1931. Garden Reach, Tollyganj, and the South Suburbs are all extensions of Calcutta on the south and south-east. Contrary to the current foreign practice in this respect, I have treated Delhi and New Delhi as one great city and Calcutta along with Howrah, Tollyganj, Garden Reach and the South Suburbs as another. India has, therefore, seventy great cities each with a population of one lakh or more. This number compared with the number of similar units in other countries is by no means sufficient for the integrative, economic and cultural needs of a vast country and of a great population like that of India.

Even if the number of great cities may be relatively small they can, if their territorial distribution is well adjusted, discharge their socio-economic functions and thus serve their country more or less properly, as for example, the French cities do for France. In the following table is presented an analysis of the territorial distribution of the great cities during the previous six Census years:

Number and Territorial Distribution of the Great Cities

Territory	1881	1891	1921	1931	1941
India	18	22*	23*	29*	47**
Bihar	1	1	1	1	3
Bombay	4	5	5	5	6
Hyderabad	1	1	1	1	1
Madhya Bharat	Nil	1	Nil	2	2
Madhya Pradesh	Nil	1	1	2	2
Madras	1	1	3	4	6
Mysore	1	1	1	2	3
Orissa	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Punjab	1	1	1	1	3
Rajasthan-Ajmer	1	1	2	2	4
Saurashtra	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1
Travancore-Cochin	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1
Uttar Pradesh	6	7	6	7	12
West Bengal	1	1	1	1	2
Delhi	1	1	1	1	1

* Srinagar had to be omitted for want of in 1951.

** Srinagar omitted. Howrah, Tollygunge, G Reach, and the South Suburbs are g with Calcutta as one city. New Delhi, grouped with Delhi as one unit. Bhop cluded in the total.

† Of which 4 are in Andhra.

With 1881 begins the era of reliable c returns. Many of the railways, particula Northern India, had already been laid And India began with 18 great cities. the above table it will be seen that five large territorial units were without a great city. U.P. led with six great ci its credit, Bombay followed with four other territories had one each. The prep ance of great cities in C.P. was partly the larger railway system already int and partly also to the military conti The next decade proved to be a fairl gressive one. In consequence, in 1891, were 21 great cities. The disparity i territorial distribution was both reduced enhanced. Two of the territories whi been without any great city threw up one city each. On the other hand, U.P. and bay each added one great city to their p total.

With 1891 begins the era of bubonic which, in various parts of the country, the cities till 1911 and even later. The mics of influenza and cholera did their w 1918-19. The Census Year of 1921

13. R. Pearl: *Natural History of Population*, p. 267.

14. A. F. Weber: *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 16.

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fairly clean and propitious. From that date till 1951 India may be said to have been free from major epidemics. This happy situtation is very well reflected in the steady but continuous increase in the number and size of the great cities during the period between 1921 and 1951. The territorial distribution for 1931 reveals that the process of levelling the imbalance had hardly begun. Madras had thrown up 4 great cities to vie with Bombay with its 5 great cities. Four other territories participated in the process by adding one great city each to their previous singletons. This is the period in which the national struggle for freedom began to be militant. Better distribution of great cities reflects the pulsation of this creative impulse. The nascent impulse, however, materialises in the next period.

1941 opens with a big addition to the number of great cities. 47 great cities, much better distributed than the 29 of the previous decade, is a record advance, not even equalled by the progress of the next decade. Looking to the 70 cities of 1951, one finds that none of the 15 major territories is now without a great city. In spite of territorial accretions, Bombay has yielded its second place in respect of great cities to Madras which now vies with U.P. in this respect. It is very significant that U.P. should have managed to keep its lead by two wide jumps in two successive decades. It added to its total 5 great cities in 1941 and 4 in 1951. Leaving aside the case of Delhi territory which is special, we find that Orissa is the only major territory which has a single great city, whereas it had no great city before 1951. Assam has none even today. It may be concluded that as against 1881 the situation of 1951 in respect of the territorial distribution of great cities is a distinctive advance. India today has her comparatively small number of great cities fairly well placed for the discharge of the administrative, economic and social functions, i.e., the integrative functions of great cities.

The following table gives the distribution of the great cities on the basis of area and population:

Distribution of Great Cities on the Basis of Area and Population (1951)

Territory	One great city per so many sq. miles	One great city per so many persons (in 000)
India	17,738	5,098
Bihar	14,066	8,045
Bombay	13,929	4,495
Hyderabad	41,084	9,328
Madhya Pradesh	65,136	10,624
Madras	9,830	4,386
Mysore	9,829	3,025
Punjab	12,454	4,214
Rajasthan-Ajmer	33,156	3,996
Uttar Pradesh	7,088	3,951
West Bengal	10,258	8,270

It will be seen from this table that in India as a whole there is one great city for about 18,000 sq. miles and for about 51 lakhs of people. Lewis Mumford opines that in American conditions of life a city of one million persons is necessary to support a university.[15] Though Indian life has not yet attained the stage of development to be met with in America it may be safely said that one great city per 50 lakhs of persons is not an adequate provision for socio-economic integration. The area, too, to be served by such a centre is rather large. Mysore with one great city for 30 lakh people and for less than 10,000 sq. miles is about the best in the prevalent conditions. But even in this case one cannot consider the situation as ideal or sound. M.P. with one great city for 65,000 sq. miles and for 106 lakhs of persons has to make much lee-way to provide an adequate number of great cities for proper services of integrative and cultural kind.

The inadequacy of the number of great cities for the needs of the area and the people can further be judged by reference to the percentage which the population of its great cities forms to the total population of the territory. These data are provided in the table below for the last two census years for which alone strictly comparable figures are available. Of the total Indian population of 1951, only 6.8 per cent was resident in such cities, as against 5.3 per cent in 1941. The 1951 percentage, being about 28 per cent higher than that of 1941, is an advance. West Bengal has one city for nearly 83 lakhs of people and thus ranks very low in the matter of provision of great cities for its population. Because of the size of Calcutta, it ranks first in respect of the percentage which the population of its great cities bears to its total population, *i.e.*, 14.6 per cent of the total population living in great cities. Bombay

15. L. Mumford : *Culture of Cities*, p. 487.

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comes next with 14.1 per cent followed by Mysore with 13 per cent. Rajasthan has one great city for about 49 lakhs of people and Bihar for a little over 80 lakhs of people have only 3.6 and 2.1 per cent respectively of their population living in great cities.

Percentage of Total Territorial Population formed by the Population of Great Cities

Territory	1941	1951
India	5.3	6.8
Bihar	1.3	2.1
Bombay	10.6	14.1
Hyderabad	4.5	6.5
Madhya Pradesh	2.4	3.3
Madras	3.1	5.9
Mysore	9.4	13.0
Punjab	5.0	5.1
Rajasthan-Ajmer	4.1	3.6
Uttar Pradesh	4.7	6.2
West Bengal	12.9	14.6

The total population living in these great cities amounted to a little over 2.4 millions in 1951. Naturally it is differentially distributed in the various major territories. In addition to the variation in the number of great cities the differences in size are taken into account when we study the percentage distribution of the total population of great cities in the different major territories. Its significance may be realised by a look at the table given below :

Percentage distribution of Total Population of Great Cities

Territory	1881	1891	1921	1931	1941	1951
Bihar	3.8	3.3	1.9	1.9	3.1	3.6
Bombay	24.6	28.5	28.3	23.3	20.8	21.0
Hyderabad	8.1	8.2	6.3	5.7	4.9	5.1
Madhya Pradesh	...	2.3	2.2	3.9	3.2	2.9
Madras	9.0	9.0	12.3	13.0	10.5	14.0
Mysore	3.4	3.6	3.7	5.0	4.7	4.9
Punjab	3.3	2.7	1.1	3.2	4.3	2.7
Rajasthan-Ajmer	3.2	3.2	3.6	3.2	3.8	2.4
Uttar Pradesh	23.4	23.6	16.0	15.7	17.6	16.2
West Bengal	17.4	17.5	20.0	17.2	18.9	14.9

Bombay, which in respect of the number of great cities, is third among the territories, and in respect of the proportion formed by the population of its great cities to its total population only second, leads in this percentage distribution by a large margin. 21 per cent of the population of the seventy great cities of India lives in the great cities of Bombay. U.P. comes next but it accommodates in its great cities only 16.2 per cent of the total popu of the seventy great cities. West Bengal 14.9 per cent follows U.P. much more than the latter does Bombay. The great of Madras account for 14 per cent of the population of the great cities of India. four territories are the great giants.

It is interesting to note that the pict the previous census years revealed by the table is hardly different from that of For example, both in 1881 and 1891 the ra of major territories in respect of the perce distribution of the total population of cities, was, with only two exceptions i latter year, the same. Only the size of d ences has changed. But even here the re difference between Hyderabad, which always figured next to Madras, and the is now very much greater, while Mysore was next to Hyderabad by a very large m now shows only the slight differenc 2 per cent. The widened difference be Madras and Hyderabad established by figure of 1951 lifts the four major region Bombay, U.P., West Bengal and Madra a category by themselves as the resor great city-dwellers. The order in respe percentage distribution in 1891 as Rajas Ajmer, Punjab and M.P., has changed to of M.P., Punjab and Rajasthan-Ajmer.

The following table gives the differe increase in the population living in great as between different major territories:

(*See Table on next page*)

It is seen that the largest percentage crease in the population living in great of India as a whole occurred in the d 1931-41. The percentage increase is larg 193 per cent than the percentage increa 1921-31. The percentage increase of 194 is only about 75 per cent of that of 1931-4 harmony with the behaviour of the great of India as a whole, have moved Bihar, P Rajasthan-Ajmer, U.P. and Bengal, a them showing the greatest percentage in in population living in their great cities i decade 1931-41. Madras, Hyderabad Bombay preferred to lag behind and a their highest percentages of increase i next decade. The difference between perce increases of the last two are fairly small may be credited to political events. Madra a percentage increase of 154 per cent, shows that the State of Madras is well o the path of urbanization since 1941.

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Percentage Variation in Population Living in Great Cities

Territory	1881-91	1891-1921	1921-31	1931-41	1941-51
India	+21.7	+19.0	+28.1	+82.2	+61.9
Bihar	− 3.2	−27.4	+33.1	+192.4	+83.4
Bombay	+37.6	+20.5	+ 4.2	+60.8	+64.1
Hyderabad	+17.0	+ 2.6	+15.5	+58.3	+64.9
Madhya Pradesh	....	+24.1	+120.0	+50.3	+47.0
Madras	+11.5	+73.7	+36.4	+45.7	+116.2
Mysore	+15.7	+32.2	+73.4	+67.1	+71.1
Punjab	− 7.8	+15.9	+67.6	+142.4	+ 1.6
Rajasthan-Ajmer	+11.4	+42.2	+12.8	+111.3	+ 1.5
Uttar Pradesh	+19.7	−18.3	+25.0	+102.3	+49.1
West Bengal	+12.2	+43.8	+11.7	+98.3	+28.4

The behaviour of the two States, M.P. and Mysore, distinguishes them as early starters, both of them having registered their percentage increase in the decade 1921-31. The percentage increase in M.P. is simply phenomenal, the percentage increase of 1921-31 being nearly five times that of the previous decade and 2.4 times that of the succeeding one but now it appears to be on the wane. Mysore has registered only a small decrease in the percentage increase of the next two decades.

The rate in the growth of great cities can be judged from the percentage variation in the population of individual cities given below:

(*See Table on next page*)

To give a more generalised idea it may be pointed out that the 21 great cities of 1891 (leaving Meerut which ceased to be a great city from 1911 to 1941) increased by 16.6 per cent, 17.6 per cent, 54.1 per cent and 45.6 per cent during the periods of 1891-1921, 1921-31, 1931-41 and 1941-51 respectively. It is seen that the percentage increase of one single decade, 1921-31, is greater than the percentage increase of what occurred during the previous 30 years. The percentage increase of the last decade though only 84 per cent of the greatest percentage increase, which occurred during 1931-41, is about 158 per cent greater than that of the decade 1921-31. We may conclude that the bigger and the older of the great cities are becoming larger and larger at a more rapid pace, than the newer and the smaller ones, for in 1941 there were 17 units which became great cities ; they increased by 48.4 per cent during the decade 1931-41, whereas they had increased in the previous decade of 1921-31 by only 24.5 per cent, though all of them had already been smaller cities (or Class II towns as the Census Reports designate them). The 23 units which became great cities in 1951 had increased only by 29.1 per cent during 1931-41. We may, therefore, conclude that Class II towns very much quicken their pace of growth when they arrive at their last reach for quality as great cities.

The growth of population in cities can hardly be regarded as due to natural increase. The city population has a lower birth rate than the rural population. The death rate in cities is likewise higher than in rural areas. This is to be expected when we remember that cities are insanitary and the diet is poorer than that in the country. We can only conclude that the growth of population in the cities is largely due to migration. We have no satisfactory statistics of such migration. The Census every ten years is our only guide, unsatisfactory as these returns are. The Census of 1931 lists the percentage of city residents in different provinces who were born outside the cities. Davis gives us an average of 37.3 per cent born outside the cities on an analysis of figures of the total population of 26 cities. "More than a third of the inhabitants of India's major cities are born outside the city in which they live." The refugee movement during the last 7 years must naturally increase the percentage to a phenomenal extent. Generally speaking, it is only economic pressure that induces the rural population to migrate. The peasant's traditions and associations make him prefer to remain in the village rather than in the city, with its slums, its absence of sanitary conveniences and its scarcity of good food. He is tempted to stay

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Percentage Variation in the Population of ten largest cities since 1872-1881[16]

Cities	Population (1951) (in lakhs)	1872-81	1881-91	1891-1901	1901-11	1911-21	1921-31	1931-41
Calcutta (with Howrah)	45.78	– 3.1	+12.5	+22.9	+11.0	+ 4.3	+11.9	+67.4
Bombay	28.39	+20.0	+ 6.3	– 5.6	+26.2	+20.0	– 1.2	+46.0
Madras	14.16	+ 2.1	+11.5	+12.6	+ 1.8	+ 1.6	+22.8	+20.1
Delhi	13.83	+12.3	+11.1	+ 8.3	+11.6	+30.7	+47.0	+37.8
Hyderabad	10.86	....	+13.0	+ 8.0	+12.0	–19.0	+16.0	+58.0
Ahmedabad	7.94	+ 6.6	+16.3	+25.3	+16.6	+26.4	+14.5	+88.2
Bangalore	7.79	....	+15.7	–11.8	+19.1	+25.3	+29.0	+32.4
Kanpur	7.65	+23.4	+24.9	+ 4.5	–12.0	+21.2	+12.6	+100.0
Poona	5.89	....	+25.8	....	+ 5.3	+23.9	+16.5	+11.2
Lucknow	4.97	– 8.2	+ 4.4	– 3.3	– 1.6	– 4.6	+14.2	+40.8

in the city, away from his family, for only a period till he gets an opportunity to return to his village.

Characteristics of Urbanization

The growth of urbanization and the imposition of a competitive system on a self-subsistent type of production have disturbed the economic isolation of the villages, and created a capitalist system involving a seasonal labour market and the exploitation of the masses. Whilst we have not enjoyed so far the benefits of industrialism to any great extent, we have produced in our cities all the evils associated with overcrowding, slums and unemployment. In cities housing and working conditions, recreation facilities and sanitary conveniences have all been incredibly bad, and food has been scarce and unwholesome.[17] An analysis of census returns throws some light on this problem, though it does not reveal the whole picture. The outstanding facts are :

(1) Some of the cities have greater densities than is known even in the heavy industrial countries of the world, *e.g.*, in 1931 Bombay had 48,400 persons per sq. mile, and Calcutta 24,400, Madras 22,300, Jaipur 48,100 and Amritsar 24,800 persons per sq. mile as against only 24,900 persons per sq. mile in New York, 16,400 in Chicago, and 15,100 in Philadelphia in 1940.

(2) These densities are achieved despite an absence of tall buildings, for the bulk of population live in houses of one or two stories. Most of the tenements contain only one room with one or more families living hud together in this space despite the fact that size of these tenements is normally betw 10 × 10 and 12 × 15 feet.[18] If an average 2½ persons per room be taken as an indic of overcrowding, then houses sheltering per cent of the population of Bombay wi considered to be overcrowded and this po tion is housed so inadequately that the st have to be used to supplement the sle accommodation. In fact, overcrowding is great in Bombay that men have to sleep wherever possible ,and during the mons when it is impossible to lie on the pave varandahs, alley-ways and stairs are crowded with persons sleeping there.[19] Ce sections of Bombay show the worst form overcrowding. Byculla with 99 per cent of families living in single-room tenements, S with 89 per cent, Mazagaon and Parel with 88 per cent and Second Nagbada wi per cent are the worst examples. The exte which the slums have been created in Indi the process of urbanization may be illust by the 1931 figures of congestion in Bo city, Kanpur and Lucknow:

Cities	1 Room Tenement	2 Room Tenements	3 Room Tenements	4 Room Tenements
Bombay	81	11	3	2
Kanpur	62.5	24.8	7.5	2.9
Lucknow	50.4	28.9	10.7	5.2

The census publishes figures of an av number of persons per house. The figu

16. *Census of India*, 1921, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 72; *Ibid* for 1931, p. 50 and *Census of India*, Paper No. 1 (1952), pp. 24-25.
17. M. Read : *The Indian Peasant Uprooted*, 1931.
18. *Census of India*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 57.
19. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 57.

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ne census are not strictly comparable to those f another, because of changing definitions.[20]

The average number of persons per house as 5.8 in 1881. It was 5.4 in 1891, 5.2 in 901 and 4.9 in 1911. The figures have been more or less constant up to 1921 after which here appears to have been an increase in the umber of persons per house. The figures were .9 in 1921; 5.0 in 1931; 5.1 in 1941 and 5.8 n 1951. This shows that the number of houses s not increasing as fast as the number of eople. The condition of housing has become cute. It has worsened during the past few ears due to increasing population influx of efugees from Pakistan and a slowing down of he construction of new houses because of high rices of land, steel and building materials.

The Planning Commission has made a ough estimate of housing shortage in industrial towns by collecting information from 37 owns with a total population of $1\frac{3}{4}$ million orking in large-scale industries. It has come o the conclusion that there is an immediate eed of housing accommodation for $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakh ndustrial workers. According to another estimate there is a shortage of $18\frac{1}{2}$ lakh houses in rban areas in addition to 10 lakh houses for isplaced persons from Pakistan. Whatever may be the actual extent of the shortage, there s no doubt that there is acute shortage of ousing accommodation.

The houses are not only scarce but the ousing conditions are appalling both in the ities and the rural areas. The single-room amshackle *bustees, ahatas, chawls, cherries* nd *dowras* have all been built by private landords and employers. In the busiest centres the ouses are built close together, eave touching ave, and frequently back to back in order to se all the available space. Neglect of sanitation is often evident from heaps of rotting garbage and pools of sewage, whilst the absence of latrines increases the general pollution of air and soil. Many of the houses are without plinths, windows and adequate ventilation. They usually consist of a single small room, the only opening being a doorway often too low to enter without stooping. In order to secure some privacy, old kerosene tins and gunny bags are used to form screens which further restrict the entrance of light and air. In dwellings such as these, human beings are born, grow up, sleep and eat, live and die.[21] Though this was written over two decades ago, yet the general features of houses in every industrial centre remain the same. The same sort of overcrowding, congestion, lack of sanitation and ventilation, absence of latrines and water-taps, dark, damp, filthy tenements with little arrangement for privacy are to be met with even now. Cooking and sleeping in the same room are common. The whole thing is awfully disgusting and it is simply surprising how human beings live under such conditions. The same story about appalling housing conditions in Madras, Ahmedabad, Bihar and Kanpur has been repeated by the respective Committees.[22]

Even with a bare 17 per cent people living in towns, the congestion in some of them is terrible. Rickets in children, and anæmia, dyspepsia and lassitude in grown-up people are characteristic of such houses whose air is vitiated by overcrowding; inhalation of such air results in the lowering of the power of resistance against all maladies in general and phthisis, bronchitis, diptheria, pneumonia, enteric fever, parasitic diseases, etc., in particular. These diseases are common in all labour *bustees*. Epidemics also take a heavier toll in cities than in the open countryside. As Mr. Yeats remarked, "This urbanization has all the draw-backs of lack of control and general squalor." Approaches to very big cities like Bombay, Madras or Calcutta, are hideous. Thousands of homeless squatters are found camping in the outskirts. Brick-kilns are another hideous sight. Delhi with its "ribbon development" along with roads

20. Census of 1921 says, "Formerly a house was defined as the esidence of one or more family having a separate independent ntrance from the common way. But now it has been defined as the ome of commensal family with its resident dependents and servants." p. 46). This definition, though used in 1931, could not be applied niversally in all parts of India, because of variation in family stoms and reference to food and residence.

The 1951 Census attempted to follow a single system throughout e country. It defined a 'house' and a 'household' separately : 'A ousehold' is a group of people who live together and take their d from a common kitchen. Whereas a 'house' is a building thin which people live; provided that if different parts of the ilding is structurally separated and provided with separate main trances so as to give independent access to each part (Vol. I. I, p. 48).

21. *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour*, 1931, pp. 271-72.

22. *Census of India*, Vol. 14 (Madras, Pt. I, p. 69); *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour*, p. 277; *The Bihar Labour Enquiry Committee Report* (1940), p. 88 ; and *The Kanpur Labour Enquiry Committee Report* (1938), p. 78.

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going out of the city is an eye-sore. Calcutta is "an octopus with more than eight tentacles." Amritsar present an ugly, repulsive look.[23]

The following table shows the density of occupation in dwellings of different sizes in a few towns. It will be noticed that the average number of occupants per room is the highest in one-room tenements:[24]

Density of Occupancy (No. of persons per room) in dwellings of different sizes

	1 Room	2 Room	3 Room	All dwellings
Madras				
Sugar Mills	4.9	3.2	2.7	4.2
Tramways	5.0	2.2	—	4.6
Tanneries	5.9	3.2	3.0	4.8
Bombay				
Employers' Houses	4.5	3.2	—	4.4
Private Houses	5.8	2.7	—	5.2
Printing Presses	4.8	4.3	—	4.7
Kanpur				
Employers Houses	4.0	3.1	—	3.9
Private Houses	3.8	2.4	—	3.2

(3) The absence of adequate housing accomodation has brought in a serious disparity between the proportions of sexes. The costly city life, the absence of work for women and the restrictions on child and female labour reduce the possibility of bringing the family to the city. This makes the city all the more unattractive to the worker as a place of residence and increases the worker's desire to get back to his village home as soon as possible. The sex disparity is most marked in the age groups 25-30 and 30-35. This is responsible for the spread of prostitution and of venereal diseases from the industrial centres to the villages. While the man-worker leading single life comes back to the village tainted and diseased, "the woman workers lose their self-respect and virtue and are looked down by the village population." In the thousands of slums of the Indian industrial centres, manhood is, unquestionably, brutalised, womanhood dishonoured, and childhood poisoned at its very source.[25] The following table gives sex ratio of the towns cities :[26]

Sex Ratio in the Towns and Cities, 1881-
Cities under 5,000

Class of towns	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	19[illegible]
persons	110	110	111	111	113	11[illegible]
5,000 to 10,000	105	104	105	107	108	11[illegible]
10,000 to 20,000	105	106	106	108	110	11[illegible]
20,000 to 50,000	106	109	110	115	121	12[illegible]
50,000 to 100,000	111	114	111	118	120	12[illegible]
100,000 to 500,000	111	115	116	122	131	13[illegible]
500,000 and over	162	178	156	171	175	17[illegible]

Although India has been traditi[illegible] rural, there are undeniable evidences [illegible] change is coming on. The acceleration in [illegible] growth of cities, the trend towards indu[illegible] and commercial expansion, the potential [illegible] lopment of females in the urban indu[illegible] centres and the consequent normalisati[illegible] the sex ratio, all point to the fact that urb[illegible] tion in India is likely to gain momentum [illegible] it goes forward, and that within the [illegible] decades the pace may became extremely r[illegible]

But in India, we do not advocate [illegible] up of people in big cities, blindly following [illegible] West. We are anxious not to repeat the [illegible] takes of the West. We should have a scie[illegible] cally planned development of our cities so [illegible] all evils associated with congested areas [illegible] prevented from appearing. Scientific town-[illegible] ning would mean the equitable distribution [illegible] the available land according to the [illegible] needs of the community including the prov[illegible] for residential and industrial areas, space [illegible] broad throughfares, dustless macadamised [illegible] roads, and avenues, gardens, parks and [illegible] and civic amenities like a protected water [illegible] ply, hygienic sewage disposal and ade[illegible] lighting. For future we should have med[illegible] sized, open, airy and healthy towns. Wha[illegible] needed is the urbanization of the rural [illegible] ruralisation of the urban centres.

(Concluded)

23. Yeats : *Census of India*, 1941, Vol. I, Pt. I.
24. Summarised from *Rege Committee's Report*, Table 137, p. 313.
25. R. K. Mukerjee : *The Indian Working Class* (1951), [illegible]
26. From *Census of India*, 1891, 1901, 1931, 1941.

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SOME REFLECTIONS ON NATIONALISED INSURANCE

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Introduction

With the promulgation of the Life Insurance (Emergency Provisions) Ordinance, 1956 on the 20th January which came into force immediately, the management and control of all the life insurance companies, Indian and non-Indian, was vested in the Government. The business community in India was taken by surprise and leaders in the field came out with various statements branding the government action as retrograde step in the field of life insurance in India, although the measure was hailed by the employees of insurance companies. It is in this context that it is considered necessary to make an analytical study of life insurance in its varied perspective. This is likely to provide food for thought in connection with the proposed system of nationalised insurance in this country.

Present Position

The number of insurers registered under the Insurance Act, 1938 on 31st October, 1955 was 317. Detailed Statistics of insurance companies are available only up to 1954 and hence observations will be confined to the published data only.

In December 1954 there were 210 Indian and 107 non-Indian insurers. Of the Indian insurers, 109 were dealing with life insurance only, 40 with life and general insurance and 61 with general insurance only. Of 107 non-Indian insurers, three were dealing with life insurance only, 13 with life and general and 91 with general insurance only. Thus the total number of insurers concerned with life insurance either wholly or partially was 149 Indian and 16 non-Indian as shown below :

	No. of insurers registered	
	Indian	*Non-Indian*
Life only	109	3
Life and other classes	40	13
Other classes only	61	91
Total	210	107

From the above table it is clear that in the field of life insurance, the Indian insurers have played a far greater role than the non-Indian insurers. For example, the number of non-Indian fire insurers is 86 as against 69 Indian insurers. Further, there are 63 marine and 54 miscellaneous non-Indian insurers as against 66 marine and 84 miscellaneous Indian insurers. It is for some time past that the role of non-Indian insurers has been on the decrease as far as life insurance is concerned. This is evident from Table 1 which reveals that 17.5 per cent of total business was in non-Indian hands in 1945 as against 13.0 per cent in 1954. It may be due to the fact that public opinion is in favour of giving patronage to Indian firms rather than non-Indian firms or Indian capital has found the field of insurance sufficiently remunerative and hence adequate capital has been diverted to this business.

TABLE I

Year	Business in force in crore Rupees			% of total Business to Business of		New Business in crore Rs.	
	Total	Ind. Ins.	Non-Ind. Ins.	Ind. Ins.	Non-Ind. Ins.	Ind. Ins.	Non-Ind Ins.
1945	557	462	95	82.5	17.5	123.7	12.6
1946	651	550	101	84.5	15.5	140.9	12.9
1947	706	603	103	85.4	14.6	126.5	13.1
1948	724	621	103	85.8	14.2	121.7	12.9
1949	765	662	103	86.8	13.4	130.0	12.2
1950	780	671	109	86.0	14.0	125.8	13.7
1951	873	755	118	86.5	13.5	131.4	16.5
1952	922	796	126	86.3	13.7	130.3	16.4
1953	966	833	133	86.2	13.8	138.2	17.0
1954	1059	922	137	87.0	13.0	213.3	16.2

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Expense Ratio

The expense ratio *i.e.*, the percentage of expenses of management to the premium income in respect of Indian and non-Indian insurers as given in the following table reveals that during 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1954 the expense ratio of all the Indian insurers was high as 28.9, 27.2, 27.2, 27.4 and 29.2 per cent respectively as against 21.8, 23.0, 22.4, 20.7 and 21.4 per cent in the case of non-Indian insurers. The average expense ratio of Indian insurers does not tell the whole story. Among the various insurers

Expense Ratio of Insurers

Year	Indian all	Indian other than big six	Non-Indian
1950	28.9	32.5	21.8
1951	27.2	28.2	23.0
1952	27.2	27.8	22.4
1953	27.4	28.3	20.7
1954	29.3	29.6	21.4

some had low expense ratio, others high and still others very high as given below :

Name of Insurer	*Expense ratio*
Oriental	25.4
Bombay Life	25.9
Bombay Mutual	30.6
Dig Vijaya	36.4
Bhasker	41.2
Ideal Mutual	43.2
Crescent	68.7

Similar picture is painted by the renewal expense ratio of various Indian insurers, *e.g.*, it is 9.7 per cent in the case of Commercial Insurance

Name of Insurer	*Renewal of Expense Ratio*
Commercial	9.7
Oriental	11.7
United India	14.9
Bombay Life	15.6
Bombay Mutual	15.9
Bombay Zoroastrian	30.6
Central India	38.9
Home Security	46.0
Crescent	64.7

company as against 64.7 per cent in Crescent Insurance company. There is much disparity between the various units of life insurance in India not only between the Indian and Indian insurers but between the Indian in themselves which has been the root cause many evils.

Investment Pattern

Table II showing the distributing of of the various insurers reveals that in Rs. 164.5 crores or 54.8 per cent of total in ment was made in the securities of authorities in India by Indian insurers as ag Rs. 30.1 crores or 59.2 per cent of the investment by non-Indian insurers. The in ment in British Colonial and Foreign Go ment Securities was Rs. 22.8 crores (7.6 cent of the total investment) by non-In insurers. Investment in the private indus in India by Indian insurers was Rs. 48.5 cr (16.1 per cent of the total) and by non-In insurers Rs. 6.7 crores (13.0 per cent of total). Taking into consideration both Indian and non-Indian insurers, the inves in the public sector and private industries India was Rs. 194.6 crores and Rs. 55.2 cr *i.e.*, 55.3 and 15.7 per cent respectively of total investment.

Nationalisation

In spite of strict provisions in the Insu Act of 1938 and its subsequent amendments practices in the management of life insuran India could not be eliminated. Several times interests of shareholders and policy-holders jeopardised. During the last decade as ma 25 companies came to grief and another 25 so frittered away their resources that their ness had to be transferred to other compan a loss to the policy-holders and administr had to be appointed in seven cases.* Besid number of cases of embezzlement are bein tected at present when custodians are taking charge of management and control of insurance companies. In the light of instances there is nothing wrong if an impre was created in the mind of the public and Government that in the majority of cases private enterprise, in spite of various safeg provided by the Insurance Act, does not m take a mean advantage of any lacuna in the

* These are : East and West Insurance Co. Ltd., Eas India Life Assurance Co. Ltd., Jupiter General Insurance Co Servant of India Insurance Co. Ltd., Tropical Co. Ltd., Un and General Insurance Co. Ltd., and Bharat Insurance Co

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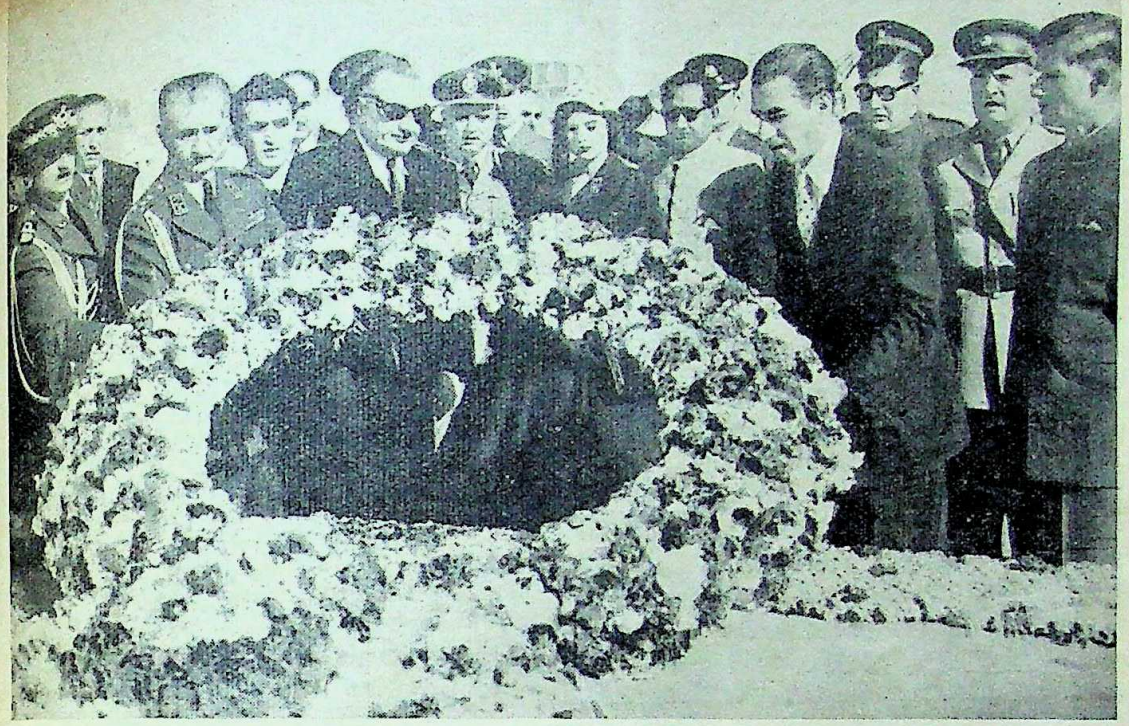
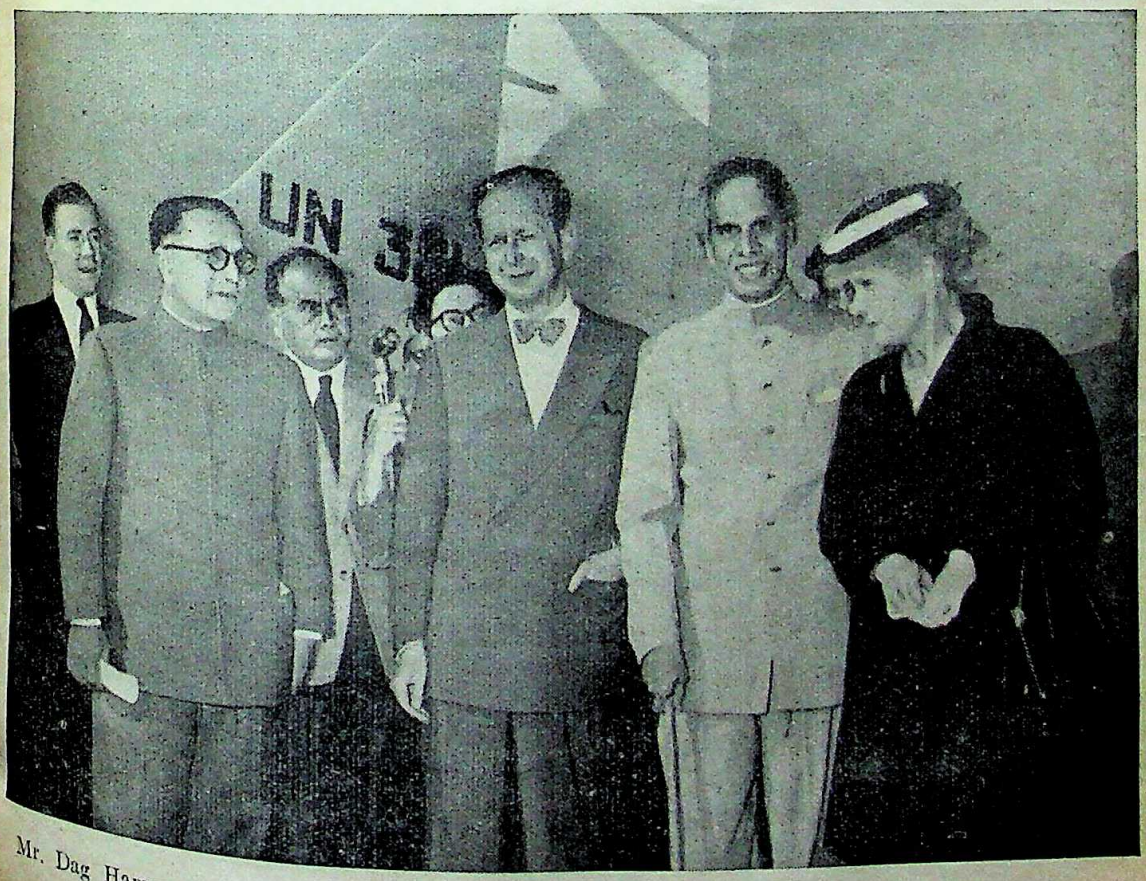


The Shahanshah and Empress of Iran visited Rajghat, Delhi, on February 17 to lay floral wreaths on the Samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi



Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary-General, United Nations, is seen with Sri V. K. Krishna Menon, who received him at the Safdarjang airport, New Delhi

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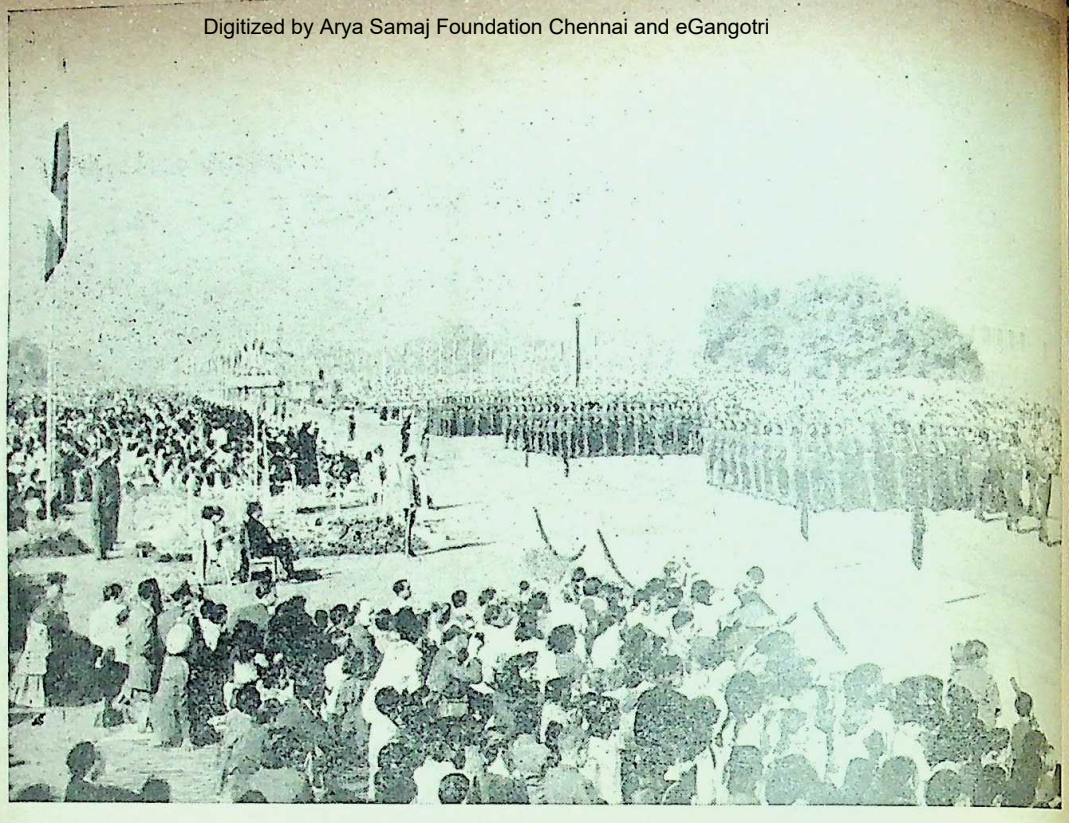

President Dr. Rajendra Prasad takes the salute as detachments of the Indian Air Force, led by Wing Commander Mukerjee, march past the saluting dais on the Republic Day in New Delhi on January 26

A dance performance by Uzbek folk-artists

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Table 2 showing Assets of Life Business of Indian and Non-Indian Insurers in 1954

Type of Assets	Indian Insurers		Non-Indian Insurers	
	Assets (crore Rupees)	% of total	Assets (crore Rupees)	% of total
Central Government Securities	123.5	41.0	26.7	52.5
Securities of Part A and B States	22.8	7.6	1.1	2.2
British Colonial and Foreign Government Securities	3.7	1.2	7.2	14.2
Municipal, Port Trust, Improvement Trust Securities	18.2	6.2	2.3	4.5
Mortgage on Property	15.1	5.0	0.6	1.2
Loans on Policies	26.6	8.8	5.1	10.1
Loans on Stocks and Shares	0.1	—	—	—
Other Loans	1.5	0.5	—	—
Debentures of Indian Companies, etc.	19.4	6.5	4.3	8.4
Preference Shares of Indian Companies etc.	10.0	3.3	1.0	1.9
Ordinary Shares of Indian Companies	19.1	6.3	1.4	2.7
Land and House Property	75.9	5.3	0.7	1.4
Agents' balances, outstanding premiums, interests, etc.	7.3	2.4	—	—
Deposits, cash and stamps	13.5	4.5	0.4	0.8
Miscellaneous	4.7	1.6	—	0.1
Total	301.3	100.0	50.9	100.0

rance Act and appropriates funds in a way detrimental to the interests of policy-holders.

It is true that undesirable elements are found in every walk of life and many people may say that this does not create circumstances which should necessitate nationalisation; only strict control should prove adequate to bring about the desired results. If the solution were as simple as envisaged here there would never have been any question of nationalisation. But when as many as 51 cases of misappropriation of funds from among 165 companies have already been detected the situation is evidently far froom satisfactory which if allowed to continue might make things still worse. There are weighty reasons to doubt the honesty and integrity of private enterprise in life insurance. This of course does not cast any aspersion on such companies which have always championed the cause of policy-holders admirably and thereby furthered national interest.

It may be said that the method adopted by the Government in connection with nationalisation of life insurance is far from satisfactory. It is true that the Governmet instead of announcing its decision in favour of nationalisation of life insurance and afterwards bringing forward a bill before the Parliament to give effect to this decision has adopted a tactical method of promulgating an ordinance for immediate transfer of management as a first step to be followed by a more elaborate action, *viz.*, 'complete nationalisation' at a later date. But after having taken a decision in favour of nationalisation of life insurance the best way to do things with grace and also not to jeopardise the interests of policy holders was no other than to promulgate an ordinance. In this action the Government seems to be motivated by a sense of urgency for the change and by the interests of policy-holders and shareholders in general.

Nationalisation in Foreign Countries

Life insurance is very vital to the life of every nation wherever a full-fledged scheme of social insurance is not in operation. But it does not mean that life insurance is absent in countries with a highly developed system of social insurance. The field of life insurance is so large that the Government in many countries found it difficult to undertake so gigantic and complicated a task. The British Labour Party in 1949 proposed the nationalisation of life insurance for reasons of undesirable investments, high profits, over-trading and high administrative expenses but it failed to make a valid case for nationlisation and finally abandoned the plan altogether. Partial nationalisation of insurance was adopted in France in 1946 and State Departments of Insurance were started in countries like New Zealand, Brazil, Japan and Mexico. But nowhere they seem to have been able to compete successfully with private enterprise. A postal insurance scheme was started in Great Britain in 1864 and was in force till 1928 when it was abandoned on the recommendation of a Parliamentary Committee.

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This may be for the fact that a particular set-up, climate and incentive necessary for the success of private enterprise may not be adequate to the success of public enterprise in the same field. Public enterprise by its very nature needs special climate, set-up and incentive in the absence of which any experiment is bound to be less successful than private enterprise. It does not indicate the failure of public enterprise but only lack of proper incentives. Given a proper atmosphere there is no reason why public enterprise should not be a success.

Postal Insurance in India

The share of the Postal Insurance Scheme in India which has been open so far only to Government servants including members of Defence Services, employees of semi-government institutions like the Universities, District Boards and Municipal Boards and employees of government-owned factories, is quite insignificant. For example, in 1952-53 the life insurance work of Postal Insurance was of Rs. 2.4 crores as against of 154.5 crores of private insurers. Further, during 1939-1953 the total business in force with Postal Department increased from Rs. 189.0 crores to Rs. 962.0 crores. This insignificant progress of Postal Life Insurance may be attributed to (i) certain serious obstacles in the way of postal insurance; (ii) organisational deficiencies and (iii) lack of incentive. Perhaps it is the lack of incentive to the people concerned that the Postal Life Insurance has been marking steps in this country. In spite of various advantages with Postal Life Insurance it has not been able to make headway. Its organisation set-up is such that a large number of people who would have taken advantage of Postal Life Insurance have not done so for the fact that either they do not know about it or that they are approached by the private insures at the psychological moment while there is none to do this job on behalf of Postal Life Insurance. People in India, not to speak of illiterate or less educated, even highly educated, do not know how to safeguard their interest in the case of life insurance. It is for this reason that they did not bother about the standing of the insurer. It is this reason which explains the sad state of affairs of so many companies. Under these circumstances if Postal Life Insurance is still to be continued it ought to be provided with all those props in the absence of which its progress has been so slow.

Nationalisation and Expense Ratio

There are widespread fears that as a r of nationalisation the expense ratio will go The Government should find out ways and m so that every possibility of this kind shoul put off permanently. Perhaps the best wa doing it may be to evolve a definite patter organisation with a view to increase the effici of public sector. If it is intended to spread gospel of insurance far and wide and allow t reach beyond the more advanced urban areas into the hitherto neglected rural areas, th pense ratio is bound to rise unless it is co balanced by an increase in efficiency. But a s increase in the expense ratio due to increas life insurance from rural areas is more than j field in the early period.

Socialistic Pattern of Society

At present when we have already acce socialistic pattern of society as the avowed ob tive of economic policy, the context of Indu Policy Resolution of 1948 has changed and h we cannot now swear by that Resolution. An e nent economist, Prof. D. R. Gadgil, in his p to the members of the National Developm Council in January last has emphasized that distinction must be made between private e prise and private monopoly, and public se should expand in those fields where private m poly exists if the objective of socialistic pa of society is to be realised early. Looked at f this angle the nationalisation of life insurance also stated by the Hon'ble Finance Minister, be another milestone on the road the country chosen in order to reach its goal of socia pattern of society.

Fear and Suspicion

The promulgation of Ordinance by the G ernment has created fears in the mind of the b ness cirle regarding the way in which the obje of socialistic pattern of society shall be rea It has at the same time to vindicate that w ever the private sector does not fear to misap priate the funds belonging to the majority nationals the Government does not lag behind is prepared to go to the extent of taking the for itself. There is a vast majority in the pr sector who are anxious to play their role in planned economic development of the co and for this purpose they want that specific

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tents be given to the notion of socialistic pattern of society so that every one must know the way in which this policy will be pursued. Uncertainty tends to breed fear and suspicion in the minds of the businessmen and their practices in their turn create suspicion in the mind of the Government. This state of mutual suspicion ought to give place to enunciation of clear-cut policies laying down as to what is specifically expected from the private enterprise in different fields. Then the failure of private enterprise would obviously establish a case for Government interference and even nationalisation of private sector in that field.

Foreign Capital

Many predict that nationalisation of insurance has created uncertainty in the minds of foreign investors as well as technical personnel from foreign countries. This point seems to be highly exaggerated. As has been stated earlier the business of non-Indian insurers has been on the decrease specially when the work of life insurance has been on the increase during the last several years. There were only three non-Indian insurers before the vesting in the Central Government of their management and control which dealt purely with life insurance. These alone will lose their independent identity after nationalisation. Thirteen other non-Indian insurers which were dealing with general insurance besides life insurance will be affected only to the extent they have been carrying on life insurance work. Hence even after nationalisation these thirteen non-Indian insurers will still continue to carry on their activities in the field of general insurance. If they care, and this they would in all probabilities, they would be able to make up for the loss of life insurance work of non-Indian insurers in the near future specially when in the Second Five-Year Plan period there is possibility of expenditure of Rs. 4800 crores in the public sector and Rs. 2300 crores in the private sector on account of which there is bound to be enormous increase in the demand for general insurance.

As regards the investment of foreign capital in India, experience of this country in the recent past has not been very happy. In spite of vari possibilities of fair returns from investment, assurances of facilities for remittances of profits and reasonable compensation in case of nationalization the rate of foreign and specially that of American investment has been very low. It is, therefore, too much to say that the present step of the Government is likely to retard materially the rate of foreign investment in this country

Future of Private Monopolies in the Field of Insurance

In the private sector after the extinction of private insures 109 Indian life insurers dealing with fire, marine or other miscellaneous types of insurance will continue to operate. But in this field they are bound to face keen competition with non-Indian insurers which are on a firm footing and whose number although only slightly more (104) than their Indian counterpart (101) and which carry a major portion of business in this field in India and have a solid organisation of their own. This development in the present context ought to be carefully examined by the Government and wherever possible state patronage be made available to such Indian insurers as are established on sound business lines and are likely to further the cause of planned economic development of the country.

Ordinance and later Developments

As a result of Ordinance the Management and control of life insurance is vested in the Central Government. It authorised the Government to appoint custodians to take charge of the controlled business but till such time as the custodians were appointed, the persons already in charge of the business were to act as agents of the Central Government. But such persons were neither authorised to deviate from the policy normally adopted by them earlier in granting loans or making investment or incurring expenditure other than the payment of wages, salaries and commission or to transfer assets or acquire any immovable property or enter into any central service or agency or business other than that of policy.

The management of the controlled business of an insurer from the time of issue of Ordinance up to the time the management remains vested in the Central Government is entitled for compensation on monthly basis which shall be equal to one-twelfth of that amount of profit declared on the basis of valuation which is allocated to shareholders during the last two years.

But in the case of those insurers which have not declared any profit, the compensation will be at the rate of Re. 1|- per month for every Rs. 2,000|- of the premium income of the insurer from its controlled business in 1954.

By now the Government has announced the names of custodians for different companies and

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the new reduced rates of insurance premia which are less than the rates in force in the Oriental Life Insurance Company by Re. 1|- per thousand.

Shape of New Insurance Agency

Before indicating the possible lines of approach to the question as to what should be the shape of nationalised insurance agency, it is necessary that we should have a clear idea of the insurers existing before. As stated earlier there have been both Indian and non-Indian insurers of different sizes, premium rates, expense ratios and varying degrees of efficiency. They have been competing with each other which has resulted in sufficient increase in insurance business. Besides, Postal Life Insurance as a Government Department has been operating side-by-side. Further in the case of Indian insurers some have a widespread network of branch offices all over the country, others confining themselves only to one State or certain areas of a State ; some have sound financial standing while others have grossly mismanaged their affairs and have frittered away a major portion of their funds ; some are well known for their services to the policy-holders in settling their claims promptly when they fall due, while others have shown complete lack of understanding to this most important question. Some have declared very high rates of bonus and dividends and others have had to be put under administrators for misappropriation of funds.

From all these it is obvious that there are certain weaknesses of small-scale units in insurance such as high expense ratio and consequent lower rates of dividends. Hence, in any new set-up uneconomic units should not be allowed to exist. Further, the vantage points of the erstwhile insurers should not only be retained but increased as a result of nationalisation. The new nationalised institution or institutions must have service as its motto and security and efficiency as its watchwords. At no cost they should be sacrificed. But these aims can be realised in both cases when there is one nationalised agency into which all others have merged or few units of economic sizes as a result of amalgamation of small insurers into bigger ones. The latter may supposedly retain the spirit of competition which will disappear in the former.

But is there any sense in having different units when all are being owned by the State, and the rates of premium and bonus are the same, the rules of service of the employees sooner or later will be the same and so also the rates of commission to the agents? In reality there will be no spirit of competition because the agents working under similar conditions will have same data to convass their case and will not be able to compete with each other. Under these circumstances it is but feasible that there should be only one nationalised insurance agency. But for purposes of administration its area of operation should be divided into various zones and in each zone a large number of offices in important towns should be established which should have direct dealings with the zonal head office. For each zone there should be an advisory or consultative committee in which all interests should be represented and so also there should be an Advisory Committee at the Head Office.

Acqusition of Proprietory Rights

In order to acquire the proprietory rights of the insurers the Government is likely to bring a Bill before the next session of the Parliament. Besides other things the Bill will provide for payment of compensation to the shareholders on reasonable basis or any other basis as laid down in the Bill. But what can be reasonable basis for determining such compensation? No single yardstick can serve the purpose. The case of each and evry insurer ought to be examined on its own merit, in which account should be had of the standing of the insurer in the insurance world, the average value of share during the last few years, the total value of assets and liabilities and the yearly volume of business. There is no doubt that it is difficult to assess the goodwill of different insurance firms and as a result of nationalisation the Government does not stand to gain at all due to this change of hands but still the insurers who helped in building a strong and well-knit insurance system in the country by their work and behaviour and honesty of purpose are entitled for a better deal from the rest of insurers.

Second Five-Year Plan

It is estimated that the increase in the amount of life insurance during the Second Five-Year Plan will be of the order of Rs. 224 crores and the Government may like to use these funds for development purposes. At present annual premiums of life insurance amount to more

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Rs. 55 crores. But the Government should not merely be satisfied with this increase but should strive for greater increase in the business with a view to attain the target of total insurance of Rs. 8,000 crores when business at present is for Rs. 1059 crores. So far, insurance has spread mostly to the urban and semi-urban areas. Efforts must be made to take the message of insurance to rural areas and raise the *per capita* insurance to a figure which may be comparable with that in other countries of the world.* The percentage of insurance in force to one year's national income is only 9.2 in India as against 17.8 in Japan, 35.6 in Australia, 51.3 in U.K., 70.4 in New Zealand ond 94.8 in U.S.A.

Task Ahead

The nationalised insurance institution is bound to face various problems in its formative period. In order to be able not only to increase its total business but also that from the rural areas it is essential that it should adopt the sound precedents of previous insurers and prove to be a model state-owned-and-operated enterprise. This will not only help in removing suspicion towards State enterprise in general but will foster the cause of socialistic pattern of society. Its failure is not only bound to retard the early realisation of this objective but also to create adverse psychological atmosphere for extension of public sector and achievements of targets in this field in the Second Five-Year Plan.

In the changed context as a result of disappearance of competition there does not seem to be the need to allow the old rate of commission to the insurance agents. But increased insurance from rural areas needs greater efforts and greater inducement. Hence it is advisable to allow higher rates of commission on the work from rural areas and lower rates on work from urban areas. The reduction in the rates for work from urban areas should not be such as to sap the initiative and enthusiasm of the agents.

The nationalised insurance agency should not form part of any Government department but should be a statutory body vested with powers to take decisions in all matters in the light of broad outlines of policy laid down by the Parliament. It should be run on a purely commercial basis and hence the general rules of audit for the Government Departments should be adapted to subserve the purpose.

In the years to come the agency must be responsive to the changing needs of the people and their growing and varied requirements of insurance, if it is to assume proportions. For this purpose it would be desirable to have a development department located at the Head Office as well at the zonal offices which should devote itself to the study of this problem. As regards investment it has already been pointed out that 55.3 per cent of the investment is in Government and Municipal securities and 15.7 per cent in the private industries. Nationalisation does not mean that the already available amount of investment will be denied to these industries as announced by the Finance Minister. But the question is whether in the years to come the same percentage of investment will be available to private industries or not. It may be desirable to keep up this percentage invested in private industries as it will enable Government to be indirectly in touch with the progress of such industries. Further there is another question whether there should be any change in the hitherto granted loans by the insurers against mortgages of real estate insurance policies, land and house property. The Government may think of bringing about certain changes, *e.g.*, it may like to grant loans for schemes which have been given priority in the Plan such as construction of houses for middle class and other people in low income-groups and slum clearance. However, any change envisaged in the pattern of investment should not result in the curtailment of facilities already available to policy-holders nor in too much reduction of profits and ultimate reduction in the rate of bonus to the policy-holders. The principles of profitability, safety, service and prompt settlement of claims which are the corner-stones of insurance business ought to be so harmonised by the nationalised insurance agency as to subserve the best interests of the nation and policy-holders and result in the maximum possible economic development of the country.*

* The per capita insurance in India is only Rs. 26 as against Rs. 191 in Japan, Rs. 214 in Brazil, Rs. 1,827 in U.K., Rs. 2037 in Australia, Rs. 3160 in New Zealand and Rs. 9800 in U.S.A.

* The views expressed in this article are the personal views of the author. They have nothing to do with his official capacity.

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SOME FUNDAMENTALS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF PAKISTAN

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By Prof. J. B. Ganguly, M.A.

I

The Islamic Republic—A Curious Compromise between the Sacerdotium and the Imperium

The Draft Constitution of Pakistan declares Pakistan as an Islamic Republic. The attribute "Islamic" is justified by two specific provisions embodied in the Constitution. One is that none other than a Muslim shall ever be the Head of the State; and the second one is that "No law shall be enacted which is repugnant to the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the holy Quran and Sunnah . . . . . ." Pakistan is called a "Republic" because the government there will constitute and function, as they claim, on the line of British Parliamentary practice though without a second chamber.

What is "Islam"?

Islam is surrender to God. Surrender implies two concepts. Mentally, one must surrender to the will of God as propounded in the Quran and in outward behaviours, one must follow the practices of the Prophet Muhammad, known as Sunnah. Sunnah is the code of conduct for every follower of Islam.

How Sunnah came to furnish with a body of rules for the guidance of the Muslims? During the time of the Prophet Muhammad the Muslims were united together in the "Brotherhood of the Faithful" by the tie of the common faith. They knew no state in the modern sense. So there cannot be any existence of law to regulate the conduct of the followers of his faith but his own conduct.

In such circumstances, it is incomprehensible that it has become possible for the framers of the Constitution of Pakistan to deliberately limit the sovereign power of the people of Pakistan by making the injunctions of Islam overriding upon the powers of their Parliament to enact laws.

We shall have to find out the answer in the genesis of Pakistan. Pakistan has been founded on the theory of the supremacy of religion as the main political force in the formation of a state, and not nationalism properly understood. Pakistan has been brought to being in the name of the protection of a minority solely based on religion. Originally the move was for asserting certain safeguards, such as separate electorate for the Muslims in the constitutional reform measures initiated by the ruling power. At that time there was no demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims. The late M. A. Jinnah in his speech delivered on Feb. 7, 1935 in the Indian Legislative Assembly said:

> ". . . . I agree . . . . that religion should not be allowed to come to politics . . . . but . . . . is this a question of religion purely? No Sir, this is a question of minorities and it is a political issue . . . . ."

At a later period the move turned into a demand for a separate sovereign state for the Muslims altogether:

> "Mussalmans are not a minority as it is c monly known and understood . . . . Mussalmans a nation according to any definition of a nation they must have their homeland, their territory their State . . . . ."—Jinnah's presidential Muslim League Session, Lahore, 1940.

Thus it is clear that Pakistan has been estab as a homeland for the Mussalmans. When the has been set up on the basis of religion it is but that this religious bias would be reflected in the law or the Constitution of that State. Bu matter relating to Pakistan cannot be explained so simply. Though the demand for Pakistan was ceded to the Muslims they got it by surrend territorial unity. Pakistan is composed of two separated by more than one thousand miles from another. This territorial non-integrity in itself is significant as the consequent changes in language rature, culture and tradition of the people of the wings. Of late, the leaders of Pakistan are facing culties in binding together the two wings of Pakis one state and under one government. A progressive ment has emerged in Pakistan with the demand for fledged democratic and federal State with fuller re autonomy and full liberty for the people. Pakista been facing the vital problem of protecting the newly State from going apart and being torn to pieces the one hand, it became evident that religion was to maintain unity and the democratic forces of Pak were becoming more and more powerful and influen on the other hand, Pakistan being ruled by a clique oligarchs could not find out any force other than re which can hold the different sections of Pakistan to into one State composed of people of different o and cultures.

The trend is not accidental. The different of a society develop a schism between themselves is nothing but the outward expression of "schism the soul" in Toynbee's words.

> "If people are to feel at one with them and if there is to be harmony among groups requirements have to be met. Subjectively beings must feel that what unites them is stro to what separates them. Objectively, they need institutional means for organising those fee *The Great Issues Of Politics* by Leslie Lipson, p

In a modern State the common unifying for nationalism. But in Pakistan they have sought unifying force in religion in spite of its losing in the modern age of secularism. When secularism definitely replaced ecclesiasticism the attempt at taining religion as the main unifying force is cert a reactionary step. And here lies a great danger Pakistan.

> "The political process has a characteristic which many examples may be noted, that when trend in one direction has reached a point of

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it is likely to prove a counteractive in reverse." Lipson, *ibid*, p. 167.

Similarly, too much emphasis on religion will have its reaction in Pak politics and then Pakistan may not find out an alternative force to keep the different sections in Pakistan together—this is the danger which the leaders of Pakistan can overlook at the cost of their own peril.

Thus the apparent contradiction in the Draft Constitution of Pakistan, *viz.*, religious supremacy fiitted in a republican structure merely reflects the conflict between the religious leaders who are not ready to surrender their 'holy' rights to rule and the rising political forces which also asserts the right of the "General Will."

How far religious bias has been deliberately incorporated in the Draft Constitution to supply as a unifying force may be questioned. But it has been strengthened by the vested interests of Pakistan,, who have been gradually losing ground from under their feet and who have been trying to maintain their political power anyhow. The rise of nascent progressivism in the body politic of Pakistan is not solely the result of growing political consciousness but also the result of growing distrust in the corrupt religious leaders.

Where and how far these conflicting forces will lead Pakistan to is very difficult to predict. But this much can safely be said that Pakistan cannot achieve political stability under the proposed constituton which fails to give a correct synthesis of the contradictory forces working in Pakistan.

II

Federal Structure Of Pakistan

Subjectively, the unifying forces in Pakistan has been sought in religion while objectively, the institutional means of federalism has been accepted.

"A federal State," says Dicey, "is a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity and power with the maintenance of State rights."

Pakistan's problem of disintegrating forces has already been discussed. Pakistan would have avoided a federal structure but for the rise of strong opposition parties in East Pakistan which demanded greater autonomy for East Pakistan. Sir Ivor Jennings said on one occasion that

"Nobody would have federal constitution if he could possibly avoided it."—*Some Characteristics Of The India Constitution*, p. 55.

To stop the bickerings and conflicts between the rival groups in the Punjab (P), N.W.F.P. and Sind these units of West Pakistan were combined into one province. The centralising policy which was strongly enforced in case of the different units of West Pakistan could have also been extended to the different units of Pakistan as a whole. Such a scheme could not be given effect to in the teeth of violent opposition from East Pakistan. Secondly, constitution is never made, it grows. The Constitution of Pakistan like that of India grew out of the Government of India Act, 1935, wherein the foundations of the federal system were already laid down.

That is why the federal structure of Pakistan appears, in many respects, similar to that of India. Like India the Draft provides for a strong Centre having right to proclaim a Governor's rule in any Province in time of emergency.

But in some other respects, the character of federalism in Pakistan is quite different from that of India. The classical definition of a federation runs in the following line:

That there are two types of governments—government for the whole country and the governments for the units comprising the federal union—each legally supreme in its own sphere. But from the very beginning of federalism as form of government, the problem of balancing power between the centre and the units and that between the units themselves have posed itself for many a time.

In all the existing federations, excluding Pakistan of course, the number of member units is more than two where the varied and complex relation between different units and that between the units and the centre ends in a somewhat balancing of claims and counterclaims, conflicts and compromises. But in Pakistan, they are going to have a federation of two wings with parity in the number of representatives to the central legislature. So in Pakistan they will have a federation where the interests of the two wings are so sharply different and where the central government is sure to be dominated by one wing there cannot be any balancing of interests, on the contrary, the conflicts are sure to be very sharp. Bi-cameral legislature has a special significance in a federal system—second chambers are designed to bring a balance and equality in the representation of the different units composing the federation. In Pakistan, they have abandoned any such scheme for a second chamber. *Prima facie* it might appear as progressive but ultimately it is sure to prove to be a wanting factor in the Pak Constitution. A second chamber at the centre, in the Pakistani context, could serve as a balancing factor of opposing interests in the lower house provided the system of representation to the second chamber could be based on well-devised principles.

The observations made above suggest that the exigencies of the circumstances will always keep the federation of Pakistan in a fluid state. Contingency arrangements cannot ensure federalism. So in spite of an outer shape of federation Pakistan cannot truly become a federation of two wings though it can be a confederation of two states with much more autonomy of the member units than that envisaged in the draft under consideration.

The conditions mentioned above may lead Pakistan to a completely opposite direction, namely, centralisation. The governments of the world supply us with ample examples of differences between the law of the constitution and the actual practices of government. Compare *Modern Constitution* by K. C. Wheare, p. 28:

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". . . . it is interesting to compare the law of the constitution with the practice of government. Although the powers of veto and disallowance have been exercised by the Government of Canada over provincial legislation, they have been used sparingly and they have done little to contradict in practice the independent status of the provinces. In Australia on the other hand, where the law of the constitution safeguards the independence of the states more strictly, the control of the Commonwealth of Australia over the governments of the states has become so great that some observers would say that in practice the states of Australia are little more than the administrative agencies of the Commonwealth."

The forces that generally condition the affairs of a state are varied. The forces are geographical, historical, economic and technological. But the most important forces are economic and "the tension of military preparedness." The United Front of East Pakistan has after stubborn and continued assertion been able to earn for the provinces "the major say in formulating economic, financial and commercial policies of Pakistan." Yet the greater financial resources of the Central government will ultimately mean a greater reliance of the provinces upon the central assistance. Moreover, the grant of vast American military aid at the central level and Pakistan's entering into several military pacts with different countries, all lead us to conclude that there is already a strong centralising tendency working in Pakistan.

So the conclusion is obvious that Pakistan cannot remain truly federal, it will, in practice, either turn into a confederation or a unitary form of government; the weight of centralising evidences existent in Pakistan, however, indicate a stronger possibility of its turning into the latter.

III

Minority Safeguards

J. S. Mill mentioned in his *On Representative Government* the "danger of class legislation on the part of the numerical majority" as one of the serious "dangers incident to a representative democracy." Pakistan being composed of an overwhelmingly majority community and numerically an absolute minority is naturally all the more subject to the dangers of class legislation. This danger has proved to be a reality since Pakistan has been sought to be modelled as an "Islamic Republic" where the injunctions of Islam and not the will of the people will ultimately prevail. By debarring the non-Muslims from becoming the President or Vice-president of Pakistan they have been relegated to the status of inferior citizenship, in spite of the Draft Constitution's specific, albeit deceiving, declaration that

"Nothing in this article (relating to overriding authority of the injunctions of the Quran) shall affect the personal laws of non-Muslims, the status of non-Muslims as citizens of Pakistan . . . ."

Such a discrimination between the citizens of a state on the basis of religion is the very negation of political equality which is the fundamental basis of democracy. If it is claimed that Pakistan is [illegible] serve as a homeland for the Mussalmans only [illegible] non-Mussalmans cannot claim equal treatment [illegible] the Mussalmans, the answer is, this is quite con[illegible] the professed and declared policy of the buil[illegible] Pakistan:

". . . . Mussalmans residing in the areas [illegible] they form a majority should have their own [illegible] land and thereby have an opportunity to [illegible] their spiritual, cultural, economic and political [illegible] accordance with their own genius, and shape [illegible] own future destiny, at the same time allowing [illegible] and others to do likewise . . . . The division of [illegible] will throw a great responsibility upon the majo[illegible] its respective zones to create real sense of [illegible] among the minorities and win their complete [illegible] and confidence . . . ."

—M. A. Jinnah on the Lahore Resolution,

The Resolution of the Muslim League, [illegible] Ssession, March, 1940 is more specific:

"That adequate, effective and mandatory safe[illegible] should be specifically provided in the con[illegible] for minorities in these units and in these [illegible] (*i.e.*, the regions going to Pakistan—the [illegible] for the protection of their religious, cultural, [illegible] mic, *political, administrative* and other rights [illegible] interests in *consultation with them* . . . ."

From the extracts given above it will appear [illegible] the leaders of Muslim League in order to establish [illegible] right to form a separate state committed themselves [illegible] all kinds of safeguards and securities to the m[illegible] who would be living in Pakistan. Whatever the p[illegible] might have been, the commitments clearly rec[illegible] the fact that Pakistan was not for the Mussalmans [illegible] but also for the non-Mussalmans. All these show [illegible] when religion is adopted as the fundamental b[illegible] state true democracy can hardly be attained in [illegible] commitments which are sure to remain as scra[illegible] paper.

Equality and liberty are the two pillars [illegible] democracy. We have seen that equality of treatment [illegible] the citizens of Pakistan is non-existent. What [illegible] civil liberty? The most important safeguards of [illegible] liberty is the right to have a share in the administ[illegible] of the country, in other words, the right [illegible] and free and fair election. But, here again, re[illegible] bigotry lulled all sense of democratic outlook [illegible] has been proved by the Drafting Committee's [illegible] reach a decision on the question of joint electorate [illegible] ruling clique of Pakistan is insisting on a [illegible] electorate for the non-Muslims. Why—not [illegible] reason that the non-Muslims are demanding it, [illegible] contrary, in the teeth of their strong opposition [illegible] rulers are insisting on it for the sake of se[illegible] different communities from political unity. The [illegible] know that their vested interests are secured so [illegible] they can maintain communal ill feelings am[illegible] different communities, so it is to their interest [illegible] they are to include such provisions in the con[illegible] which will perpetuate their power that they are [illegible] ing at present.

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Special safeguards are, no doubt, required for the protection of minority interests, but minorities themselves are the best judges of their own interests. When the minorities demand joint electorate, if the rulers of the majority community really feel for the minority interests, they should try to satisfy the desires of the minorities. Moreover, the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League specifically directed to protect the interests of the minorities "*in consultation with them.*" Thus we see that the minorities are neither equal with the majority in political status nor do they fully enjoy political liberty in Pakistan.

Conclusion

On all these accounts it is very clear that the State of Pakistan as envisaged in the Draft Constitution will essentially be undemocratic notwithstanding its bearing the name of 'Republic.' All attempts at a compromise between theocracy and republicanism may help to supply temporarily, but temporarily only, as a patchwork in unifying the two opposite forces perceptible in Pakistan, *viz.*, the eager wish of the religious, corrupt and top leaders having no connection with the people to secure their political power and influence *versus* the bidding for power of the rising, nascent but growing forces of secularism, progressivism and democratic ideas. This patchwork cannot last long—the state structure of Pakistan is sure to change, exactly when it will, is a mere matter of time.*

* All the extracts from the late Jinnah's speeches or from the Muslim League Resolution have been quoted from *The Making of the Indian Constitution* by Dr. A. C. Banerjee.

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TATANAGAR
The Steel Town of India
By MANIK LAL MUKHERJEE

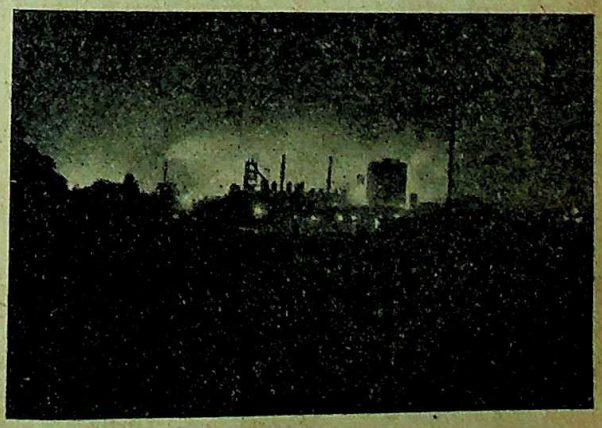
Tatanagar may be called the premier steel town not only of India but of South-east Asia. It is 156 miles from Calcutta and is situated in the district of Singhbhum in Bihar. The climate is hot throughout

Tatanagar at dawn

the year except in the winter months which last here from about the middle of November to the end of January. The average maximum temperature of Tatanagar is almost the same as that of Calcutta being in excess by a degree or two. But the average minimum temperature is found to be always less by four to seven degrees than that of Calcutta. The summer months are very hot specially because of the hot blast furnaces and the various rolling and sheet mills working day and night.

The busy industrial town of Tatanagar is very neat and clean and its undulating roads that run in various directions in many a circuit surrounded by overlooking hills, afford very pleasant drives. Bedecked with rows of buildings and quarters Tatanagar wears a very beautiful appearance in the evening when the city lights vie in grandeur with the twinkling stars of the sky above, the visitors' eyes being diverted occasionally by the frequent glows of the blast furnaces.

On the night of the 10th November, 1954, when we arrived at Tatanagar at that unearthly hour of 2-41 hrs. the city was under a spell of winter and the giant rolling and puffing mills with the glowing blast furnaces of Tata Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., which know no rest, were still at work and found to be groaning as it were. Our journey from Howrah was a matter of only about six hours. For the night we slept in the bogie detached from the Ranchi Express which left Howrah at 20-45 hrs., though not undisturbed by



Tata Works at night

the not-too-infrequent clashes of shunting wagons. With a cup of very hot tea to cheer us up we sauntered out of the Railway Station and boarded the car

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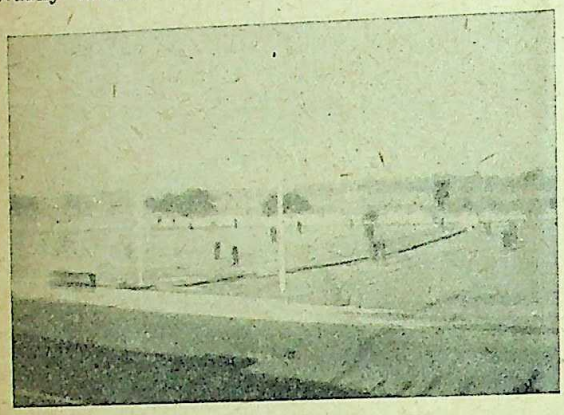
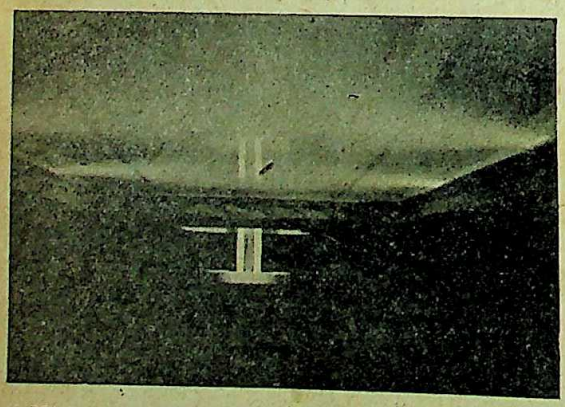
which had been in waiting for us to carry us to our destination. The smiling morning sun greeted us from the East. It was then about the middle of November and mercury stood within the range of 85 to 57 degrees Farenheit. With our overcoat on we had actually to shiver in the morning.



Artificial Lake and Park, Jamshedpur

Until 1905 Jamshedpur was a part of undivided Bengal but it was subsequently integrated with Behar by the then rulers with a view to cripple Bengal which proved to be the hotbed of nationalism.

The river Subernarekha which rises from the Hudru Falls at Ranchi passes through the town of Jamshedpur, the old name of Tatanagar, and divides the district of Singhbhum from the district of Manbhum. The river Kharkai meets the Subernarekha at some distance off Tatanagar. Lately a bridge has been constructed by the Tatas over the river Subernarekha over which runs a fine asphalted road that lead to the beautiful Dimna Nalah, a rain water catchment in the valley of the hills on three sides.



Night view of the Swimming Pool of the Jamshedpur Senior Staff Club

It is a place worthy of visit. There is a Rest House at the top which is very often resorted to as a place for picnic, for which permission has had to be obtained from the Tatas. A levy of rupee one per taxi is collected at the toll office near the bridge but private cars are exempted from such payments.

The history of the development of Tatanagar the history of the development of steel industry India. But the name of a great patriot and industrialist is rightly associated with it. He was the Jamshedji Tata who had a broad vision of an I industrially free from foreign control. His dream been fulfilled.

The present city is the ultimate growth of tiny pretty village known as Sakchi, which is now suburb of the main town, and was rightly renamed Jamshedpur by the then Viceroy of India in the of his visit to the place in 1911.

Until 1902 Sakchi was a village with a few straggling huts when the industrial dreamer, Jamshedji Tata, visited the place along with the great geologists the late P. N. Bose, Mr. Weld, Mr. Page and others. close proximity to the ore-mines of Gua, Nayamura and Rakha, all discovered by the late P. N. Bose was the main reason for which Sakchi was selected be the site for a highly prospective Steel plant time has proved the justification of the selection.

Hindustan Buildings, Jamshedpur

The present population of Tatanagar is 25 about 80 per cent of whom are the employees of Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., the Tata Engineering and Locomotive Works (TELCO), Indian Steel Products, the Tinplate Co., and various other industries. More industries are likely to thrive up future in this area owing to the availability of in close proximity to minerals of the ever-bounti Chota Nagpur. The civic administration of the is run by the Tatas themselves through an administrator and that very nicely. The roads are very clean. Its road system resembles that of there being about one hundred and seventy-five of roadways in and around Tatanagar. The served by water mains running to about a hundred fifty miles, the drainage and sewerage totalling hundred and thirty miles, as I was told by P. N. Mukherjee of the Public Relations Office of Tatas, who also provided me with necessary statistics.

The domestic water-supply per day is about

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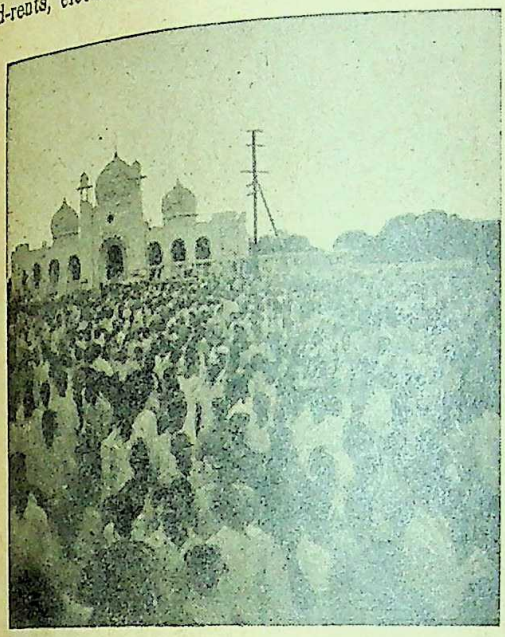
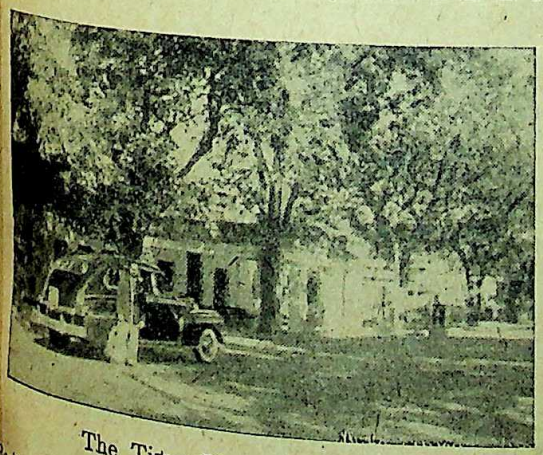
million gallons. The total cost of maintenance of Jamshedpur Proper, I was informed, is over a crore of rupees. The total income including house-rents, land-rents, electric charges, etc., is barely Rs. 43 lakhs.



Central Mosque, Jamshedpur

The deficit is met from the Company's funds allotted for the purpose. Water is supplied free to the citizens, the charge of electricity consumed is only half an anna per unit. It may be noted that Tatanagar got its first electric supply from D.V.C. in August, 1954. Great care is bestowed upon the medical and health services. There is a Class I hospital with 410 beds and 48 doctors, of whom 10 are specialists, 114 nurses and sisters are always busy at the hospital. There are as many as 18 clinics of which one is a T. B. Clinic. The number of dispensaries run by the Tatas is six.



The Tisco Hotel, Tatanagar

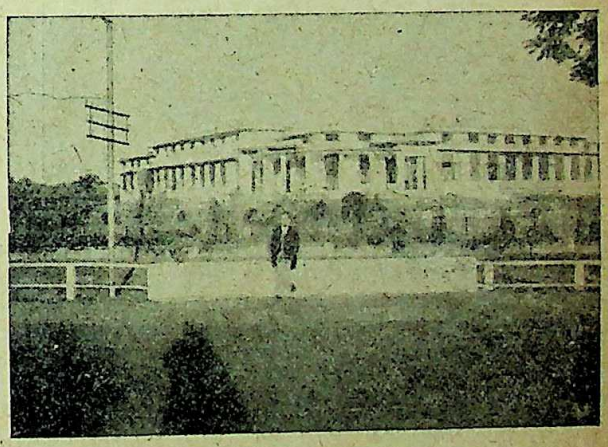
Besides these, there are dispensaries of other Companies as well as of private medical practitioners. Dr. Bankim Chandra Bose of the Tinplate Co., is one of the oldest and ablest medical practitioners of Jamshedpur. About Rs. 35.72 lakhs are spent every year for medical and health services by the Tatas alone.

Great attention is also paid to the problem of education to the town. There are forty schools run by the Tatas. There are also thirty-five more run by other private bodies. The table is given below:

Category of school	No. of schools	No. of students on roll on 31.3.52
H. E. School for boys	2	3370
Night High Schools for boys	1	486
High School for girls	1	862
Middle Schools for boys	7	4129
U. P. Schools for boys & girls	9	4278
Lower Primary Schools	16	4033
Middle Schools for girls	4	2121
		19279

All the private schools are recipients of grants-in-aid of the House of Tatas. A table for the number of students studying through different languages media is given below:

Hindi	8959
Urdu	2336
Bengali	6230
Oriya	1485
Telugu	269
	19279



Jamshedpur Club near Sakchi

This excludes the figures of other private schools, majority of which are run by Bengalis.

A great percentage of the profits earned by the Tatas go to the various Trusts created by them for the welfare of the nation and for the furtherance of scientific studies for the industrial development of India. Of the Trusts mention may be made of Sir Dorabji Trust which maintains the Tata Memorial Hospital, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research. The huge Sir Ratan Tata Technological Laboratory is due to the munificence of Sir Ratan Tata. There are also the

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Sir Ratan Tata Charities, Lady Tata Memorial Trust, J. N. Tata Endowment for higher education, the Indian Institute at Bangalore and several others.

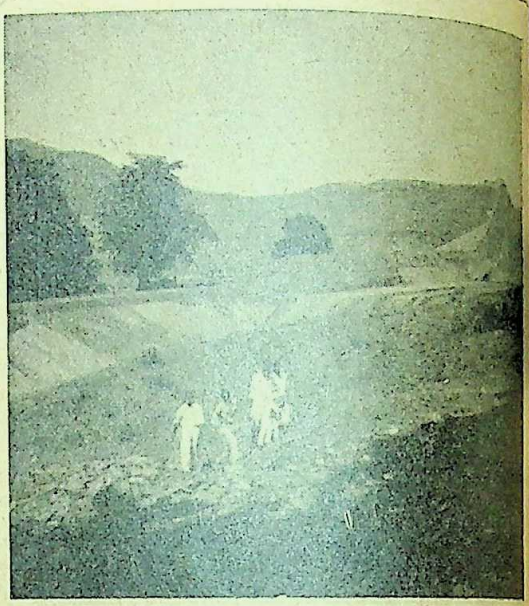
By kind permission of Sri J. L. Sinha, Officer-in-charge of the Works, I had the privilege to go round the works and visit the production plant working at high speed. What impressed me most was the vastness of the Tata Works and the efficiency and skill with which all work is handled. There was perfect discipline amongst the workers. How valiantly the workers were working before the furnaces and great fires simply amazed me. The manner in which the sturdy workers of the Tatas face many a risk is really an example to our youth who should see those works at the first opportunity and learn that discipline and diligence work wonders.

Dimna Lake

A glance through the following items of benefits that a Tata employee is entitled to receive will convince the readers that the Tata employees are really well paid and well cared for. They get: (1) The basic wage, (2) Performance bonus, (3) An incentive bonus, (4) Dearness allowance, (5) Emergency bonus, (6) Food subsidy, (7) Attendance bonus, (8) A profit-sharing bonus, (9) Provident Fund, (10) Retiring gratuity, which is never less than 15 months' wages. The aforesaid benefits are, needless to say, highly attractive to labour and employees in general. With greater advancement of the plant it may be hoped that some day the employees themselves would become co-sharers with the shareholders.

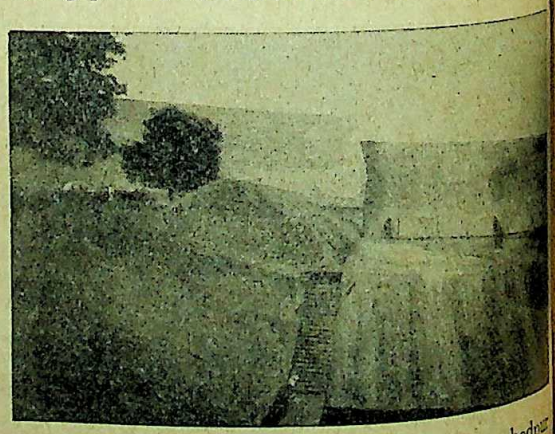
A brief history of the development of steel industry will certainly be of some interest to the readers. Let me now narrate the circumstances that led to the birth of the Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., and as a consequence the development of old Sakchi into the full-fledged city of Tatanagar.

Whilst the selfless Indian patriots like the late W. C. Bonnerji and Dadabhai Naoraji had been engaged in devoting all their energies towards the political emancipation of India, another patriot and



To the Dimna Lake

industrial dreamer, the late Jamshedji Tata, devoted his heart and soul to make India self-sufficient in respect of cotton and steel products. Steel-making had never been unknown in ancient India, but it was a very hard problem for Jamshedji to tackle. A steel plant must needs stand in close proximity to iron ores and limestone mines and must have a reliable source of water supply. He consulted his British industrial colleagues who laughed at the idea. But Jamshedji was the man who would never be deflected from his purpose. He had that stubborn will and untiring perseverance even in the face of heavy odds.



The Dimna Catchment and Falls, Jamshedpur

A silver lining was noticed in the cloud of problems that beset his vision. About the year 1899 a German geologist Ritter Von Schwartz by name submitted a report to the then Government of India on the Chanda ores of Madhya Pradesh. In 1902,

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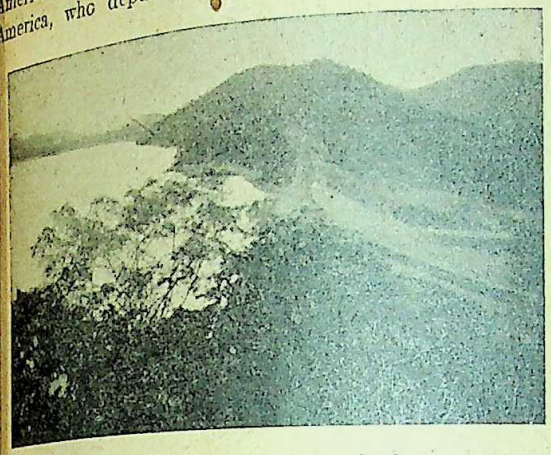
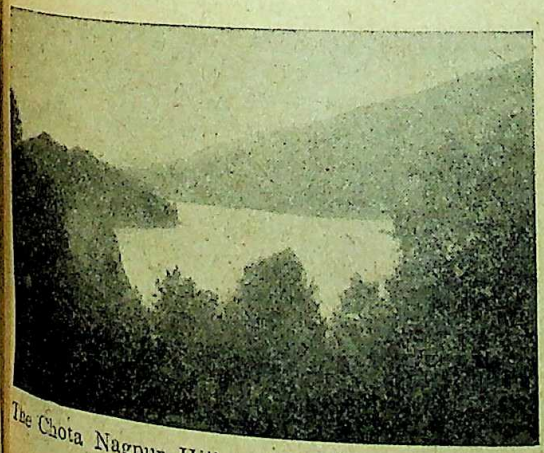
shedji secured the expert services of the well-known American geologist, Messrs. Kennedy Sahlin & Co. of America, who deputed to him two technical experts,



The Dimna Reservoir, Jamshedpur

Charles Page Perin and G. M. Weld. Epic search was made by Mr. Weld but all to no purpose. At last Pramatha Nath Bose, a Bengali scientist, not very well-known at the time, who had worked as an officer of the Survey of India Department and had as a protest against racial discrimination resigned for being passed over by a junior British officer, came forward with his vast geological experience of Chota Nagpur mines. He assured Jamshedji that there are iron ore mines at Gua and Nayamundi, and by good luck the mines were actually discovered at those places. The location of limestone deposits in close proximity led to the selection of the little village of Sakchi as the site for the construction of a modern Steel Plant. Thus the first Steel Plant in India came into existence.



The Chota Nagpur Hills and Dimna Catchment near Rest House

It may be noted that P. N. Bose was then in the employ of the Mayurbhanj Raj State and he was the first Indian adviser of the Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd. A statue was erected after his death by the Tatas most deferentially and placed in the Works, which stand in splendence even to this day.

Sakchi is now a suburb of Tatanagar. A company was floated by Sir Dorabji Tata and his valiant compatriots and appeal for shares was made first in the London Market where it received a poor response. Towards the end of the year 1907 the first Steel Company was floated in Bombay and the entire share capital of two crores was fully subscribed by India's 8,000 patriotic citizens alone.

Construction work began in the year 1908 and the first cast of pig iron, so goes the Company's report, flowed down the runners on the 2nd Dec., 1911. The first ingot of rolled-off iron came out on the 16th Feb., 1912. Today the Company boasts of two great plants, namely, the East plant and the West plant. Now the vast sheet and rolling mills work and groan like giants all day and night and know no rest. The Company is now proud of possessing five big blast furnaces, one Duplex plant, coke ovens and many open hearth furnaces. Besides there are the tool shops of a wide variety.

The Dawn. Sunrise at Bihar

The Tata Research and Control Laboratory was opened by Sir Nawroji Saklatwala, Chairman of the Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd., the foundation stone of the same having been most ceremoniously laid by Sir Ardeshir Dalal on 6th November, 1937. It is housed in a very fine building and stands near the Burmah Mines Gate of the Company in close proximity to the National Metallurgical Laboratory of the Government of India where works in his silent manner. the eminent scientist Mr. Bucknall, the Director of the Laboratory. The Research and Control Laboratory of the Tatas must needs be proud of having the great metallurgist of India, Sri Vatcha Gandhi. A man of vast erudition and humble personality, his very appearance reminded me of the great Indian chemist and savant of India, the late Sir P. C. Roy.

Tatanagar is humming with activity and life today. Of clubs, libraries and cinemas there is no dearth. Besides motor cars, taxis and buses that ply day and night, the continuous flow of cycles, specially, during the busy working hours, led me to believe that Tatanagar has its own speciality.

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The Bengali population of Jamshedpur seemed to be very happy. Recently the eleventh Bangiya Sahitya Sammelan of Jamshedpur was held on the 13th and 14th November, 1954. I was privileged to attend some of its sessions presided over by Dr. Kalidas Nag who graced the Sammelan along with a group of Bengali litterateurs from Calcutta. The deliberations were very thoughtful and the amusements and dramatic performances including the music by the Gita B... made the function a grand success.

My thanks are due to Sri S. N. Mahalingam, Chief Inspector of Boilers, and Sri Dilip Hazra Sakchi for some of the information incorporated this article. For the photographs published in body of the article I must thank my friend Sailendra Kumar Nath of the Government of In...

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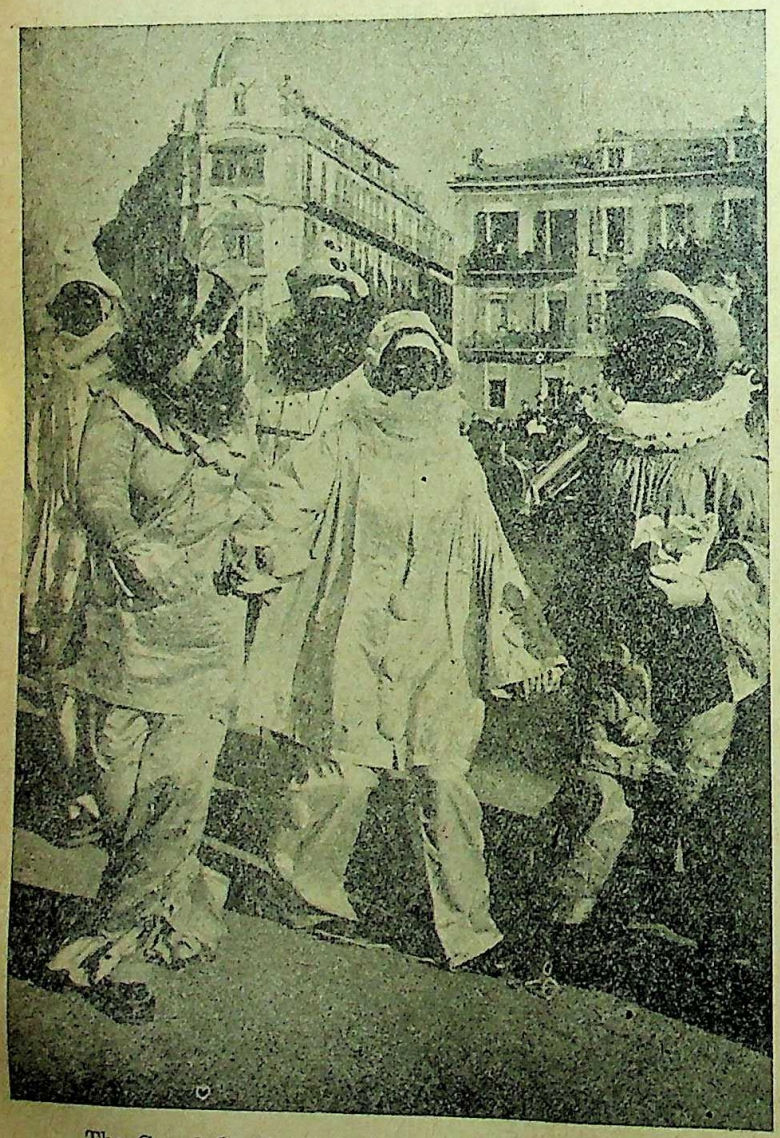
FRENCH SEASIDE RESORTS

By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

Very few countries in the world can be so rightly proud of their seaside resorts as France. These fashionable bathing centres are indeed as famous ... appealing as the industries, museums and art gal... which have brought endless re... tation to France from time ... memorial. Earnest and enterpri... the French believe in enjoying ... in the fullest sense of the ... and their beaches are a mirror ... their customs and traditions ... their novel way of life. A dr... land of the tourists, France ... the world wth its ever-new fa... and graceful beaches.



The Grand Carnival at Nice, the pride of the Riviera

The 2000-mile-long French c... faces the three mighty oceans, ... North Sea, the Atlantic and ... Mediterranean, each of which ... presented something unique to ... three hundred and odd seaside ... sorts. The Mediterranean, b... ironically as the laziest ocean ... the world, washes out the sun... coast and graces half-a-hundred ... sorts with warm climate and tro... vegetation. Since the weather ... always pleasant and the sea p... for bathing the numerous ... and cities here are always cro... and busy with carnivals and ... grammes throughout the year. ... notorious and aggressive tides of ... Atlantic have failed to harm ... tany, Gascony and Vendee which ... rightly proud of their emerald c... with prosperous cities facing ... ocean. Dinard, Brest, Royan ... Biarritz are some of the more ... pular holiday resorts which ... specially attractive in summ... when the climate is gentle and

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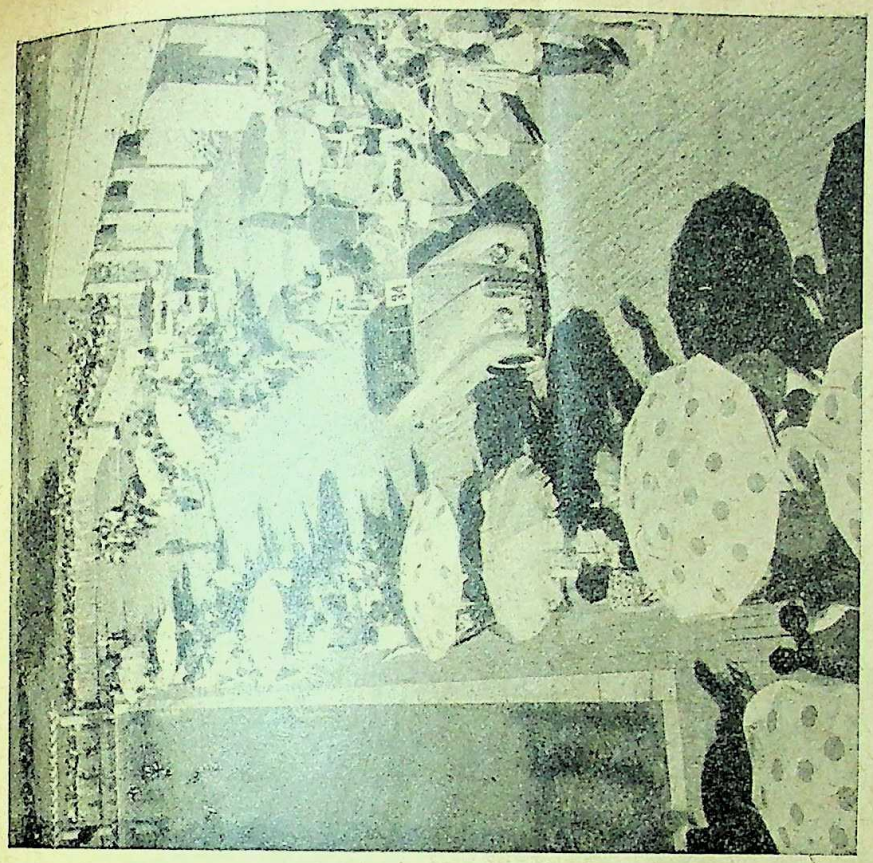
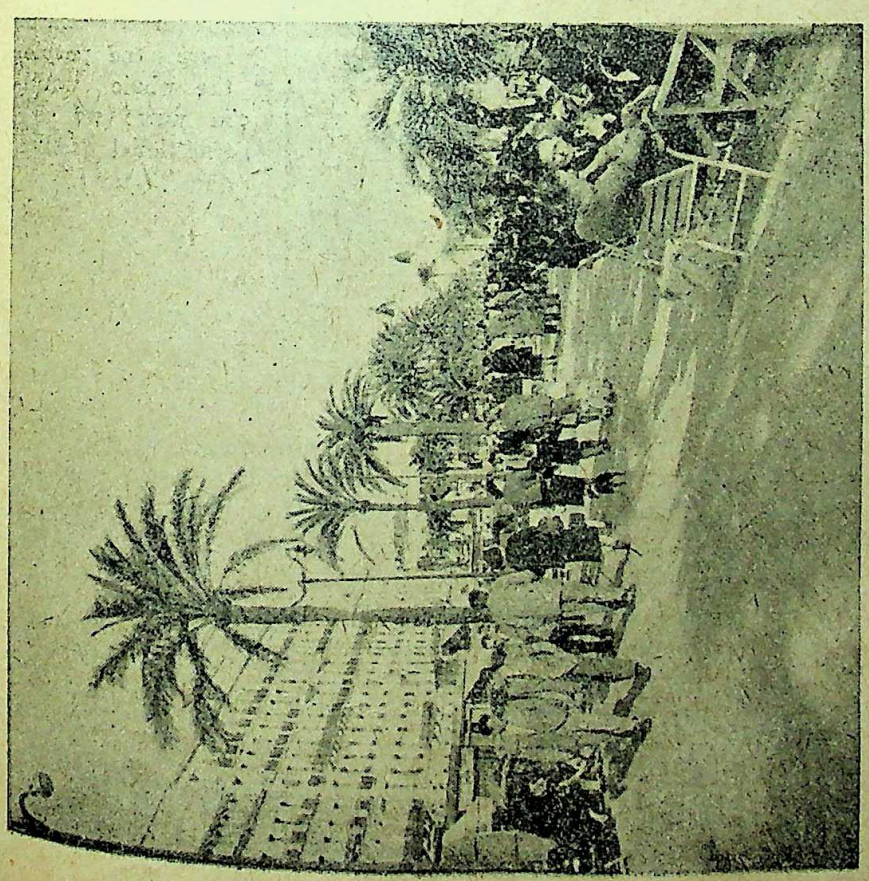


The Automobile Fashion Contest in progress at Biarritz



The view of a busy street in Cannes

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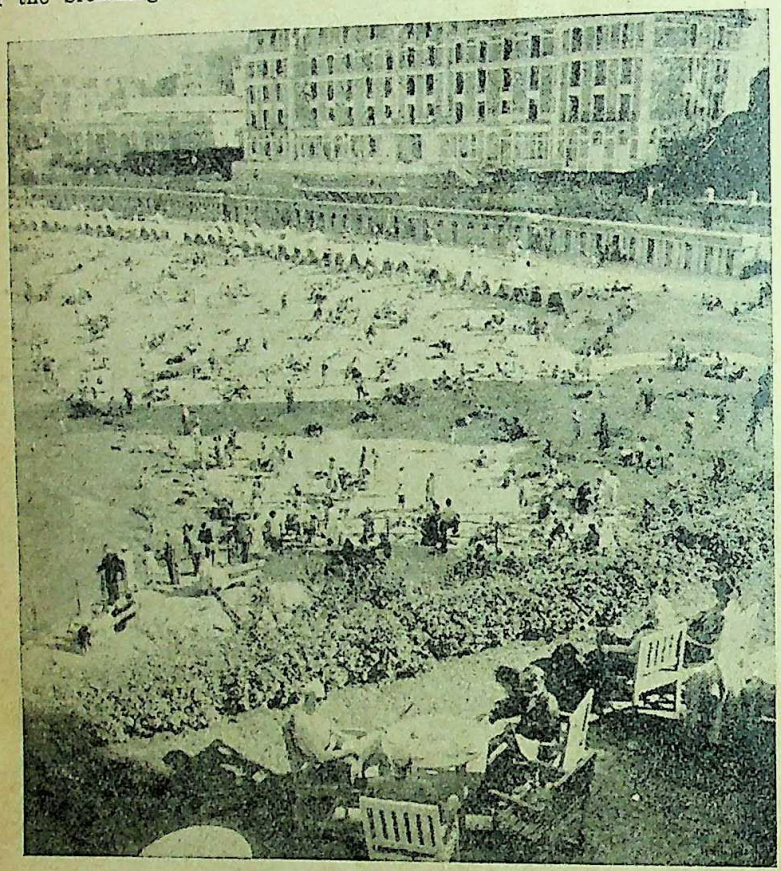
sea obliging. Also charming and equally fascinating are the beaches of the North Sea and the English Channel which have bestowed a variety of scenery and beauty. With broad stretches of milk-white sand, the fashionable dwellings of this region, like Le Tonguet, Le Havre and Dunkerque, are perfect for swimming and cast a spell of magic on the visitors from all parts of the breathing world.



Holiday crowds relaxing at Dinard, the leading seaside resort facing the Atlantic Ocean

A brief account of the activities at some of these world-renowned seaside resorts will enable us to appreciate their way of life which is so very different and pleasant. Of all the resorts of the French Riviera, Nice, facing the Mediterranean, is superb. With fetes and fancy-dress competitions, dancing events and carnivals, it looks enchanting at all hours. None can resist going through the year-round schedule at Nice this year. Items like "His Majesty King Carnival," "The Battle of Flowers," "The Night of the International Lions Club" at *Palais de la Mediterrance* and the colourful display of fireworks are all unique in themselves and are sure to create an atmosphe fun, romance and exhilaration.

Fashionable parties, ballets and musical co are also a regular feature at Cannes, "The Pea the Riviera." With a refreshing climate, bea roads bordered by the coconut trees, it is a fav rendezvous of the film stars. The International Festival is the leading attraction of Cannes this y

Juan-les-Pins, Antibes, Mar and Menton are hardly less brated than Nice or Cannes continue to inspire the visitors their ever-new charms, society and memorable fetes and a b other activities.

Fondly cherished as the "Q of Brittany Resorts," Dinard, its colourful surrounding always fascinating to its b crowds. The golden sand is p up with gay and fun-loving and women, boys and girls, enjoy dancing and bathing bright sunlight. There are all of arrangements for camping ing, swimming and enjoying tennis and a variety of sports

Biarritz is yet another lar resort facing the At Here the people assemble the whole world to laze in warm waters and indulge traditional folk-dances and door games. The outsta event at Biarritz is the mobile Fashion Contest. The onlookers, dressed in their modern costumes, stand on side of the road and the contestants as they move in all speed elegance.

France thus has every sort of shore with ing activity in all its resorts at all hours. T developed towns and villages are fast recover they are soon likely to capture the attention world trampers. It is these fashionable town cities that have contributed to the general pro and richness of France. No amount of praise c proper tribute to the irresistible charms of these centres and it has rightly been observed that thing is missed if these French resorts are not

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YUGOSLAV FOLK DANCE

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By JOHN FILCICH

would be impossible to evaluate appropriately the *lo and* its music to the lives of millions of Yugoslavs rough the centuries. How much joy it has brought o Croatians as their chief entertainment and diver-on, how much consolation, courage, faith and ational pride it has instilled in the Serbians, especially uring the dark days of the Turkish oppression, would ndeed be hard to tell. Small justice would it be to y that folk-music and dancing is so much a part of he everyday life of the South Slavs that it is found in ery few places on the earth. Through these means hey even prayed for rain, begged favours of the Deity, nd mourned the dead. Today, with advancements nd modernization, the ritual dances have disappeared nd are only performed for serious public presentation. No longer is the threat of a Turk near, but the Mace-onians nevertheless vow with each deliberate stamp n their *oro* or thrust of the sabre in the *Rusalija* that hey will not be subjected to foreign suppression.

The kolos are, for the most part, a combination of Slavic dance traits—especially liveliness, gaiety, quick and often gymnastic foot-work coupled with the Turko-Balkan style of dancing, the circle without partners. The Croatians and Ser-bians migrated to the Balkan penin-sula from beyond the Carpathians (present northern Ukraine) which can account for the Slavic style; proof of circle dancing dating as early as the twelfth century lies in a fresco in a Serbian monastery painted at that time depicting a circle of dancers, hands held with the person removed just as today, accompanied by a saint-king play-ing the ancient lyre and a saint credited to be St. Anne playing a percussion instrument. While the circle form of dan-cing may have developed in Yugoslavia independently, Turkish influences have been incorporated and are very much in evidence, especially in Southern Serbia and Macedonia.

The name "kolo" which also means circle and wheel in Serbo-Croatian is given collectively to all folk dances of Yugoslavia although not all danced in a circle. There are many pair dances, kolos for threes, or line dances, even solos. Influential in establish-ing the dance forms was the taboo first introduced by the Turks forbidding women to dance alongside men. Later, married women were permitted, then a married man was allowed to hold the hand of a single girl (followed by other girls); in some places a kolo could be formed if handkerchiefs separated the sexes. Gradually these taboos were removed, but in many cases the traditional form was retained. It is interesting to note that "pair dances"—one man and one woman—are not regarded as "couple dances" as is the case in other countries. We are speaking here of the true folk dances, not the polkas, waltzes, and lately foxtrots, which have invaded the towns and cities.

Few countries have the variety of folk music and dances as Yugoslavia has. This is accountable after studying its geography, foreign rule and mostly in-fluences from its neighbours. Different neighbours and invaders exerted their cultural and folk traits deli-berately or involuntarily upon the provinces adjacent to them or under their control; these provinces were usually isolated from other parts by rough mountains and distance made communication very difficult. As a matter of fact, for the most part the people learned

Men's Kolo, a Bosnian folk-dance

to live independently of their neighbouring country-men and out of this grew individual folk culture often differing greatly within a matter of miles. This dis-unity of folklore and culture has given Yugoslavia a kaleidoscopic wealth of beautiful and individual cos-tumes, dances, musical instruments, song forms, and folkcrafts in which the nation can indeed justify its pride in its folklore.

Starting in the north-westernmost part of the country, Slovenia has two distinct folk-cultures, the Alpine region around and north of Ljubljana, and the Bela Krajina, so called because the native garb is all pure white.

The former region was in centuries past under Austrian influences which has made that region the

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most highly developed and modernized. Slovenia has been the cultural and educational centre, and its folkways have been patterned after the Austrian. To-day it is synonymous with Alpine-Austrian, even the architecture and native costumes cannot be distinguished from the nearby Austrian. Typical folk dances there utilize polka, waltz, and schottiche steps and have many interesting couple dances based upon those steps. The landler is very popular.

The Bela Krajina lies adjacent to Croatia and influences of the latter have been effected by contact. Here simple walking, weaving, and running kolos accompanied by singing may be observed. Hungary contributed influences which have made the dances of

Women's Kolo, a Yugoslavian folk-dance

Croatia what they are, especially in the fast czardas-type of turning. The native dance is the *drmes* which means "shaking" dance and it has many lively forms —in pairs, threes, fours, quadrilles and various sets of those combinations. Musical accompaniment is by the tamburitza orchestra. Chief trait of the music and dance is joy and gaiety.

Because of contact with the West, less original folk creations can be found along the Croatian coast, Istria (long a part of Italy) and Dalmatia. Worthwhile exceptions are the *balun* of Istria, *tanac* of the Island of Kirk, the *poskocice* of the Dubrovnik environs. The gay and lilting music of Dalmatia however is the most beautiful and melodious in the entire country.

The kolo is said to have been develo[illegible] Serbia, and without question Old Serbia is the [illegible] of the kolo, as thousands of varieties can be [illegible] there. The most appealing and intricate fo[illegible] kolo dancing and also the kolo melodies are fo[illegible] the Vojvodina region, the provinces of Srem, B[illegible] and Backa. They are in the Panonian plain wh[illegible] characteristic costume is dark-on-white, and d[illegible] is most intricate. It might be said that kolos [illegible] their zenith in the Banat region as far as intr[illegible] and embellishments of footwork are concerned.

It is interesting and factual that the kolos [illegible] Vojvodina migrated and were adopted in nea[illegible] other regions where circle dancing was common [illegible] matter of fact, the Vojvodina style and the very [illegible] dances that were popular there around the tu[illegible] the century (when the great wave of immigrati[illegible] the United States from Yugoslavia and other E[illegible] pean countries took place) have become the a[illegible] style and repertoire of kolo dancing in the U[illegible] States. In today's second and third generation [illegible] enthusiasts the "Banat" style is coveted and atte[illegible] to be mastered—it is the "right way" and so a[illegible] but not simply because it comes from that par[illegible] province. Examples of these dances are ev[illegible] language, the Malo kolo, Cujes Mala, Susa [illegible] Zikino kolo and all kolos having the so-called [illegible] step."

Moving southward to Southern Serbia and M[illegible] donia we find the greatest Turkish influences i[illegible] music songs and dances. Here kolos often to[illegible] shape of ritual dances, and the gaiety and joy o[illegible] kolos gives way to stern pride, purpose, and [illegible] emotion. If gaiety and lightness are traits of Cr[illegible] and Serbian dances, then seriousness and co[illegible] muscular control characterise the dances of M[illegible] nia. Dancing is chiefly by men in a line, the l[illegible] establishing a pattern of often very slow, delib[illegible] highly-styled steps; he often separates from th[illegible] to perform near-gymnastic feats and is permitte[illegible] explore all choreographic possibilities of steps, s[illegible] turns, kicks suiting the mood of the dance. Mu[illegible] usually rendered by the flute-like zurle and o[illegible] more drums. Many of the dances of Macedon[illegible] semble Greek horros in steps and style.

Here in a country hardly the size of Californ[illegible] find an infinite variety of folk music, songs [illegible] dances. Here is a living museum of costumes so [illegible] rent from each other that one hardly expects to [illegible] them in the same country. With architecture in[illegible] Turkish, Venetian, Byzantine, Roman, and G[illegible] influences of seven countries, over a thousand [illegible] of regional development is it any wonder that [illegible] is such a wealth of folklore to be found in Yugosl[illegible]

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DR. JAMES H. COUSINS

An Obituary Tribute

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The successive deaths of a series of distinguished nationals of our country have snatched away from our midst during the last few weeks some towering personages of modern times. But the death of Dr. Cousins stands on a different footing. Though not an Indian national, Dr. Cousins had so completely identified himself with India and her national and cultural aspirations, that we cannot but look upon him as our own kith and kin. Born at Belfast on 22nd July, 1873, he died at the Mission Hospital in Madanpalle on 20th February last, attaining the ripe old age of 83 years. Taking his elementary education in a co-educational national school he got his early training in a boarding school in Londonderry from which he matriculated. But he had no college education and began his career as Private Secretary to the Lord Mayor. In 1917, he removed from Belfast to Dublin and soon after developed his poetical talents in association with A. E. and W. B. Yeats, the great Irish poets. Shortly thereafter he plunged himself into the new Irish Literary Movement and composed two dramas which were enacted in the Irish National Theatre. About this time he came in contact with Mrs. Annie Besant after listening to her lecture and reading her famous book *Esoteric Christianity* which gave him a deeper view of the realities behind dogma. In the meantime he had married Margaret, a Bachelor of Music and a strict vegetarian. Visiting London early in 1915 he came in contact with Grant Richards who published Cousins' volume of verses, *Straight and Crooked*, which were praised by the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Times Literary Supplement*. With ultimate Irish sympathy for Indian political aspiration, Cousins and his wife were easily persuaded by Mrs. Besant to sail for India which they did on 6th October, 1915.

Arriving at Adyar on 1st November, the couple were permitted to have a week to themselves for adoption of the Indian climate and atmosphere. And after a week Mrs. Besant fixed Dr. James Cousins up as the literary sub-editor of her new journal *New India*, her organ for the agitation for Home Rule. Then began a busy literary career sandwiched between flaming political articles and volumes of drama and poetry. This young Irish poet immediately made his mark as a journalist to which he has been a faithful devotee in the intervals of poetic compositions. He has to his credit sixteen volumes of

Dr. James H. Cousins

poetry and drama, his last volume of sonnets being published in 1949. His contribution to prose literature was equally prolific with twenty volumes to his credit. His first contact with Indian Art began with a leading article reviewing the work of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, published under the title *Art of the East* on the 17th November, 1915. In this

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article he contended that "the Art of India should be enriched by the advancement in technique and knowledge of the West: but enrichment will be assuredly turned to poverty, if the artists of India allow themselves to be lured away from their own vision and their own method." His career as an art-critic began with a brilliant review of Gangoly's *South Indian Bronzes*. This was followed by an invitation from Sir John Woodroffe, President of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, asking Dr. Cousins to come to Calcutta to see the Eighth Annual Exhibition of the Society and write about it in his own and other papers. His reviews were published—the first—in the *Statesman*, and immediately created a mild sensation in art-circles in Calcutta. On his return to Madras he immediately organized there the first exhibition of Indian paintings and awakened great interest in the new movement in Indian Art. This was followed by other stimulating exhibitions at Bangalore, Mysore and other centres, which became annual fixtures anxiously looked forward to by all lovers of art. In the still waters of Southern Indian culture, Cousins within a short time raised uproarious storms, the echoes of which have not died out yet.

His literary fame brought him an invitation from Japan as a visiting professor in the Keiogijuku University, Tokyo, where he stayed for one year, earning a Doctorate by his lectures on English literature. Mrs. Besant's *New India* having come to grief, Cousins joined the Theosophical College at Madanpalle as Principal. Shortly after this, Cousins induced the Maharaja of Mysore to found an Art Gallery at Mysore which he organised and arranged. In the intervals of teaching-work he used to travel all over India holding exhibitions of Indian paintings at various centres and delivering lectures on Indian Art. In 1928, he went on a world tour lecturing on Indian Art in Italy, Switzerland, France and the United States. In January 1937, Cousins took an active part in the Temple Entry Movement in Travancore and as a "white Brahmin" he was permitted to enter the Temple, and a Hindu name was given to him: "Jayram" (victory to the Light). He was also invested with the title of *Kulapati* (Head of the tribe). In 1931, when the young Maharaja of Travancore was installed on the throne and a new palace was built for him, Cousins appealed to the Maharaja that Indian Art should receive a place of honour in the homes of Indian rulers. This appeal was honoured by a plan to build a State Art Gallery for Travancore, and Cousins was invited too and he arranged and installed a State Gallery, which developed later as the *Sri-Chitralayam* (Palace of Art), one of the most beautiful art-centres of India. On 31st October, 1935, in recognition of his services to Art, the Maharaja of Travancore conferred on Cousins the *Vira Srinkhala* (Bracelet of prowess), an honour formerly conferred by Travancore rulers on heroes of the battlefield. "But you have been a valiant warrior for art and culture, and I have great pleasure in [illegible] you this *Vira Srinkhala* which is the highest de[illegible] of the State. And in order to show that your [illegible] is for art and culture, I have great pleasure [illegible] giving you this pandit's shawl."—(Maharaja). In [illegible] 1936, a reception was given to Dr. Cousins [illegible] residence of O. C. Gangoly at Calcutta, at w[illegible] the distinguished citizens of Calcutta assembled [illegible] honour to a great friend and apostle of Indian A[illegible] the amazement and delight of every one, who [illegible] turn up but Abanindranath Tagore, the first [illegible] the revived school of Indian painting. The great [illegible] was under medical orders to remain in his b[illegible] But something had stirred him to disobey [illegible] the interest of Art. After refreshments an illu[illegible] address, the work of the artist A. P. Banerje[illegible] presented by Abanindranath to Cousins in [illegible] promptu speech, in which he protested agai[illegible] ugliness and want of delicacy, then appearing in [illegible] works of Indian painters. He appealed with [illegible] emotion to Cousins to stand up for the artistic [illegible] ties that the Bengal revival had maintained. C[illegible] pledged himself to do all he could to fulfil the [illegible] passionate desire. The subsequent career of this [illegible] champion of Indian Art is a glorious record [illegible] fulfilment of his pledges to Dr. A. N. Tagore. [illegible] the invitation of several Universities of India, C[illegible] had delivered brilliant lectures on various phase[illegible] Indian art and culture at the Calcutta, M[illegible] Hyderabad and Kashmir Universities, many of [illegible] have not been published. For the last few years [illegible] life, he had acted as the Art Adviser to the Tra[illegible] State. Some of his books on various phases of I[illegible] culture are permanent contributions to their s[illegible] matter, of which special mention should be m[illegible] *The Cultural Unity of Asia* (1922), *Work and W[illegible]* (1922), *The Philosophy of Beauty* (1925), *Samo[illegible]* (1925), *The Faith of the Artist* (1941), *The Ar[illegible] Necessity in Life* (1944). High praise is also due [illegible] brilliant study of the *Art of Abanindranath Tagore* (1[illegible] Indian Artist Series II). His career in life has be[illegible] of multifaced activities. He has given a good [illegible] of himself as a talented poet, as a sincere po[illegible] as a brilliant journalist, as an affectionate tea[illegible] a militant social reformer, as an art-connoisseu[illegible] as an ardent and educated art-critic of a wide [illegible] of sympathies. His services to the cause of Ind[illegible] can never be repaid. For the last few years, o[illegible] certain physical infirmities, he had retired from [illegible] work, spending his last days in meditations [illegible] Brahmacharya Asrama at Adyar. In recognition [illegible] services to the National Culture of India, the G[illegible] ment of Madras had paid him a pension during [illegible] few years. He has died full of years and full of [illegible] in brilliant service to the cause of Indian nati[illegible] He has left a void in the rich gall[illegible] selfless service, which will be difficult to fill [illegible] near future.

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ROLE OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN INDIAN PLANNING

By SURESH RAMABHAI

In his presidential address to the Lucknow session (1936) of the Indian National Congress, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made a plea for socialisation of all wealth and means of production in the country it raised a furore in the business circles. A rift between the interests of the big business and of the common man was clearly discernible. But the shame of our subjection and the pressure of political events followed by the breaking up of World War rather narrowed down the difference between the two and both united, more or less, for the attainment of political freedom. Ever since the dawn of independence, however, the said gulf has been getting progressively wider. The deteriorating condition of our handloom-weaver not only showed which way the wind blew but also served as the barometer of the pressure of the rich few over the poor millions. And the publication of the Karve Committee Report and after left no room for doubt in any quarter and even the blind could see the brutality of the same pressure.

Our eight years of Independence may well be looked upon as the speedy formation of a big business class covering an increasingly larger area of public needs and demands. It received, naturally, substantial support from the Government and greater still from the foreign interests entrenched in the country. It did not hesitate to join hands with the latter in partnership. A major consequence of this strange fact is that one can never be sure whether a thing 'Made in India' is made by Indian capital or by mixed capital. Be as it may, the Indian capitalist class is now sure of its ground and looks forward to capture not only the home-field with its manufactures but also the external market. This is why that it resents any attempt to define or demarcate its area and raises the popular bogey of being the cheapest supplier. It is a very amusing situation: the more it exploits the poor man, the 'cheaper' are its products, and the cheaper are its products, the more it exploits the poor man!

As newspaper columnists report, even members of the cabinet of our Union Ministry are not unanimous on the latitude to be given to the growing Indian industry. Had this growth simultaneously helped in the solution of the basic problem of unemployment, we would have cheered it up and wished it ever better. But the terrible reality is that in spite of our accelerating industrial, potential and a well thought-out Five-Year-Plan and ungrudging foreign aid and expert guidance, unemployment in the country is mounting. What is worse, the Government is not able to great keep up its solemn word about its promise of employment in the coming second Five-Year Plan. The Prime Minister is reported to have said in a Congress-party meeting in December that we could not "afford to have unemployment in the country, specially large-scale unemployment. To provide employment is not only a duty but a social necessity." A recourse to cottage industries has, therefore, been taken by the Government in order to check unemployment. An All-India-Khadi and Village Industries Board was set up some three years ago and its schemes are on the rails. Only the future will reveal whether the Big Industry and Khadi Board can work together happily and increase employment, or the Big Industry alone can meet the situation; or if the unemployment situation worsens further, whether the whole thing needs a reorientation both in outlook and practice.

Taking a very optimistic view, let us assume that if the Big Industry prospers well, unemployment is no more, Khadi Board is wound up and heavy machinery pervades the land. What would then our country be like? Apart from all other mechanical equipments, we would be having militarisation on a grand scale as do the advanced nations of Europe and America. The greater our industrialisation, the heavier our militarisation. For, we would require a huge militia not so much to control our internal production as to keep a vigilant eye on our external market. India would then be a mighty power, both economically and militarily. Going forward in this line, we would be when at our best, a sound model resembling the Western countries today, say U.K., U.S.A., or U.S.S.R. Of course, the thing is not so simple as it seems. But we do take it, for a moment, to be so. The question then arises: Whether we would be content to be a country as advanced as any in the West? Is that the be-all and end-all of our existence? Then follows the supplementary: How is it that U.S.A. (or U.S.S.R.) is unhappy, in spite of her almost heavenly wealth? There is abundance, yet fear marks the eyes of their people. There is plenty of everything. Yet there is an emptiness in the heart of their people. There is no dearth of anything, yet there is a nervousness in the mind of their people. How is it that their very affluence is leading them to produce ever more terrific weapons of destruction?

The question then amounts to the objectives of planning. That Americo-European pattern of planning has essentially failed is obvious by the two and the threat of a third one. Its failure

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implies a failure of the values it cherished, of the sanctions it hailed as sacred, of the postulates it assumed as axiomatic. Without going into their details, they can be briefly summed up as follows:

(*i*) Private or State ownership of land, wealth and means of production ;

(*ii*) Superiority of the intellectual or managerial work to manual labour ;

(*iii*) Use of arms in self-defence ;

(*iv*) Division of society into classes with their own exclusive (and mutually conflicting) class-interests ;

(*v*) Survival of the fittest.

It needs no prophetic vision to state that so long as Indian planning, be it through public or private sector, relies on and honours—as it plainly does today—the aforesaid values, its future is doomed. And because we shall be following a pattern fostered without, we shall always remain in the rear. It connotes that we would ever remain backward as compared to those which serve as our models today. Projected in the military sphere it means that our whole military strength may be reduced to nought—as that of France as against that of Germany, or that of Germany or Japan as against that of U.S.A. in the last war—in the fact of a single superior weapon of the adversary. At any rate working on these lines, we cannot possibly put up a better model. To what end this planning then ?

It is high time that we have an intelligent look at the past as shown by history and a clear vision of the future we seek to build. Let us not do what other countries have already begun to undo or will have to undo. Not that we should have a closed mind. No, let us learn the best from everywhere and mould it according to our genius. Is it not pitiable that in spite of all our progress and planning up-to-date, we have not been able to give to our people a single new word (simple or compound) as an expression of our new adventures in all these eight years? The simple reason is that the roots of our thinking are not yet embedded in the soil of our country. Our Constitution is another proof of the same. We are only mercilessly watering a plant imported from without and the rising unemployment bears out the naked fact that the said plant refuses to take roots in our midst. And it is easy to see that cottage industries also have no place in that alien structure.

The need for a bolder and more radical approach cannot, therefore, be too much emphasised. In other words, we must redefine our planning-aims and strike our course accordingly. More wealth and more production should not be our only objective. Of course, we need not worship simplicity or poverty and deny health and happiness. Wealth or production is always welcome, but not for its own sake. Our goal can be described as :

(*i*) Provision of work to all, *i.e.*, no unem-ment ;

(*ii*) Formation of a new social order resting values different from those of the patterns (the five as enumerated earl

(*iii*) Establishment of the efficacy of peaceful non-violent methods for resolving mutual disputes (be they on the natio international plane).

Here comes the role of cottage industries. no small thing if they enable us to solve the employment problem of a country as vast and as as India. But that is not the only function of industries. In fact, they denote a way of life the conservative one of ancient eras but the scientific and modern one. This requires some planation.

A plea for cottage industries is no dea machinery. It essentially signifies self-reliance basic necessities of fooding, clothing and housing the discovery of atomic weapons of warfare has unequivocally taught us the need of this self-reliance for man. As an individual may self-sufficient to the required extent, he must others' co-operation and every village, or as unit of human population as possible, must be self-sufficient. Non-independence in these quirements is full of danger as shown by the and their aftermath. The very smallest units stand on their own feet in meeting these fundam wants, while in secondary and tertiary wants they inter-depend. This envisages a new social or which ownership would rest neither with the indi nor with the State but with society and every would offer his or her share in productive labour too which would both economically and be held as paying and as dignified as intellectual

Science also calls upon the urgency of re the social order. If the means of production to be individually owned, they will be denied. present, to the real producer and a craving for will countenance rivalry, hatred and bloodshed. development plan which does not interfere with established ownership rights is bound to be by the haves and further impoverish the have Should the *status quo* be left undisturbed, will aggrandise socio-economic differences mulate warfare. Thus modern science beckons ity to replace the current way of life by one of sharing and non-violence.

It may doubtless be difficult for techni vanced nations to burn their boats and blaze trail. Not so, however, for India which has just and also fought her battle of independence in a manner. She gave to *Charkha* the central place very flag. That Charkha not only symboli crude job of cloth-production, but an approa

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le, a technique of struggle, radically different from those ever resorted to in history. This enjoins upon us a serious responsibility of continuing our march on the very same path, unless we are convinced to the contrary, which took us to the freedom goal.

It is thus clear that the demands of this scientific age, of our peculiar freedom-struggle and of our devastating poverty—all point out to the necessity of proceeding in our planning on creative lines. It practically amounts to navigating an uncharted sea—which has its own charms and risks. And in this new order cottage industries have a veritable role to play. But they are no temporary substitutes for unemployment-doles. They should be looked upon as the heralds of the new age of peace, science and non-violence. Any attempt to foster cottage industries under mechanised and military patronage, *i.e.*, under violent and unpeaceful auspices, is bound to crush them out, as has been the case during the last eighty years of India's industrial 'progress.'

To sum up, our planning aims should be definite and conspicuous. If our target is to build a social pattern as found in Europe or America, cottage industries have little place in it. On the other hand, if we seek to work, in the light of where the advanced nations succeeded and failed, on our own independent lines and rooted to our past, we will have to enthrone new socio-economic values in place of the old ones in fashion and change the standing structure to its very depths. And in this revolutionary task of social transformation, cottage industries occupy the same importance as the sun in the solar system.

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THE STATE BANK OF INDIA

By Prof. LAKSHMAN PRASAD SINHA, M.A. (Econ), M.A. (Pol. Science).

The State Bank of India has its origin in the recommendations made by the Committee of Direction of the All India Rural Credit Survey initiated by the Reserve Bank of India. Acting on the recommendations and suggestions of the above Committee Mr. C. D. Deshmukh announced in the Indian Parliament in December, 1954 the decision of the Government of India to assume effective control over the Imperial Bank of India as a first step towards the setting up of a State Bank of India. This announcement was quickly followed by the necessary Legislation and in April, 1955 the Government introduced the State Bank of India Bill in Parliament. The Bill received the assent of the President in May, 1955 and the State Bank of India came into being on the 1st of July, 1955.

The Nationalisation of the Imperial Bank and the establishment of the State Bank of India has set at rest the long-standing demand for nationalisation. The nationalisation of the Imperial Bank has been advanced and advocated since 1948. The announcement and implementation of nationalisation of the Imperial Bank met with a mixed reception. The Financial and business circles view this measure as an inroad upon the freedom and enterprise of the Private Sector. The nationalisation of the Imperial Bank is in keeping with the Government economic policy of the socialistic pattern of society to which it is wedded. The decision to nationalise the Imperial Bank with a view to exercising effective control it is neither new nor sudden. The policy of nationalisation has been taken to provide an integrated system of rural credit. It is in context of rural credit that the State Bank of India has to be judged. The proposed aim of the creation of a welfare state and the establishment of the socialistic pattern of society has impelled Government to provide an institution which will handle the problem of rural credit and develop the rural economy of the country. The State Bank of India with its widespread network of branches will be the main instrument of the integrated scheme of rural financial and credit facilities as outlined in the All India Rural Credit Survey Report.

The authorised share capital of the State Bank of India is the same as that of the Imperial Bank. The authorised share capital is Rs. 11.26 crores and the paid up share capital is Rs. 5 crores 62 lakhs and 50 thousand. The Rural Credit Survey Committee recommended increase of the share capital from 11.25 crores to 20 crores for this new Institution so that the institution may be able to do some real work in the field of rural credit. Provision has been made in the Act that the Reserve Bank and the Government must own at all times a minimum of 51 per cent of the total shares of the State Bank of India. Expansion in the share capital structure as stated above has also been recommended. In issuing shares to private parties the Reserve Bank would give preference to those who are holding shares of the Imperial Bank. The percentage of private share-holding will not be more than 48 per cent of the total share-holding.

The Central Board of the State Bank of India is composed of twenty Directors. Besides a Chairman (Dr. John Mathai) and a vice-chairman (Mr. V. Lal Mehta) there are two Managaing Directors, one director representing the Government of India and the other director re-

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presenting the Reserve Bank of India. Out of the remaining fourteen directors six are to be from Bombay, five from Bengal and three from Madras. The three circles will have local Boards of three members each.

The Board of Directors consists of nominated, elected and appointed members.

The aim of the creation of the State Bank of India is to provide facilities for Rural Banking and Agricultural Finance. In order to achieve this end the nationalised State Bank will open nearly four hundred branches all over the country in the course of next five years. Since July 1, 1955 the State Bank of India has opened 20 new branches and one hundred centres have been selected by the Government of India in consultation with the Reserve Bank and the State Bank for fulfilling the obligation of establishing new branches. The branches are to be opened in particular in the rural areas so as to provide financial accommodations to cultivators on a large scale. In the words of Sri A. C. Guha the new objective of the State Bank is "to recreate rural life" through this new organisation. In this new venture of providing rural credit facilities and agricultural financing this new institution will work in close co-operation with the Co-operative Banks and Warehousing Societies. In short, the State Bank will provide rural credit facilities and remittances and work for the development of the co-operative movement. Its function will be to put co-operative movement on a proper footing.

It has been stated further that the State Bank will maintain unimpaired its facilities to trade and commerce. This institution will continue to serve and provide credit facilities and accommodations to the needs of trade and commerce of the country. In other words the functions discharged by the Imperial Bank would continue to be performed by the State Bank of India.

Thus the State Bank of India would discharge both the functions of providing commercial and rural credits. The interlocking of commercial with the agricultural financing functions is really difficult to reconcile. The long-term financing projects for development purposes together with the discharge of commercial functions will put heavy financial strain on this new venture and there is a lurking fear and apprehension in the minds of many as to whether it would discharge its objectives to either sectors creditably.

The State Bank of India like the old Imperial Bank would continue to function as the biggest commercial Bank of the country. It will continue to help all the scheduled banks. The State Bank of India like the Imperial Bank will be the actual leader of the Indian Money Market. Banks in need of funds will come to the State Bank for ready accommodations. The State Bank will continue to discharge the old functions of the Imperial Bank of giving financial accommodations to the commercial Banks in times of needs, stresses and strains.

"The State Bank of India will discharge the double function of service to the business community, a major contribution to rural reconstruction especially the welfare of the co-operative movement.

The State Bank of India will provide the st institutional pattern to provide rural credit to ag turists. The lack of Institutional organ stands a obstacle in the path of cheap remittance facilities State Bank of India will remove this difficulty great extent.

"The credit facilities, to a point, of the State will be available to the co-operative movement appropriate points. It follows that the movement be so improved as to derive utmost benefits from Banks services."

"On efficient co-operatives depends the su of the land reform, community projects and n extension, all that is comprised within plans better agricultural economy. Warehouses and keting will be even more important than provisi rural credit."

The State Bank of India will also provide housing facilities in rural areas which are expect enable farmers to store their crops and unload according to demand and not as at present sell to professional commission agents at the latter's Most of these functions will be discharged by the Bank of India.

"The State Bank's rural branches will also to the needs of small-scale cottage indusrties to the plan frames assign a major role in the Second period." Thus the new institution will also serve interests of small-scale cottage industries.

Like the Imperial Bank the State Bank of India continue to discharge the functions and obligation Government. It will continue to work as the ag the Reserve Bank to discharge the obligations State and Union Governments.

Prof. N. R. Chaudhuri has summed up the fu of the State Bank of India in words:

"Without damage to its essential character sound commercial Bank, it can be easily m respond in a positive and helpful manner State's policies towards Co-operative Bankin operative Marketing and other business activi the Co-operatives and informed and responsive ing of purpose should enable it to work in co tion with the Government and the Reserve Ba the Co-operatives for the fulfilment of the mon objects in the economic and financial sp

It is argued that interlocking of commercial and cultural functions under one institutional organisation prove harmful for both trade, commerce and agri The State Bank may complicate its business through involvement. Divided attention will prove harmful the sectors of our economy. And therefore it is and advocated that India should have followed in the steps of Western countries in proving separate indep institutions which would have provided Farm credit In Britain, in U.S.A., in Denmark and in other Eu countries there is an Agricultural Central Bank unconnected with the commercial Banking of the

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he Gadgil Committee on Agricultural Finance of 1946 ade a correct approach to the problem and recommend- the setting up of a separate All-India Agricultural nk at the apex and agricultural Credit corporation the state leval. Mr. Davis, the well-known American thority on Agricultural Finance also recommended for e establishment of an All-India Agricultural Bank. ence expert opinion on the subject favours a separate stitutional pattern for providing rural and farm credit herein lies the real solution of the problem. The ate Bank may prove unsuccessful in discharging its ultifarious obligations and functions and thereby the eds of the Agricultural sector of the Economy may not e met, may not be fulfilled.

Further, it is said that the halting measure of nation- sing the vital Banking sector of the Economy may and in the way of achieving the objective of the socia- stic pattern of Society which we have envisaged for r state. The entire Banking sector of the Economy ould have been nationalised. Half-hearted and piece- al nationalisation of Banking would be inadequate m the perspective of socialism and welfare state. tionalisation in such a fashion would not meet the eds and requirements of our country.

Doubts have also been expressed as to whether the ate Bank would be able to provide adequate rural redit. The problem of rural credit is so complex and mplicated that an institution with so many obliga- ons to perform and discharge would not be able to eet the multifarious needs and diverse requirements f Agricultural Economy.

There are critics who have criticiesd the com- nsation clause of the State Bank Act. The compen- tion offered is highly favourable to shareholders. he shareholders of the Imperial Bank should have been id 75 per cent of the share value and compensation me should have been according to the slab system. at is, with increasing share-holding the rate of com- ation should have been lower and lesser than for ll share-holding.

It is also pointed out that the composition of the Board of Directors is highly undemocratic. That for 45 per cent of the shareholders there would be six elected directors on the Board of twenty is highly disproportionate and undemocratic. Hence it is urged that the directors should be elected on proportional basis . Proportional representation would help the democratic constitution of the Board.

The inroad of nationalisation in the Private Sector of Banking has created a sense of fear in the minds of the Private Sector of the Economy. It is said that the Government Policy of Mixed Economy which was the main plan of developmental policy enunciated in the First Five-Year Plan is giving place to extension of Public Sector to farthest length. Hence, the era of independence of the Private Sector or the Policy for co-existence of Private and Public Sectors side by side is gone. The Fourth Amendment of the Constitution of India has also created a sense of uncertainty in the minds of the Private Sector and hence it is just possible that the Private enterprisers may become shy in helping the developmental programme of the conutry.

The State Bank of India will be discharging the dual functions of commercial and agricultural banks. In the capacity of the agent of the Reserve Bank it will continue to function as the custodian of the funds of the Government. It will transact business on behalf of Government. It will continue to be the leader of the Indian Money Market. It will provide financial accommodation to the scheduled Banks. It will provide rural credit and act as an Institution for receiving deposits of the agriculturists. It will help co-operative movement and provide financial facilities to small-scale village industries. Thus in short, it will discharge commercial, agricultural, industrial and Governmental functions at the same time.*

* This paper was read at the sixteenth session of the All-India Agricultural Economic Conference held at Poona in December, 1955.

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SWAMI NIRMALANANDA IN AMERICA

By SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

of seventeen monastic disciples of Sri Ramakrishna, er who were chosen to cross the oceans and h the message of their Master in the New World Swami Vivekananda, Abhedananda, Trigunatit- da, Turiyananda, Saradananda and Nirmalananda. Vivekananda is the immortal inaugurator of the s movement and his unique success in the go Parliament of Religions is a landmark in the al annals of modern India. Swami Abhedananda ed the footsteps of the pioneer and spent about a quarter of a century in the West and crossed the Atlantic seventeen times for this purpose. Swami Trigunatitananda who is the founder of the Hindu Temple in Sanfrancisco became a martyr there after nearly fifteen years of hard work. The other three Swamis worked each for a few years there and returned to India to spread the movement in the motherland.

In the early part of 1903, Swami Nirmalananda came to Calcutta at the request of Swami Brahma-

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nanda, the first President of the Belur Math from Kashmere where he stayed as the guest of Sri Nilambar Mukherji, the then Dewan of the State. Swami Abhedananda, who had proceeded to America seven years ago, desired to have Swami Nirmalananda as his lieutenant there since the work of the New York Vedanta Society of which he was the Head grew rapidly. Instructed by the President of the Mission Swami Nirmalananda left Belur on the thirteenth day of October, 1903, and sailed for America from Bombay on the fifteenth. He went by way of Naples and reached Geneva where he attended a religious conference and reached New York on Wednesday the 25th November *via* Atlantic Ocean. On arrival he was warmly received by his Gurubhai and the devotees and took up the work allotted to him. He assisted Swami Abhedananda in his presence and occupied his place in his absence from the city. He set himself to work in his masterly way and won the esteem and affection of all who contacted him. He proved himself quite efficient and equal to the practical Americans. He introduced the practice of daily meditation for the members of the Society and also organised a Sanskrit class for them. The earliest available report of his American work was in connection with an anniversary meeting held by the society in memory of its illustrious founder Swami Vivekananda in January of 1904. It appeared in the *Prabuddha Bharata* (Vol. IX, p. 34) of Calcutta and contains as follows:

> "Swami Nirmalananda next read a paper especially interesting to all who listened; because it gave many facts concerning Swami Vivekananda unknown to his American friends and described in a picturesque manner some of the events of the Swami's early life as a Sannyasin when he was preparing for the great mission later achieved by him."

He also chanted in the meeting some passages of the Vedas that were particularly favourite to Swami Vivekananda. At last Swami Abhedananda concluded the proceedings of the successful function and spoke of the importance of Swami Nirmalananda's hard work and of the new impetus he had already given in certain directions. At the celebration of the Birthday of Sri Ramakrishna he conducted in the same year devotional exercises from half past three to five in the evening.

Soon after his arrival in New York he assumed in a great measure the direction of the Yoga class at the society and left Swami Abhedananda free to accept invitations to lecture outside the city and in other States of America. It is learnt from a report published in the *Prabuddha Bharata* (Vol. X, p. 16), the following information about his work. In 1904, for the first time since the establishment of the Society, there was no break throughout the summer as Swami Nirmalananda remained constant [illegible] and carried on the Yoga classes uninterrupted. [illegible] was a source of great satisfaction and inspir[illegible] the members of the society who were unable to [illegible] the city and still more to those who resided [illegible] and stayed in New York for short periods.

Early in 1905 Swami Abhedananda was in[illegible] Canada to deliver a series of lectures. Dur[illegible] absence Swami Nirmalananda took the charge [illegible] New York Society. It was then that he delive[illegible] first Sunday lecture and the subject selected [illegible] was the Vedic conception of God. The cl[illegible] force of his thought as well as the ease and [illegible] of his exposition disproved conclusively the [illegible] had always made that he was not a public [illegible] Eminent scientists like Prof. Parker of New Y[illegible] used to attend his discourses. Prof. Parker [illegible] a great admirer of Kapila enthusiastically s[illegible] day to Swami Nirmalananda, "What a wonder[illegible] was your Kapila, Swami? In fact, he was th[illegible] of science as well as philosophy."

While in India, Swami Nirmalanand[illegible] several years in practising penance in Chamba [illegible] in the Himalayas. Sri Karam Singh, the then [illegible] trate and the Raja and other high officials [illegible] State were intimately known to him. From Ne[illegible] Swami Nirmalananda wrote several letters [illegible] Karam Singh some in English and a few in [illegible] One letter written on 30th September, 1904 [illegible] follows:

> "My dear Karam Singh, your loving [illegible] the 22nd July last duly come to my hand [illegible] delghted to read it. I am glad to learn [illegible] with all your friends there are doing [illegible] well. I hope under the rule of the new R[illegible] will have every improvement in the Chamb[illegible] and the subjects will be much more h[illegible] prosperous. I am extremely sorry to hear [illegible] lost your new-born child. May God bless [illegible] another child who will live long and m[illegible] happy. Give my blessings to your father [illegible] Sri Kanta and his retinue. It is getting c[illegible] cooler here every day. We expect to have [illegible] cold winter this year here. With my bles[illegible] love.—Yours affectionately, Swami Nirmal[illegible]

Another letter written on 24th Februa[illegible] runs as follows:

> "My dear Karam Singh,—I was ve[illegible] pleased to receive your letter and to learn [illegible] are all enjoying perfect health. The chap[illegible] and a photo of Chamba town have re[illegible] safely yesterday. I was very glad to rec[illegible] and I thank you very much for the s[illegible] present there are four Swamis of the Ram[illegible] Mission in U.S. America. It is very cold [illegible] year. The streets are all covered with s[illegible]

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feet thick. I do not know how long I shall have to stay here. It may be five or six years more and then I may return to India. I am glad to learn that my friends in Chowtra Mohalla in Chamba town are doing well. Please tender my blessings and love to each of them respectively and accept the same yourself. I am all right here. Trusting this will find you all hale and hearty.—Yours sincerely, Swami Nirmalananda."

Through the joint efforts of the two Swamis the ork of the New York Society flourished in a short me and expanded outside the city and a Vedanta entre was started in Brooklyn. Swami Nirmalananda sumed the direction of that centre also. A room for e meeting of the Yoga classes was engaged in the ilding of the local Historical Society, and the work the new centre went on in it. Swami Nirmalananda as always ready to extend help and advice to all embers and friends and to all seekers of Truth. All ho came in contact with him felt themselves bene- ted thereby. Besides holding Yoga classes, giving ctures and teaching Sanskrit he also expounded the panishads to a small group of interested people as was doing at the Belur Math. Like Swami Viveka- nda, he was particularly interested in broadcasting e universal gospel of the Upanishads in America. e also spoke to American devotees of the wonderful fe of Sri Ramakrishna and his apostles and of dian culture and thought in general. "They listened every word of his with intense interest," writes a rrespondent, "for Swami Nirmalananda seemed to ansport us to India, so clearly and earnestly he oke." The impression which he made on his hearers, udents and friends was so fast that time could not de it. After thirty years' silence Mr. Charles F. ey, A.I.E.E., writes to him for spiritual instruc- ns. As the Swami was ready to teach so was he dy to learn. Once when a nurse brought him his , he said he did not like it. "You mean, Swamiji, u do not care for it," said the nurse. At once ami Nirmalananda caught the subtle difference in e expression and thanked the nurse for the neces- y correction.

The teacher of Vedanta wore no solemn mien; e master of Yoga had no mysterious air about m. Simple and mirthful as a child, free and joyous a school boy he shed genial lustre wherever he went. deep beneath the plain exterior lay the austere stic and fiery monk. One glance of his pierced the kest mask and the cleverest fraud stood exposed. New York, there was a Psychic Research Society which called up and exhibited ghosts. Once Swami Nirmalananda was taken to it by some friends. Its proprietor was a lady named Miss Muller who herself had a ghostlike countenance. She asked which ghost they wanted to see. Swami Nirmalananda told that he would like to see the ghost of a Red Indian. The host led him to a room where there was a pale bluish light. Soon a ghost appeared. All on a sudden Swami Nirmalananda, the dare-devil as he described himself, sprang forward and caught hold of the ghost's hand and shook it heartily. Instead of being aerial and intangible it was as hard as iron. Swami Nirmalananda then led the ghost three times round the room. It had no power of locomotion by itself. The fraud was thus exposed. A scientist who had accompanied Swami Nirmalananda wanted to see the ghost of a famous scientist and a ghost duly appeared. When asked about a well-known scientific formula, the ghost blushed. It was a clear case of false personation. Swami Nirmalananda had many such strange experiences in America. He remained there for about three years working so whole-heartedly and giving so much satisfaction that his devotees, students and friends were mortified to part with him. "But," in the words of Swami Ramakrishnanda, "urgent calls from his native land made him come back for the regeneration of his own motherland."

Sometime in 1906 Swami Nirmalananda returned to India healthier and stronger. Direct contact with the New World added to his experience broadened his outlook, made him conscious of his own powers and enabled him to understand deeper the message of his Master. After working in North India for some time he went to South India in response to a request of Swami Ramakrishnanda, the founder of the Ramakrshna Mission in Madras. He worked intensely and incessantly for about four decades in Madras, Travancore, Malabar, Cochin and other provinces, in the south and started many centres of R. K. Mission there. He passed away in 1938 in Ottapalam, Malabar, where his body was cremated and a memorial temple was erected over it by his devotees. He was born in Calcutta in 1863, the very year in which Swami Vivekananda was also born and lived a long life of about 75 years. I had the privilege of meeting him at the Belur Math and hearing his inspiring conversations there. When he discoursed on religion and philosophy he roared like a lion and the audience felt inspired. In fact, he was a lion of Vedanta, a worthy apostle of his Master and an immortal son of Mother India.

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SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL

By NIKHIL MAITRA

Sir Winston Churchill's exit from British politics is in itself doubtless most important, but it would seem absurd if somebody said it marked the end of the Victorian period. Yet, how very perilously near this did Mr. Attlee go in his comments as leader of the official opposition:

> "The retirement from active political life of the Right Honourable gentleman, the member from Woodford, does indeed mark the close of an epoch. He is the last survivor in this House of those who served in Queen Victoria's reign . . . In the length of his political career he rivals Palmerston and Gladstone."

Nevertheless, if the truth is to be told, the curious thing to say is in this case also the correct thing, namely, that the Victorian period in British politics lingered in the person of Sir Winston Churchill. He was a Victorian survival.

A personality is an influence and probably therefore indivisible, but, even so, it is possible to study it in cross-sections. First, consider Churchill as a writer. Nearly all that he has written is historical writing. We know of only one other man who was made a Nobel Laureate in Literature for writing history, and that was Theodore Mommsen. Edward Augustus Freeman, himself an historian, said of Mommsen:

> "The greatest scholar of our times, wellnigh the greatest scholar of all times . . . language, law, mythology, customs, antiquities, coins, inscriptions, every source of knowledge of every kind, he is master of them all."

Mommsen's history was on a much larger canvas than any of Churchill's histories. The latter are limited only to certain brief periods, though worked out intensively. So then, if the smallness of canvas is not a disqualification, there is no reason why it should be,—how can we forget Leon Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution?* Or fail to note that the Nobel Academy only covered itself with ridicule by not honouring it? Public memory is not only short, but probably non-existent. What passes for public memory is, in reality, "public amnesia." We have forgotten Jules Michelet already and he belonged to only mid-nineteenth century. The printing press turns out tons of rubbish everyday, and, as the rubbish mounts, the treasures get buried deeper and deeper. It is only left to archaeologists to exhume them.

The Nobel Prize in literature, of course, is no means the ultimate recognition of human w There has always been criticism of its fiats and persons not too unimportant. A. G. Gardi may be recalled, discussing Rudyard Kipling had been honoured by the Nobel Academy, plained that goldsmiths were being passed ov blacksmiths applauded. So let it be with Trot

Churchill's prose reminds one of Burke Burke reminds one of Harold Laski's comment his "ignorant rhetoric" prevented the impl of the French Revolution from being fully stood in England. How many great mov outside Western Europe, we may ask, ha Winston's rhetoric helped to be fully under England? We pause for a reply.

The compulsions of rhetoric seemed to be escapable in Churchill's prose. When he says us survey this dark and wide field," one sens feels that the field, if it is 'dark' must also be 'wide' for the sake of rhetoric and *vice versa* happen to know of great prose without any r at all. For instance, the few lines of A Lincoln which the Oxford University honours by displaying on the wall "as a model of pr exquisite diction which has never been excell

> Dear Madame,
>
> I have been shown in the files of th Department a statement of the Adjutant G of Massachusetts that you are the mother o sons who have died gloriously on the fi battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must b words of mine which would attempt to beg from the grief of a loss so overwhelming, cannot refrain from tendering to you the lation that may be found in the thanks Republic they died to save. I pray th Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish o bereavement, and leave you only the memory of the loved and lost. And the pride must be yours to have laid so co sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.
>
> Yours very sincerely and respe
> A. Lincol

We know also some great orations w rhetoric. Listen again to Lincoln whose followi tences Lord Curzon, then Chancellor of University, declared to be "the purest gold of eloquence, nay of eloquence almost divine".

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"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continues until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toils shall be spent, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

"With malice toward none, with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for this widow, and his orphan to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

In our own times, we have known the silver-tongued oratory of Srinivas Sastri, heard him speaking against the repressive laws that tamper with civil liberties, with the white heat of passion, but without rhetoric. And now listen to this from Sir Winston. It is from one of his letters to President Roosevelt:

"At this moment, when the New Year opens in storm, I feel my duty on behalf of the British Government, and indeed of the whole British Empire to tell you, Mr. President, how lively is our sense of gratitude and admiration for the memorable declaration which you made to the American people and to the lovers of freedom in all the continents on Sunday last. We cannot tell what lies before us, but with this trumpet-call we march forward heartened and fortified, and with the confidence which you have expressed that in the end all will be well for this English-speaking peoples and those who share their ideals."

Take again his description of Harry Hopkins:

"His was a soul that flamed out of a frail and failing body. He was a crumbling lighthouse from which there shone the beams that led great fleets to harbour....There he sat slim, frail, ill, but absolutely glowing with refined comprehension of the cause. It was to be the defeat, ruin, and slaughter of Hitler, to the exclusion of all other purposes, loyalties or aims. In the history of the United States few brighter flames have burned."

Not without reason, indeed, has Churchill, the writer, never been in the front rank of British writers British intellectuals of the twentieth century.

Now consider Churchill the statesman. What his statesmanship is worth history perhaps has not said yet; but if it has, it may have to revise its verdict. For, unlike Churchill, history does not retire. The dismemberment of Genrmany, which was his handiwork and which is far more ominous for world-peace than either the dismemberment of India or of Korea is now the rock on which the U.N.O. may founder. His attitude to colonial nationalism has yet to be proved to have been in the best traditions of statesmanship. His success as a politician, in a short range of things, has been exceedingly great. And it is not belittling him to say that, as a politician, he has been as great as one can be without much statesmanship. He has been the great sentinel of England, first against the menace of Hitler and then against the menace of international communism. His Foulton speech will remain, as long as the menace of Communism lasts, as one of the earliest and ablest political prognostications of our time.

He was incontestably the man who pulled England through, during the Second World War. But history will have to decide very carefully about the value of the Munich agreement as well, how far it was aimed at the isolation of Russia and also how far it gained for England some essential time to prepare. There has never been in the whole of English history a war-leader as spectacular and inspiring as Sir Winston. The totality of the concrete results of the work of Pitt or of the Duke of Marlborough might have been greater or might not have been, but none of them was half as meritricious or showy. His rhetoric communicated to his hearers an energy that transcended many limitations, though inevitably it created its own greater limitations. If the ultimate measure of oratory is the immediate success achieved, Churchill's oratory was superb, because it triumphed while Hitler's oratory, though by every other standard perhaps greater, was ruinous, because it failed. His peroration calling upon Englishmen to defend their country with "blood, sweat and toil" is borrowed from Garibaldi's call to arms, but it achieved its purpose consummately, when it kindled mass enthusiasm.

His versatility has been not only immense, but monumental. His vigour and vitality have been overwhelming and volcanic and his interests and pursuits encyclopaedic. Not until we get back to the Renaissance do we find such a character again. Taken all in all, where do we find his equal now?

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METAPHYSICS AND ETHICS OF CHARVAKA

By NARESH NATH MAITRA, M.A.

It may be pointed out first of all that the Metaphysics and Ethics of Charvaka occupies a prominent place in so far as Indian philosophy is concerned. Before I proceed to discuss something aoout the metaphysics and ethics of Charvaka, I should like to speak first, what is meant by metaphysics and ethics. The reason is clear. Unless the readers are quite clear about the definitions of metaphysics and ethics, they will not be able to understand Charvaka.

What do we mean by metaphysics and ethics? The students of philosophy must have studied that metaphysics is the theory of reality and ethics means the science of morality. This is what we understand by metaphysics and ethics.

Now I am in a position to enter into a detailed discussion about the metaphysics and ethics of Charvaka, the Indian philosopher. It must be noted here in this connection that Charvaka, we know, was a distinguished ancient sage who propounded the doctrine of materialism in Indian philosophy. He was out and out a materialistic thinker and not a spiritualist at all and for this, all his theories regarding metaphysics and ethics are based upon one central principle which may well be called materialism.

Now let me point out his well-known theories one by one. First, I proceed to refer to metaphysics, and shall try to show Charvaka's conception of it. Charvaka, we notice, is of opinion that so far as epistemology is concerned, perception may be regarded as the only source of knowledge and at the same time he has totally rejected other sources, namely, inference, testimony, etc., as held to be reliable sources by other Indian philosophers. Now from his theory of perception he maintains the view that all perceptible objects have existence and we can rationally assert the reality of these objects as well. He has further advocated that heaven, soul, God, life before birth and after death cannot be believed in as they are practically beyond perception. He points out by saying that material objects are the only objects whose reality can easily be established and hence he concludes that matter is the only reality.

Then Charvaka proceeds to point out that the material world is composed of four elements, namely, air, fire, water and earth and he has altogether denied the existence of another element named 'ether' which is regarded as a valid element by many thinkers of Indian philosophy. He has maintained the view that 'ether' is such a thing that it cannot be perceived by any means and hence its existence is not proved. Thus we notice, herein lies the difference of opinion between Charvaka on the one hand and most other Indian thinkers on the other.

Let me now speak a few words about the place of God in Charvaka's system from the metaphy[illegible] point of view. As I have discussed already [illegible] Charvaka is a materialistic thinker, so he has no [illegible] in spiritualism and hence he holds that God's [illegible] ence can not be established by any legitimate [illegible] He is of opinion that God does not exist on [illegible] ground that we do not perceive God. The mat[illegible] elements produce the world and the supposition [illegible] God as a creator is really unnecessary. This is [illegible] view of Charvaka, the Indian materialist.

Regarding the existence of human soul, it has [illegible] held by Charvaka that there is no soul as, like G[illegible] its existence cannot be perceived and from this it [illegible] be ascertained that the question of the immort[illegible] or future life of human soul as held by some phi[illegible] phers both Eastern and Western, does not arise at [illegible] This is Charvaka's conception of human soul. Th[illegible] have discussed the metaphysics of Charvaka in a [illegible] shell. . . . . Having discussed the metaphysics [illegible] Charvaka, I am at present proceeding to say so[illegible] thing about his ethics. The readers must not [illegible] that ethics is the science of morality and it dis[illegible] such problems as 'What is the highest goal [illegible] human ife ?' There are various views regarding [illegible] problem and I shall try to point them out one by [illegible] Some Indian philosophers bear in mind [illegible] heaven is the highest goal of human life. This is [illegible] opinion of the Mimamsakas. But Charvaka [illegible] rejected this view of the Mimamsaka philoso[illegible] and maintains the view that 'heaven' and 'hell' [illegible] nothing but the inventions of the so-called priest[illegible] India. According to other philosophers, it is said [illegible] liberation may be regarded as the highest go[illegible] human life. Here also Charvaka has criticised [illegible] view. Then what will be highest goal of human [illegible] According to Charvaka, the views which have [illegible] just mentioned are not correct. He comes forward [illegible] holds that pleasure is the goal of human life and [illegible] though he admits that there is pain in this world [illegible] he advises us to minimise pain and enjoy as [illegible] pleasure as we can. Charvaka has given his fa[illegible] doctrine, "As long as you live, live merrily. [illegible] clarified butter even by borrowing." Thus we [illegible] that he agrees with the hedonists whose doctrine [illegible] "Eat, drink, and be merry. For tomorrow you [illegible] die." For this reason Charvaka's ethics may be [illegible] hedonism. This is the sum and substance of Charv[illegible] theory of ethics.

In conclusion, I must say here that Charvak[illegible] a critical thinker and has saved Indian philo[illegible] from dogmatism. For this, Indian philosophy is [illegible] deed, indebted to Charvaka, the well-known mat[illegible] istic thinker. Thus he has become a prominent [illegible] in the field of Indian philosophy.

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WELCOME

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(About the Soviet Organization—"Intourist")

By LILIAN POPOVA

If one can imagine the map of the world and all the routes which lead citizens of various countries to the Soviet Union and *vice versa*, one would be dazzled by the many arrows pointing to all the corners of the world. Just in 1954 alone, 814 Swedes, 449 Frenchmen, 760 Finns, 199 citizens from India, 11 from U.S.A. and 1,505 from Poland, members of cultural, public, sport and amateur art delegations, visited the U.S.S.R. And this is not the complete list!

In 1955, the flow of visitors to the Soviet Union was even greater. The political climate on the earth has become warmer and it is easier to travel on international routes after the Geneva Conference of the Heads of Governments.

Foreigners not only come in delegations to the USSR., but thousands upon thousands of tourists want to acquaint themselves with the mode of life of the Soviet people and the sights of the country. In this respect, the year of 1955 may really be called a "fruitful" one. Journalists and bankers, farmers and businessmen, actors and senators were amidst the tourists. A Frenchman, Leo Bernheim, inspector of a life insurance company in Strasbourg, and a Norwegian employee Frederick Bergstroem, Henri Ambro, a lawyer from Casablanca, and a Chinese professor Ti Cheng Hui. A tourist from Pakistan, Czechoslovakian architects, American congressmen . . 1,500 tourists from the G.F.R. and the G.D.R. The German tourists were able to watch the football match between the picked team of the U.S.S.R. and the world champion, the Western Germany eleven, at the Moscow "Dynamo" Stadium in August.

If they come in groups—it is called mass tourism; alone or in families—they are called individual tourists. Both groups are serviced by the All-Union Society "Intourists." This Society has many ties with foreign companies such as: "Transtours" and "Gavasse Exprinter" in Paris, "Froehlich" in Hannover, "CIT" in Rome, "Thomas Cook and Son" in London, several tourist firms in the USA and others. By the way, Mr. King, a representative of an English firm, was recently in Moscow to negotiate about the prospects of tourism in 1956.

These ties were strengthened and extended after the Soviet society "Intourist" took part in the 10th Session of the General Assembly of the International Touring Alliance, which took place in New Delhi in October, 1955. "Intourist" joined this Alliance. Simultaneously it negotiated and signed a contract with the General Direction of the Indian tourist firm "Mercury Travel," to exchange tourists with India. The first tourists from India have already visited the USSR. This is just the beginning of a large flow of tourists from the friendly country, which will start in 1956.

"Intourist" has a large group of interpreter-guides at its disposal to serve its foreign guests. The guests are supplied with itineraries. The best hotel reservations are made for the tourists in the Soviet cities. For example, in Moscow they are made at the hotels "Savoy," "Metropole," "National," "Leningradskaya," "Grand Hotel," "Moscow;" and in Leningrad at the "Astoria" and "European" hotels. In the hotel restaurants the tourists may be served by the popular Russian cuisine or they may choose their own national dishes.

The tourists who plan to visit the Soviet Union may become acquainted with, and choose a route through the USSR by the representatives of "Intourist" in their own country. Now there are 15 such routes. Here are some of them. Leningrad-Kiev-Moscow (12 days); Moscow-Stalingrad-Rostov-Kiev-Leningrad (16 days); Leningrad-Kiev-Odessa-Yalta-Sochi-Tbilisi-Kharkov-Moscow (23 days).

Steamships, trains, airplanes, buses and automobiles are at the disposal of the tourists. A special tourist liner—"Peter the Great"—cruises between the Black Sea ports of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. This is a wonderful trip along the picturesque Southern sites. One of the largest groups of tourists to ever visit the USSR came in the summer of 1955, when 757 Frenchmen arrived on the Polish liner "Batory." When the Frenchmen were asked what they wanted to see most in the Soviet country, they replied: "tout"—everything. In Leningrad they visited the Hermitage, went to Petrodvirets. Then they came to Moscow and visited the Kremlin, the Underground, museums, the USSR Agricultural Exhibition; they saw the famous ballet "Swan Lake." Some manufacturers signed contracts with Soviet import and export firms.

All these routes are organised in such a way as to satisfy the different wishes of the tourists. But "Intourist" also meets the individual requests of its guests. For example, the Service Bureau quite willingly organised a trip for an Armenian from France to visit her relatives in Soviet Armenia; a journey for a Norweigian to his friend in Central Asia . . .

"Intourist" willingly meets the desires of its foreign guests whch are quite diverse. One wishes to buy an ikon, another a Russian "Matrioshka"—wooden dolls whch fit into one another, the third wants to visit a mosque . . .

In the autumn of the current year, 80-year-old Mrs. Williams from the USA came to the USSR. She has been a teacher all her life and was interested

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in Soviet educational system. During her two-week stay in the Soviet Union she visited Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad and Central Asia. She met Kairov, the Minister of Education, and visited nurseries and kindergartens.

"Intourist" has large perspectives before it. The number of visitors to the Soviet Union is not only increasing every month, but more Soviet tourists are making trips through foreign countries. Large groups of Soviet people have been to Sweden, Finland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Bulgaria in 1955. In 1956, Soviet tourists hope to see the ancient Colos- the treasures of the Louvre, to visit birthplaces of Shakespeare and Rabindranath Tagore. Besides this, new routes are being planned for tourists in the USSR and particularly to Central Asia.

The Soviet society "Intourist" is not limiting number of visitors to our country. No matter how many tourists wish to come to the USSR—they shall all be welcome. The more—the merrier! "Intourist" is ready to fulfil its noble task of helping to strengthen the contacts between nations and to promote mutual understandng among the peoples.

———:O:———

ENGLISH RECORDS OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY INDIA

By Prof. N. B. ROY, M.A.,
Head of the Department of Islamic History, Visva-Bharati University

Ever since Leopold von Ranke inaugurated the method of writing history on a scientific basis, it has been the aim of modern historians to base their account on the *"narrative of eye-witnesses and the most genuine documents"* preserved in the archives. Hence, in recent years there is a growing awareness of the need of publishing the vast mass of records stored in the National State Government archives. The volumes reviewed below testify to this fact and incidentally reveal the degeneracy in our national life at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

(1) *English Records of Maratha History, Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. XIII, (Poona Affairs, Elphinstone's Embassy), Part II, 1816—1818. Edited by G. S. Sardesai, D.Litt. Published by the Government of Bombay. Pp. xvi+522. Price Rs. 28.

(2) *Selections from Nagpur Residency Records*, Vol. VII, 1812-17. Edited by Dr. H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Principal, Nagpur Mahavidyalaya, President, Nagpur University Historical Society, Dean of the Faculty of Arts. Pp. xxx+667. Price Rs. 18.

(3) *Selections from the Orme Manuscripts* Edited by C. S. Srinivasachariar. Published by the Annamalai University, Annamalainagar. Pp. xxv+394. Price Rs. 15.

While the Congress of Vienna under the guidance of Prince Metternich was laying the foundation of a new State system in Europe after the overthrow of Napoleon in 1815, in India, the new political order which was rising upon the ruins of the Mughal empire was threatened with disruption. In 1814, the British had launched upon a war with the Gurkhas of Nepal and their initial reverses at the hands of the sturdy mountain-people stirred up the latent disaffection of the Indian chiefs whose influence and authority had been curbed by the British. Chief among these potentates was the Peshwa Baji Rao II, and the heads of the Maratha States of Gwalior, Indore and Nagpur. During the crisis of the Gurkha war, the Peshwa openly revived his claim for the restoration of his authority in Hindusthan, and applied, to quote Elphinstone's words, "For our consent to His Highness's granting *sunnuds* for his possessions of Deoghar, Deori and Malhargarh." (*Nagpur Residency Records*, III, 441, and *Poona Affairs*, XII). He also asserted the rights of a suzerain over the other Maratha Ruling Houses; repudiated, for instance, the Gaekwar's desire of a separate treaty with the British, without a reference to him, saying, "Must he (Gaekwad) come here to accept the robes of his office from the Peshwa." The resulting friction led eventually to the murder in Poona (21st July, 1815) of the Britishemissary, Gangadhar Shastri, a rather extraordinary personality who combined a strict adherence to the ceremonial rites of a Brahmin, with the outward dress and demeanour of an Englishman (Colebrooke's *Life of Elphinstone*, I, 276). Shocked at such an atrocious outrage, Elphinstone, the Resident at Poona, immediately demanded at once the surrender of the Peshwa's Lieutenant, Trimbakji Dengle, who was suspected to have caused the assassination of a protege of the Bombay Government. The Peshwa, a past-master in subterfuges, long prevaricated but was at length forced to submit to the Resident's demand, on the 26th September, 1815.

Nearly a year after this event, an episode as dramatic and sensational as the escape of Shivaji from the Agra prison, caused a stir in the whole

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harashtra. After his surrender Trimbakji had been livered into the hands of the European guards and lged in the fort of Thana. But he made a romantic ape from the prison on the 12th September, 1816, ted by a Maratha Syce and the ballad by which e deliverance was effected rang throughout Mahashtra:

"Where shall I find a Knight will ride,
The jungle parts with me?
There are five and fifty coursers there,
And four and fifty men;
When the fifty-fifth shall mount his steed,
The Deccan thrives again."

—(*New History of the Marathas*, p. 471)

Shortly afterwards Trimbakji put himself at the ad of an armed following and excited disturbances Southern Maharashtra with the Peshwa's connince and support. The Resident understood the vert game which Baji Rao was playing and after tle expostulation, cowed him down by the threat using military force. The result was the treaty of oona by which the Peshwa relinquished all his thority over the Maratha Chieftain.

From this time forward till his surrender at the nds of Malcolm, 1st June, 1818, the Peshwa harssed to his aid the armed strength which his own eople could offer and used all the diplomatic reourcefulness and subtle ingenuity of which a Chitavan Brahmin was capable, to ring the British lion ithin the chain of a confederacy of disaffected Indian hiefs, yet in the eye of the historians Baji has reained the villain of the piece, the architect of his untry's misfortunes and downfall. He had, no ubt, many failings and foibles and hastened the m of his State. But his ceaseless diplomatic manuvring—call it spider-like spinning of cob-webs, the al show-down and the resistance organised by his tenants, Trimbakji and Bapa Gokhle appear to be e last glows that reddened the Western horizon, on e eve of the sun-set of the Maratha power.

This notable drama of the overthrow of the aratha power has been narrated in the last two umes of the Poona Residency Correspondence ies. The State papers published in the volume der review consist of the documents bearing on the riod, 1816-1818, and are classified by the veteran itor into four different sections: (1) Escape and recaption of Trimbakji Dengle, 1816-1817, (2) ategy of Poona and After, 1817, (3) War with the shwa and His Pursuit, 1817-1818, (4) Settlement of Conquered Territory, 1818. Sir Jadunath who has n along with Dr. G. S. Sardesai, the main inspira- behind the publication of this remarkable series ntributes a learned introduction, while Dr. P. M. archivist of the Bombay State adds a foreword. The second volume under review embodies a ellaneous mass of records which has been classified by the editor into various sections, such as (1) Bhonsla's Affairs, (2) Nizam's Affairs, (3) Peshwa's Affairs, (4) Sindhia's Affairs, (5) Pindaris, (6) Miscellaneous, (7) Trade and Commerce. The importance of this mass of documents lies in the picture presented of the period with which they deal. They show how the depravity of the ruling oligarchy and their mutual scramble for power caused the breakdown of the administrative machinery, and encouraged the growth of banditry all over the country. A few illustrations in support of this contention might be adduced from this volume.

The province of Berar, by the fertility of its soil and the industry of its population, was then, to quote the words of the British Resident, *"unquestionably the richest and most productive of the Nizam's dominions,"* but it was reduced to a wretched state by the violence of a body of predatory chiefs, called Naika. According to the British Resident, they were "originally Zamindars, but having either suffered oppression from the government or seen a favourable opportunity of making themselves independent, *have thrown off their allegiance and maintained themselves in a state of avowed rebellion.*" Their following used to "rob all travellers and plunder indiscriminately the whole of the country round them" (pp. 90-91). Such a lamentable aspect of affairs sprang from the weekness of the Hyderabad Government. The Nizam was an imbecile; his two ministers Munir-ul-mulk and Raja Chandulal, worked at cross purposes. The former charged the latter with harbouring design to overthrow the Nizam in concert with the British Resident and the Nizam had to take measures for his own security by increasing the strength of his personal guards. Such a degeneracy on the part of the Head of the State bred contempt for the government and the city of Hyderabad itself became the scene of the most violent outrages, as reported by Jenkins.

"For some time past robberies have been committed every night in the city by bodies of armed men with torches and the inhabitants are left to defend themselves without any assistance from the government. People are openly assaulted and killed in the streets and during the last fortnight almost everyday has been marked by the commission of a murder without any attempt at concealment on the part of offenders or even the form of enquiry on the part of government."

The general insecurity in the country was aggravated by another element, *viz.*, the Pindaris. An idea of their rapacity and unchecked depredation may be obtained from the perusal of the documents published in this volume. For instance, letter No. 29 vividly portrays how the three Pindari leaders, Namdar Khan, Chitu, Mazhar Baksh proceeded delightfully in an excursion of loot from Sironj in Malwa to Seringpatam in Mysore.

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During the return journey they wheeled back along the sea-coast as far as Raja Mahendry and thence struck their way across Amraoti and Seoni to their respective cantonments. Such periodic visitations affected seriously agriculture and industry and brought the country to the verge of ruin.

It is, however, to be regretted that the editorial work, so far as this volume is concerned, has not been executed with the attention it deserves, and therefore leaves much to be desired. Firstly, a number of letters already published in the twelvth volume of the *Poona Residency Correspondence* has been reprinted here. I draw them below in a tabular form with the corresponding number of their counterpart in the *P.R.C.* volume:

Nagpur Resy. Correspondence, Letters No.	*Poona Residency Correspondence*
12	79
13	80
15	89
23	94
28	105
29	107
31	115
48	165

The curious thing is that the documents in the *P.R.C.* are full, without any lacunae, but in the Nagpur Residency volume, letters are printed with gaps. Why did the editor forget to make the necessary insertions by a reference to the *Poona Residency* volume? And were these letters so important that they required reprinting? Secondly, on reading the editorial and summaries of letters one comes across sentences such as, "*Naiks had honey-combed the province,*" p. vii; again, "*Perhaps as a sort of counter-blast to this,* there started *talks about forming a union* between the Sindhia, Holkar and the Bhonsla *side by side with the overtures* between the Pindari chief . . . and the Government of the Sindhia," again, "Sindhia *changed his mode of life* to improve the *condition of his government*"; which is not consistent with what is stated later, p. xv. Again, "The information . . . relates to the State of Holkar's affairs over which Amirkhan *wanted to dominate in exclusion of Meena Bai* (p. xvii). "The Nizam's brutality *by himself* beating to death some of his maid servants is mentioned" (p. 291). Printing mistakes and irregular spelling of proper names are numerous. For instance, "Malwan" in one place, Malwa in another; "Pushtoo pass" in Sirguja State, p. 31; 'if' in l 10, first para, p. 31, *should be* 'by'; 'by' l 2, last para, p. 59, *should be* 'my'; 'hither-to' p. 2, *should be* [illegible] 'its" p. 64, *should be* 'its'; '1914' on p. 422, [illegible] 'Delay' on p. 278, 'Deny'; and the following [illegible] 'Shekh Jung' p. 121, 'Luhbers,' and 'Banra B[illegible] p. 65, 'Kimbhaub,' p. 53, etc., are really quee[illegible] third volume under review, offers, as its title [illegible] selections from the manuscripts compiled by [illegible] Orme and bears exclusively on the Anglo-[illegible] struggle in the Carnatic between 1746-58 A.D. [illegible] begins with the *Journal of the Coromondel* [illegible] 1751—1753, as sketched by Capt. John Dalton [illegible] Lieutenant under Admiral Boscawen, Dalton [illegible] Captain's rank in 1753. He wrote a narrative [illegible] military transactions in which he participat[illegible] course of his voyage back to England in 175[illegible] letters written to Clive and Orme during [illegible] form necessary epilogue to the above journ[illegible] are published here. The *French Capture of* [illegible] *in 1746,* as described by John Hallyburton, S[illegible] to Nicholas Morse, Governor of Madras 174[illegible] witness and a participant in the struggle is th[illegible] chapter of this volume.

Of particular interest are the following [illegible] such as, (*i*) *The Expedition to Arcot in 1751,* [illegible] corded by Dr. James Wilson, (*ii*) *Journal* [illegible] *Army under the Command of Major Lo*[illegible] from April 21, 1753 to 11th October, 1754, (*iii*) [illegible] negotiations at London for the adjustment [illegible] differences between the English and the [illegible] companies on the Coromondal Coast b[illegible] 1753-54.

The volume closes with a chapter on the [illegible] *of St. David* and its surrender to Lally, 2nd [illegible] 1758, recorded by Mr. Wynch and the corr[illegible] dence between him and George Piggot, Gover[illegible] Fort St. George, 1758. A minor episode—Ra[illegible] Puniaiyappa's plot against Muhammad Yusuf [illegible] mandant of the Sepoy force under Strenger La[illegible] inserted in the middle relieves the monot[illegible] military actions detailed in this volume.

The late Professor Srinivasachariar who [illegible] this volume, has elucidated the obscurities of [illegible] archaic mid-eighteenth narrative by illum[illegible] notes at the end of every chapter; while Pr[illegible] Sathianathaier, Head of the Department of E[illegible] and Politics, Annamalai University, has con[illegible] a useful introduction. The volume is remar[illegible] free from misprints; the printing and the get-[illegible] equally good; the authorities of the Ann[illegible] University deserve sincere congratulation for [illegible] ing out this excellent volume..

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE EARLY WOODEN TEMPLES OF CHAMBA: *By Hermann Goetz. Memoirs of the Oriental Institute No. 1. Published by E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1955. With 16 plates, 12 text illustrations and 1 map.*

This scholarly monograph from the component pen of Dr. H. Goetz fittingly inaugurates a new series of publications (entitled "Memoirs") of the renowned Oriental Institute of Leiden. The author who is an acknowledged authority on Indian art and archaeology gives us here a masterly account of the three earliest temples of the former State of Chamba in the Punjab Himalayas. These temples are the Lakshana Devi Temple at Brahmor, the Sakti Devi Temple at Chatrarhi and, the Markula Devi (Kali) Temple at Markula-Udaipur in Lahul. They were explored more than half a century ago by Prof. J. Ph. Vogel, the then Superintendent of the Northern (Punjab) Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India who appropriately contributes an interesting foreword to this volume.

The author's originality consists in his seeking to discover, in the absence of sufficient light from the contemporary inscriptions and the *Vamsavalis*, the chronical as well as the ethnological setting of these monuments. This is done with an astonishing wealth of erudition in the first three chapters of his work following his short Introduction and bearing the titles "The Brahmapura Kingdom and the beginnings of the Chamba State," "The remnants of Gurjara civilization" and "The coming of Hindu art in the Himalaya." His conclusions (pp. 72-73) may be thus briefly stated. Speaking of the Brahmapura Kingdom known both to Ramadhira and Hsuang-tsang, he says that it was a Gurjara State founded late in the 6th century, later capital of the Mukharis and of Harshavardhana of Thaneswar, then of Lalitaditya of Kashmir, and destroyed by the Tibetan invasion under King Khri-lde-letsan. The "Gurjara" population of the Brahmapura Kingdom, he further thinks, was a medley of indefinable barbarian tribes, some with cultural traditions derived from Central Asia and even pre-Celtic Europe, most of them, however, frontiersmen from the Hindukush and Pamir area. Viewed in this context the three early temples of Chamba clearly represent not a local style of architecture and sculpture, but a conscious import of the highly developed post-Gupta art into a barbarian country, comparable to the churches and other religious equipment erected by Syrian, Byzantine asd Italian architects and artisans for Charlemagne and his successors or early churches and monasteries of Kiew designed by Byzantine masters and monks for the first Russian rulers of the house of Rurik. In the two following chapters (Chapts. V and VI) the author gives a detailed description of the three temples with their accessories and then sums up his final estimate of the characteristics of their style. The Brahmor temple, he says (p. 104), represents the Rococo (7th century) phase of Gupta art coming after its classical (5th century) and its Baroque (6th century) phase. The Sakti Devi temple though still belonging to the same tradition represents the transition to a local school (p. 105). The Markula shrine is a work of Kashmir art probably of the reign of Anantadeva (1028-63) and built by his Queen Suryamati (pp. 112-13). These temples and sculptures, he concludes (p. 117), are the keys to the great periods in the art history of Asia and of the world. As the ruins of Pompeii permit us a rare glimpse of the civilization of the Roman Empire at its zenith or as the Ajanta frescoes give us some idea of the glory of classic Gupta and Chalukya art, in the same way the temples and images of Brahmor and Chatrarhi are representatives of the later Gupta art and Markula is the last remnant of the lost Kashmiri art.

From the above brief review it will appear that the present work is a most valuable contribution to the history of Indian art and archaeology in the post-Gupta period.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE BIRTH OF PAKISTAN: *By Dr. Sachin Sen. General Printers and Publishers Ltd., 119, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta-13. Pp. xi+199. Price Rs. 10.*

The book under review consists of twelve chapters including 'Introduction' and 'Conclusion.' It is a running commentary on the evolution of the state of Pakistan with its historical background. The book may be divided into two parts: Chapters II to V deal with the historical background, and Chapters VI to XI give us an account of the events leading to the Partition of India.

The Hindus and Mussalmans lived as neighbours for centuries. This neighbourliness led to fusion of both the cultures amongst the rank and file, though this received severe setbacks from time to time. But during the early decades of the last century, the Wahabi movement, sponsored by an extremely orthodox section of the Mahomedans called the Wahabis sought to separate the one from the other. The leaders had two objects in view; one was religious and the other political. They wanted to revive the Moslem power in India. The other object was expressed in the following lines of their 'war-song' given in translation:

"Fill the uttermost ends of India with Islam, so that no sounds may be heard but 'Allah Allah'."

The movement spread amongst the Moslems from Chittagong to Peshwar, Patna being its headquarters.

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The British Government at first tried to quell the movement by force of arms. They failed, and resorted to other means. And it was these 'means' that fostered the sense of separatism. Education must be extended to the Moslems, and as far back as the seventies "Moslem education" formed a special section of the Education Department of the Government, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, a nationalist to the core, and once Secretary to the Aligarh Branch of the British Indian Association of Calcutta, founded the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh with the noble intention of catering higher education to the Moslems. But this college later turned into a venue of separatism and its European principals influenced the Moslem leaders, from Sir Syed Ahmed Khan downwards, so much so that they became wedded to this cult and acted up to it most earnestly against the Indian National Congress. Sir Syed started the "Patriotic Association." Though this association had some loyalist Hindus,—Rajas and Maharajas—as its members, it was extremely reactionary, and sectional, too. This may be called the precursor of the Indian Moslem League of 1906, which was a purely sectional, or communal organisation. In the Indian Legislative Council, a Mahomedan member from Bihar advanced a plea for separate representation of the Moslems in the proposed Self-Government Bill of 1883. As a member of the Public Service Commission, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan supported the majority view with a note that the Civil Service examination should not be held in India on account of the dearth of Mahomedan candidates! To grasp the historical background of Moslem separatism, these points should also be noted.

The twentieth century dawned with ominous consequences. The 'divide and rule' policy of Lord Curzon fanned the fire of separatism, which, with the advent of the next Viceroy Minto, got the new appellation of 'communalism.' The 1st October, 1906, stands on the parting of the ways. It was on this date that the Viceroy Minto acquiesced in the very distinct special claims of the Moslem deputation headed by His Highness the Aga Khan. Since then the various claims of the Mahomedan community were met by the ruling authority. In the Morley-Minto Reforms these claims were for the first time met on the political plane. The Congress and the Moslem League entered into a pact, popularly known as the 'Lucknow Pact,' in which the communal claims of the Moslems were largely conceded. Lala Lajpat Rai criticised the Pact severely as it was later treated as a weapon to strike at the root of Indian nationalism by the designing Britishers and communaliy-minded Moslem leaders. Since the Non-co-operation Movement the leaders of the Congress adopted a policy of appeasement, and one concession to the Moslem demands, instead of appeasing, was instrumental for fresh ones. The author has dissected the political views of Maulana Muhammad Ali and successfully proved that though at one time he joined the national movement, he never eschewed his communal views. It should be said in passing that he was a member of the infamous Moslem deputation headed by the Aga Khan. The author has narrated in a separate chapter how the writings in prose and verse of Sir Muhammad Iqbal supplied the philosophical background of the idea of a budding separate State in Western India for the Moslems, and he gave it the name of Pakistan.

With the intensification of the movement for independence, the British bureaucracy left no stone unturned in driving a wedge between the two communities. And their machinations bore fruit. The second Round Table Conference in London ended in a communal rift was almost complete. Mr. Gandhi returned to India empty-handed, only to be clapped into prison. The "Government of India Act 1935" was framed on the extremely communal lines. The re-appearance of Muhammad Ali Jinnah on the Indian political arena gave a strong impetus to the cause of the communalist Moslems. The approach of the Congress High Command to the situation as well as the diplomacy of the authorities in the Second World War gave way to the inordinate Pakistan claim of the Muslim community. All the attempts of the Cabinet Mission failed, and the Congress leadership, tired and desperate, accepted the Mountbatten Plan, which sought to create two independent States. India was partitioned, and the Indian Union and Pakistan came into being as two independent States.

In the later chapters of the book the author treated the subject thread-bare and in a dispassionate manner. He has not spared to criticise the blunders of the top-ranking leaders of both sides. The birth of Pakistan was no less due to the dubious policy of appeasement pursued by the Congress for years. To the student of recent Indian history and those who wish to have a clear idea of the nature of the Congress leadership, the book will prove very useful. We commend this book to our readers.

JOGESH C. B...

NEW HORIZONS: *By Wilfred Wellock. Published by Houseman's Bookshop, 3, Blackstock Road, London, N-4. Pp. 96. Price 2s. 6d.*

The author is a thinker and a dispassionate observer of the trends of events. So he sees what many do not or will not see. He is, as the title of the brochure will show, a lover of Man and the human race. The theme of the brochure in the author's words is:

"The root problem of our time is how to move from a quantitative civilisation which fragments the human person to a qualitative civilisation which makes whole persons.

"The ways and means of doing this are considered in the following pages, but they obviously mean a new industrial revolution and a new culture, perhaps an old culture brought up to date."

This naturally leads to the consideration of the Industrial Revolution which has produced the civilization which the East has begun to aspire to, looking wistfully to, says the author (p. 53).

"This civilisation, born of the Industrial Revolution, is nearing its end; its enthusiasms and its are weakening and as it wilts, despair grows. There is no obvious alternative to it. Until recently we dreamed that the new prosperity could replace alternative. It is only too evident that events moved too fast for reflection and rational Before a sane judgment could be passed on invention, another had captured the public imagination and outpaced the prophets, whose warnings on deaf ears. In consequence, the Western of a misguided science is heading for destruction.

And again:

"When the main motive of labour and is switched from satisfying self-expression to making, men become machines and societies

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tive gladiatorial associations that live on excitements which they miscall sport, and on self-indulgences which they call fun (p. 21). Can peace emanate from such state? Yet they talk of peace. And they conveniently forget that peace today is synonymous with maintaining the *status quo*. And maintaining the *status quo* is the same as clinging fast to privileges gained by the have-nations at the expense of the have-not-nations. And as dogs quarrel and fight over a stick of bone, so too these have-nations fight with each other for markets for their mounting commodities and the sources of their raw materials. To quote from the author:

"Today we live in a fool's paradise, worshipping abundance yet wasting it in self-indulgence and costly armaments. The Western nations put the blame for the latter on Communism, and turn a blind eye to the basic fact that war is inherent in their very way of life . . . . It is plain self-deception to say that all our war-producing problems could be solved around a table, given a little good will. . . . A limit must be set to Western living standards, to luxury and self-indulgence, and to the demands of fashions and social status. Our highest wellbeing and world peace, world brotherhood and co-operation, demand it." (p. 93).

"The real enemy of mankind today is not Communism but the fear of it, and the materialism from which that fear springs, and which even now is preventing the anti-Communist block from challenging Communism with an effective alternative." (p. 34)

What is that alternative?

"Russia will be beaten by a life of high quality, not by power, unless civilisation entire is to crash with her." (p. 39)

That alternative the author says is the way of life Gandhi pointed to.

The brochure is thought-provoking. It is sure to run to many editions as companion volumes, *Man, the Unknown* (Dr. Alexis Carrel), and *Culture of Cities* (Lewis Mumford), have run to.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

THE PRESS AND ITS PROBLEMS: *By Mrinal Kanti Bose. Published by S. C. Sarkar and Sons, Limited, 1-C, College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.*

The book under review from the pen of the veteran journalist Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose was published in 1945. Divided into 2 chapters this slender volume of 162 pages deals with various aspects of journalism. Written a decade back as it is, the volume contains much that is quite useful even today. Chapters VIII and IX dealing with the early history of the Indian press and the history of press restrictions in India, respectively, are of particular interest to students of Indian history. The rest are of interest more to the professional journalist than to the general reader.

DIPLOMATIC SERVICE IN FREE INDIA: *By Indra Datt. Published by Indian Book Company, Ltd., Delhi. Price Rs. 6.*

India in slavery did not bother about the army organisation, or of Foreign office or the Diplomatic service. Freedom, however, has changed the complexion of affairs. External Affairs are no less important today than the Internal. Mr. Indra Datt's *Diplomatic Service in Free India* deals with the mechansim of foreign policy with particular reference to India in the light of diplomatic theory and practice in other great countries of the world," among others. Young Indian aspirants after the I.F.S. will find the volume quite useful. The Glossary at the end explains a number of frequently used. but not always understood, diplomatic terms.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

ESSENTIAL UNITY OF ALL RELIGIONS: *Compiled by Bharata Ratna Dr. Bhagwan Das, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. Fifth Edition. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras-20. 1955. Pp. cii+904. D.C. 1/16. Price Rs. 10.*

The author writes in the introduction: "While compiling this book and revising it again and again, the compiler has prayed constantly to the Great Masters of all the living religions, Manu, Krishna, Vyasa, Zoroaster, Moses, Isaiah, Laotze, Confucius, Buddha, Jina, Christ, Muhammad, Nanak and the Spiritual Hierarchy to which they all belong, for guidance of his fingers in this effort to serve his fellow men and women of all countries." The learned philosophers has spared no pains to compile the texts from different scriptures and put in his interpretations for the treaders on this path.

It was as early as 1866 that Brahmananda Keshav Chandra Sen of revered memory compiled and published the *Sloka-Samgraha* (compilation of Theistic and moral texts from the scriptures of all the great religions of the world) as a step towards the mutual understanding of the followers of those religions. He saw that religion was the greatest factor in the history of human civilization and that the Religion which would be the outcome of the sympathetic understanding of and active participation with all such religions was sure to usher in a still higher civilization, which he likened to the kingdom of Heaven. At Sri Keshav Chandra's instance, both in India and the West, outstanding personalities published similar compilations. Mrs. Annie Besant had published between 1913-15 *The Universal Text Book of Religion and Morals* in several parts. The present author has followed her footsteps and amplified the work considerably. The first edition of the book was published in 1932 and in course of the different editions considerable additions have been made. The book should be widely circulated and studied.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

1. TRIPLE YOGA: *Pp. 188. Price Rs. 2.*
2. YOGA IN DAILY LIFE: *Pp. 174. Price Rs. 3.*
3. EASY STEPS TO YOGA: *Pp. 260. Price Rs. 3.*

All the three books are by Swami Sivananda and published from Yoga-Vedanta Forest University, P.O. Sivanandanagar, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

The first book owes its origin to Messrs. Ramstedt of Stockholm and I. E. Downes of Australia who casually applied to the author for a correspondence course on Raja Yoga. Thus fourteen lessons on the subject were written in a succinct manner and sent to the correspondent students. Afterwards lessons on Bhakti Yoga and Jnana Yoga were written and two appendices added. These lessons contain common-place instructions on the three Yogas and are suitable for the average aspirants.

The second book is now in the fourth edition and complete in twelve sections dealing with Bhakti Yoga, Raja Yoga, Karma Yoga, Hatha Yoga and other allied subjects. The tenth section contains short stories of fifteen saints of which Jaigisavya is little known. Jaigisavya was a *siddha yogi* and remembered all his previous incarnations. He is often referred to in Yoga literature and said to have told Rishi Avatya, "Com-

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pared to the infinite bliss of Kaivalya or Freedom sensual pleasure derived from objects is mere pain." There is a description of Gandha Baba *alias* Swami Vijnanananda of Bananras who had the miracle of producing any sweet scent by squeezing a piece of paper.

The third book now running into third edition is the first publication of the Divine Life Society of Rishikesh. The first edition of the book appeared in 1942 and was sold out in a few months. It contains simple practicable instructions on religious life which everybody can follow. It is complete in eight chapters dealing with mysteries of mind, methods of meditation, yogic exercises and similar subjects. Pictures of *yogasanas* should have been given for a correct understanding of their technique.

All the three books are essentially on the same subject and often overlap each other.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

FRENCH

LES ESPRITS DES FEUILLES JAUNES : *By Hugo Adolf Bernatzik. Published by Librarie Plon, Paris. 1955. With 17 plates, 51 illustrations, and two maps. Pp. 269. Price 900 frs.*

Dr. Bernatzik, the Austrian anthropologist, and his wife brought back from their expedition to the Indo-Chinese peninsula in 1936-37 a considerable collection of anthropological data which they have systematized in a series of monographs on the various peoples whom they studied. This book originally published in German in 1951 and intended for the layman has now been translated into French by Alphonse Tournier. The French ethnologist Georges Condominas has critically annotated the French edition and has supplied a bibliography.

From the earliest times the part of South-East comprising Malaya, Burma, Thailand, Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia has been the scene of north to south migrations of peoples and there in some of the densest jungles as well as in the isolated mountainous regions the primitive inhabitants were, when the Bernatziks studied them, practically untouched by advanced civilizations.

The three most primitive peoples described in detail in this book—the Moken of the Mergui Archipelago, the Semang of the Malay forests, the Phi Tong Luang of Northern Thailand, are all semi-nomadic. The last two peoples are nomadic bands of hunters but also collectors of forest produce which they barter for rice and tobacco, the first, the Moken, are however fishermen who live on boats and move about in search of fresh fishing grounds. The authors have also described the mode of life of some of the peoples of more recent migrations, such as. the Meo, who practise a system of shifting cultivation, a system by which the land is cleared, fired, cultivated and then abandoned. The wastefulness of this method, though highly fruitful in itself, can be indulged only when there are unlimited resources of virgin forest. But these virgin forests are fast disappearing and therefore these tribes are gradually being forced to more sophisticated methods of production. Since agricultural practice in a primitive community is bound up with the social organisation, one danger, as the author notes, to which these peoples are becoming exposed is that with the introduction of intensive agricultural techniques the fabric of social life is threatening to break down.

The social structure of the primitive peoples is also breaking down with the spread of missionary activities—activities of which Dr. Bernatzik is extr[illegible] critical. He emphasizes that the spread of Christi[illegible] in Asia is not a pure matter of belief, it is more si[illegible]ficantly a movement to link the believers with E[illegible]pean civilization which enjoys greater power and [illegible]tainly greater prestige. The spread of Christianity [illegible] with it a new pattern of society and belief has [illegible] here, as elsewhere, to the deflation of the auth[illegible] of the village chiefs and to a consequent bewil[illegible]ment among the villagers on account of the [illegible] appearance of traditional leadership. Moreover, [illegible] rivalry of the various religious sects tends to enge[illegible] discord amongst the converts, which in turn cre[illegible] conditions open to much easy exploitation by po[illegible]cal agitators.

To the layman the most interesting part of [illegible] book is perhaps the description of the month[illegible] searching over the most difficult country for the [illegible]madic peoples. The Phi Tong Luang, which m[illegible] "The Spirits of the Yellow Leaves," were so [illegible] known even among the local inhabitants that [illegible] were believed to be mythical. The Bernatziks w[illegible] the first Europeans actually to live with them. T[illegible] nomadic instincts of these people are so strong [illegible] they never stay in one place more than three or [illegible] days. The only way to study them was therefore [illegible] go on hunting expeditions with them. There are so[illegible] exciting accounts of tiger and buffalo hunting w[illegible] primitive weapons. The author also gives very vi[illegible] descriptions of long treks through the deep [illegible] forests and of the eeriness of the jungle at night. T[illegible] world of the Moken is a world inhabited by a gal[illegible] of spirits. The Moken have fascinating legends so[illegible] of which the authors have recorded.

The material for such studies is fast disappeari[illegible] and therefore the data collected by these expedition[illegible] are of great value to scientists, historians and [illegible] administrators, to the administrators particular[illegible] since they have to deal with the problems raised b[illegible] the impact of larger economic development on peop[illegible] inured for centuries by habit and custom to a pri[illegible]tive and simple means of livelihood.

The book would have been more instructive a[illegible] of broader interest if the author had given a gene[illegible] account of the racial affinities of the different peop[illegible] and of their migrations, particularly of his theory t[illegible] the Polynesians and Melanesians are closely relat[illegible] to the Moi of Indo-China..

There are good photographs in the book but m[illegible] maps would have made it much easier to follow t[illegible] movements of the expedition.

MARGARET BASU

BENGALI

MAHAPRAN SIR DANIEL MACKINON HA[illegible] MILTON : *By Kalipada Bhattacharyya. Published b[illegible] Sir Daniel Hamilton Estate, Gosaba, 24-Pargan[illegible] Pp. 80. Price eight annas.*

Sir Daniel Hamilton, senior partner of Mackin[illegible] Mackenzie & Co. of Calcutta was not only a success[illegible] and wealthy businessman but also a man of sympa[illegible] for the poor peasants and the middle class people. H[illegible] invested a huge sum to build up a Co-operative Colony at Gosaba which has proved a success after a good deal of struggle at its initial stage. There is now all-round progress in agriculture, small industries health and education on co-operative lines and Gosaba is now a place of pilgrimage to co-operators all over India. The author could have done well if he ma[illegible]

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use of statistics and figures in presenting the picture of progress of co-operatives at Gosaba. The book is well-written and deserves wide circulation among co-operators.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

SAMAJ MANOVIGNAN : *By Shivanand Sharma. Friends Book Depot, Allahabad-1. Pp. 278. Price Rs. 4-8.*

The book deals with social psychology, scientifically and critically. It analyses the individual as well society with all their respective traits and tendencies and reactions in several situations and circumstances. The author has largely drawn upon standard works on the subject. His work, therefore, is packed with adequate information and interpretation. It is, consequently, a very good introduction to social psychology for those who have no access to the original standard writings of Western writers.

G. M.

GUJARATI

CHHAPANO BHUT : *By Siavaksh E. Dalal. Printed by the Mazda Printers, Bombay-1. 1950. Cloth cover. Pp. 232. Price Rs. 5.*

"Journalistic Ghost" is a special Reporter who in his progressive capacity turns up at odd places at odd times. Mr. Dalal began life as an office boy in a local journalist's office in Bombay and by his native intelligence ended in the Proprietorship and Editorship of his own paper. The vicissitudes of a Reporter's life in and outside Bombay, Delhi and Rajkot are set out here with a raciness and a sense of humour peculiar to the community—Parsi—to which he belongs. He gives his own impressions of about fifty men who have been prominent citizens or writers or solid workers. A supplement gives his impression of the Race Course and the Racing Circles of Bombay. Altogether the book is both chatty and serious and would be liked much for its lighter side.

(1) PRASHNOTTAR RATNAMALA AND JIVAN MUKTA ANAND LAHARI : *By Girijashank M. Shastri. Price three annas.*

(2) ANTAR NIRIKSHAN : *By N. Porbandar. Price Re. 1.*

Both are published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

The first book is Shankaracharya's series of questions and answers on philosophical subjects translated into simple Gujarati from the original Sanskrit and the second *Antar Nirikshan*, a treatise on self-introspection by Col. Sir Natwarsinghji, K.C.I.E., Maharana of Porbandar, the birth-town of Gandhiji. Its contents proclaim him to be a great thinker and philosopher. One wonders how such a silent but powerful thinker, who has buried himself in contemplation, meditation and introspection, could have become a cricket captain of international fame. The questions and answers are terse, crisp, to the point and enlightening. The Maharana is more fit to be a forest-dweller than a sitter on a king's throne.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Emerson's Advice to a Nation Growing Up

There can be no question that Emerson wielded a not inconsiderable influence in his lifetime upon contemporary thought. In an article in *The Aryan Path* Rodolphe Louis Megroz deals selectively with the practical side of Emerson's thought :

In 1803, when the United States of America was only half-grown geographically, and very young in national consciousness, the New England essayist and philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, was born at Boston. He became a Christan minister, like his forebears, in a sect called Unitarian. At the age of twenty-nine he retired as a preacher, as his views on certain questions aroused the disapproval of the congregation. This was a good thing in so far as it encouraged him to visit Europe, especially England, and to study at closer quarters some of the sources of American civilization. Such a collection of pieces as *English Traits* shows how openminded and independently critical he remained, and the long correspondence with several distinguished British writers which he afterwards maintained did something to broaden the views of each other in the two nations.

Emerson, after his return to America, still preached on occasion by invitation and also lectured as well as published many essays and prose studies. It became apparent that a mind of uncommon range and wisdom, by a remarkable mixture of poetry and philosophy, was presenting in a fresh way for the Western world of his time a wide range of ancient ideas that called for new and urgent application.

The student of Emerson's biography and writings will not need to be told that he owed much to Oriental and non-Christian sources of wisdom, but the attribute of his teaching that is most interesting today is its frequent application to the problems of the new nation of which destiny had made him a part. A crude, materialistic, vigorous nation; confident, though not always in the right way; alert to every means of "progress" towards its mighty future, although forgetful of, and often blind to, the more important values. In fact in their hurry and revolt Americans were in danger of adopting only the merely materialistic values of the industrial revolution that was transforming their parent civilization; and Emerson saw that their danger was the greater because they were removed from many of the artistic, literary and academic influences of their European background.

In *Essays*, a rich compendium of practically all his thought, there are many indications of his sense of universal religious wisdom—he was indeed a theosophist with a label, seeking truth everywhere, shorn of accidental and local trimmings. And constantly in these comparatively disinterested essays he has something say to the nation as if by the way, just as, when directly lectured on the prospects and problems growth of the United States, he passed from the practi and hortatory to the symbolic and universal. Let glance through the *Essays* first. Although every page seamed with wise sayings, it should be possible select a few for adequate illustration. In "The Over he observes: "The Universe is the externization of soul," by which he does not mean to exclude intellect, but to establish a more complete truth. in "The Over-Soul":

"All goes to shew that the soul in man is not organ, but animates and exercises all the organs, not a faculty, but a light."

And :

"What we commonly call man,—the eating, drinking planting, counting man,—does not, as we know, represent himself, but misrepresents himself. Him do not respect; but the soul, whose organ he is, would he let it appear through his action, would make knees bend. When it breathes through his intellect, is genius; when it breathes through his will, it is virtue when it flows through his affection, it is love."

His independence of sectarian and institutional creeds is further emphasized in more explicit passages like this from "Self-Reliance" :

"And so the reliance on Property, including reliance on governments which protect it, is the of self-reliance. Men have looked away from themselves and at things so long, that they have come to esteem .....the religious, learned, and civil institutions guards of property, and they deprecate assaults on because they feel them to be assaults on property."

In the essay on "Politics" he urges that in dealing with the State we should not forget that its institutions are but human in origin and alterable to new circumstances, though politics are not to be treated with levity, as they rest on necessary foundations :

"Republics abound in young civilians, who know that the laws make the city; that grave modifications of the policy and modes of living, and employments the population; that commerce, education, and religion may be voted in or out; and that any measure, if it were absurd, may be imposed on a people, if you can get sufficient voices to make it a law. But wise know that foolish legislation is a rope of which perishes in the twisting; that the State must lead, and not lead, the character and progress of citizen; the strongest usurper is quickly got rid of they only who build on Ideas, build for eternity; that the form of government which prevails, is the pression of what cultivation exists in the people which permits it."

Although these disjointed extracts are deprived the support of Emerson's associated ideas, they remarkably little "dated" when we consider all that happened to the world since he wrote. Typical

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the essays was one of the earliest, and longest, that on "Nature," which was published in the volume entitled *Nature: Addresses and Lectures*. This accepted the contemporary cult of non-human nature, as healer, restorer, inspirer, but transformed it into a recognition that "if there were good men there would never be this rapture in nature," for man has fallen from his true estate though he is a kind of microcosm of all nature.

It was not long after writing *Nature*, about five years after his first European tour, that Emerson delivered several addresses and "orations" which appeared in the same volume. In some of these we see him at his best and most direct as adviser and inspirer of the young citizens of a young nation, urging them to avoid the stereotyped, and never to forget that man is an individual with the truth inside him and that he is essentially more than his particular function in the social system of division of labour. He complained that the organization of society changed men into things. In "The American Scholar," an oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Cambridge, on August 31st, 1837, he reminded them that every year at their meeting the members of the Society really read one more chapter of the biography of the American scholar. He recalled an ancient fable that conveyed unlooked-for wisdom:

"..... the gods, in the beginning, divided Man into men, that he might be more helpful to himself; just as the hand was divided into fingers, the better to answer its end.

"The old fable covers a doctrine ever new and sublime; that there is One Man—present to all particular men only partially, or through one faculty; and that you must take the whole society to find the whole man. Man is not a farmer, or a professor, or an engineer, but he is all."

In the distribution of functions, the scholar, according to Emerson, becomes the dedicated intellect:

"In the right state, he is *Man Thinking*. In the degenerate state, when the victim of society, he tends to become a mere thinker, or, still worse, the parrot of other men's thinking."

The great influences affecting the spirit of the true scolar include nature, which must be closely studied, not merely admired, and the mind of the Past best conveyed in books; but each age must write its own books, Emerson warns:

"The sacredness which attaches to the act of creation,—the act of thought,—is transferred to the record. Instanly the book becomes noxious; the guide is a tyrant. The sluggish and perverted mind of the multitude, slow to open to the incursions of Reason, having opened, having once received this book stands upon it and makes an outcry, if it is disparaged. Colleges are built on it. Books are written on it by thinkers, not by Man Thinking; by men of talent, that is, who start wrong, who set out from accepted dogmas, not from their own sight of principles."

In other passages of the same oration Emerson prevents any misconstruing of his meaning by emphasizing the kinds of diligent reading indispensable to the wise man, including "history and exact science"; but the colleges "must aim not to drill but to create":

"Gowns, and pecuniary foundations, though of towns of gold, can never countervail the least sentence or syllable of wit. Forget this, and our American colleges will recede in their public importance, whilst they grow richer every year."

With all his warnings to the youthful "dedicated intellects" who must help their nation, urging the sluggard intellect of the country to "look from under its iron lids

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and fill the postponed expectation of the world with something better than the exertions of mechanical skill," Emerson has no doubt that

"Our day of dependence, our long apprenticeship to the learning of other lands, draws to a close. The millions, that around us are rushing into life, cannot always be fed on the sere remains of foreign harvests."

There are other pieces of exceptional interest and relevance to our theme in the same collection. One more example should be specially referred to "The Young American," a lecture read before the Mercantile Library Association in Boston, on February 7th, 1884. He refers to the "rage for road building" and other constructive labour, necessary to the progress of the young Union, but stresses at the same time that the arts and refinements of the old world will become of corresponding importance. So with the growth of Trade, potentially an instrument of liberty (particularly to the States when they declared and acquired independence of Britain), but bringing new problems of economic organization and of government.

Many times does Emerson, the poetic mystic and scholarly philosopher, surprise us by his attention to mundane but important facts of life in the new nation. He would no doubt have cordially approved the statement by Rudolph Steiner (unusually lucid and concise for him) in the Foreword to *The Threefold State*:

"Neither will what the writer says in this book find much favour with those who, under various forms, keep on reiterating the old phrases, that men must rise above their devotion to merely material interests and turn to ideals and to the things of the spirit. For the author does not attach much value to mere talk about the spirit, to speeches about a vague spiritual world. The only kind of spirituality which he is able to recognize is that which informs the actual life of men, and which shows itself not less active in mastering the practical tasks of life than in constructing a philosophy of the universe and of existence capable of satisfying the needs of the soul."

The only qualification necessary perhaps is that if Emerson had said this much he would immediately have shown that an adequate philosophy was truly a means to the wise cultivation of material resources.

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Contributions of Indian Women to Spiritual Life

In the course of an article in *Prabu Bharata* Dr. Roma Chaudhuri observes:

From time immemorial, India has been a land supreme spiritualism and lofty humanism, a land civilization started with reverential bows to the Universal spirit, as the Inner Soul, and Pervade Essence of all; a land that invoked Him through rous *mantras*, hymns, rites and rituals, and philo cal discourses. It is, indeed, a matter of legitimate to us that in these spiritual strivings and achieve of this holy land, our beloved Mother, her sons daughters have taken equal parts and contributed shares, right from the beginning, and continued so all through her chequered history down to the age. In this very short article, it will be our endea to give a very brief account of the spiritual achieve of Indian women throughout the ages, by taking few examples only for each age.

During the Vedic Age, as well known, enjoyed the same social privileges as men, and given the very same opportunities for education, and spiritual. As a result, women also reached heights of spiritual perfection, and showed others way to it by their superb utterances and inspiring Hence the *Rig-Veda*, the oldest treatise in the world won the distinction of being the only Scripture in world that includes the works by women saints. out of the total ninety-nine *Risis* or Seers, the of whose divine vision enrich this peerless trove of perfect wisdom, the *Rig-Veda*, as many twenty-seven are women according to the celebr *Brihad-devata* of Saunaka, an *upakramanika* or introduction to the *Rig-Veda*. The renowned commentator the Vedas Sayana, has added two more to the list course, a doubt has sometimes been raised that all so-called Women Seers are not actual historical alities, as some of the names (e.g. Urvasi etc.) mere mythological, while some others (e.g. Ratri stand for natural phenomena and others still Sraddha etc.) for mental qualities. However, there no doubt with regard to the fact that during the Age, there did flourish some great Women Seers enthralled the land by their sublime of great spiritual, as well as literary, value. Other great scholars, like Saunaka and Sayana, would have, in later times, referred to them unreserved *Risis* and *Brahmavadinis*.

Of all the women seers of the *Rig-Veda*, the celebrated is Vac, daughter of the great sage Ambhrin She illustrates how a woman can reach the pinnacle of knowledge and realization, and be with the beatific vision of the Unity of Godhead the Identity of the Absolute and the Self. Thus ing directly realized the non-difference between own self and God and the Universe, Vac sings ecstasy:

'I roam about with all the Gods, sustaining holding them as their very Soul. He who eats he who perceives things, he who breathes, he hears words—does so through me. I have entered the Heaven and the earth as their Inner Controller have entered into all beings and all things, pervading them all. Creating everything, I blow on like the Beyond the Heaven, beyond the earth am I—so my glory and greatness!' (*Rig-Veda* 10. 125.)

During the later Vedic Age, *viz.*, that of the sads, this glorious tradition of the supreme

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achievements of Indian womanhood continued unabated and with full vigour.; and as a result, we meet in the ancient and celebrated *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* (3. 8. 38.) the great woman scholar and sage Gargi, daughter of the sage Vacaknu. She attained such heights of philosophical wisdom, that she did not hesitate to challenge, in the open Court of King Janaka, even the great sage Yajnavalkya. When Yajnavalkya claimed to be the 'Brahmistha' or the best knower of Brahman, he was challenged, and closely questioned on deep philosophical topics, by eight great sages and scholars, of whom Gargi was the only woman. But it was this single woman, amongst the galaxy of the great philosophical luminaries of deep spiritual realization, who had the courage and confidence to question the great sage twice. Not only that, on the second occasion, when in reply to her questions, Yajnavalkya explained to her the great and deep conception of *Akshara-Brahman*, Gargi gladly accepted him as the 'best knower of Brahman.' All these go to show that Gargi was regarded as one of the leading intellectuals of those days, and held in very high esteem for her profound scholarship, wisdom, and philosophic vision.

The Epic Age, too, presents to us a bright picture of women's all-round progress and perfection. In the *Ramayana*, there are several instances of saintly women, attaining highest realization and illumination through their own spiritual strivings. The case of Sramani Sabari is specially exhilarating. For, she was by birth, a low caste woman, yet became a great ascetic, honoured by other great ascetics. That women of those days could attain the height of spiritual perfection, even under adverse circumstances, is amply demonstrated by Sabari, an inspiring figure in the annals of women's ascetic achievements in India. Here asceticism should not be taken in its ordinary connotation, for Sabari was full of divine love also.

The *Mahabharata*, largely honoured as the 'Voice of India' contains a still larger galaxy of women saints and scholars of old. Drawn practically from all spheres and strata of society (*e.g.*, royal ladies, ordinary housewives, saints, scholars, ascetics) these great and holy women shine like brightest stars in the horizon of immortality. Perhaps, the brightest of the bright is Subhadra, a princess by birth, but an ascetic by choice, a wandering mendicant, and a roving spiritual ambassador, who, though born and brought up in the midst of the glory and grandeur of a royal court, renounced everything for the sake of *moksha* and roamed about from place to place in quest of Truth. Her philosophical discourses with the saintly and scholarly king Janaka bear ample testimony to her deep spiritual insight, supreme realization, and perfect wisdom. Another unforgettable saintly women was queen-mother Gandhari and her sublime maxim: 'Victory comes to the righteous' has passed into classics. Strong and courageous, unshakable and unbending in her iron will and firm resolution, Vidura, another queen-mother, dissuading her son from a life of shame and slavery, and encouraging him to 'do or die,' has given us another inspiring maxim, which, too, has passed into immortality: 'It is better to flare up even for a moment than to smoke and smoulder in all: hence a short, glorious, full-blessed life is far better than a long life of ignorance and indolence. Life is to be measured and evaluated, not by its length but by its depth, not by the number of years but by the area covered by inspiring spiritual influence. It is this message of courageous and fruitful

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life which is the message of the Epic Age, an age resplendent with heroic men and women who faced the problems of life with full self-confidence and vigour, and never bowed down to Fate in meek submission. It is, indeed, a matter of legitimate pride to us all, that the contributions of the women of the *Mahabharata* to the buliding up of a *Maha Bharata*, a Great India, have indeed been as magnificent and as enduring as those of men.

Gandhian Nationalism

J. C. Kumarappa writes in the *Gram Udyog Patrika* :

In the *Peace News* of London, 28th October 1955, Mr. Peter De Morny writes that in spite of Gandhiji's selflessness and lack of any personal ambition "he had not outgrown nationalistic ambition and used his Satyagraha or Truthpower for the express purpose of ridding his country of the foreign raj."

This statement discloses a gross misunderstanding of Gandhiji's approach. Satyagraha serves a double purpose. Gandhiji's ambition was universal release from bondage. It was to release the oppressors as well as the victims. The oppressors were under the bondage of selfishness and greed. By bringing about a change of heart in them his ambition was to release the British from the wrong position into which material avarice had held them, as under a vice. Such a change in the British would give them a right attitude towards the rest of the human family and they on their own, would withdraw from a false position. This, we trust, is what has happened. Anything else would be like snatching a rat from a cat's mouth. It would hardly be dignified, on the part of Mr. Morny, to make such a claim for his country. This would have been the position had the British been driven out of India by violence with superior arms. In the latter case, the aftermath would have bred hatred and ill-feeling. But our experience is that there is mutual goodwill and friendliness between Indians and Britishers as a result of our gaining our independence through Satyagraha.

On the other hand, every nation should be able to make its special contribution to the family of universal brotherhood and fulfil its God-given mission. It can only do so if it had freedom to hold its head erect and express itself in its own way. Colonialism is inimical to serve this purpose. To shake oneself free from such a crushing burden is one's duty to oneself. This cannot be construed into a narrow nationalism which is completely foreign to Gandhiji's nature.

We trust Mr. Morny will appreciate this dual function of Satyagraha and not its superiority over one-sided "victory" brought about by violence.

Again, we feel, Mr. Morny's reference to Jesus and Caesar is based on a misconception of the oft-quoted cryptic statement, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." This text is usually used by States to justify their exactions and accepted as the final word by the prelates of the church.

With this tradition Mr. Morny contends that Jesus was solely concerned with the inner purification of the person and not with displacing Caesar. This is completely off the track. To say that Jesus did not concern himself with dethroning Caesar and to conclude therefrom that Gandhiji's political activities were not in alignment with Jesus' teachings is wholly wrong. It is based on the misconception of the basic statement because of a casual reading of it or by wilful shutting off of the higher understanding.

Let us look at the context. The Pharisees and Scribes, who did not relish the work done by Jesus in awakening the Jewish people's conscience against the wrong teachings of these leaders, wanted to place Jesus in a dilemma by asking him a question. "Is it lawful to pay tribute to Caesar?" If he answered it in the positive he would go against the susceptibilities of the Jews, if in the negative he would be liable to be prosecuted under the Roman Law as one who was stirring up sedition. So Jesus gives a conundrum and defeats their purpose. Taken legalistically, the Romans could take no exception to that statement and the Jews could construe it to be a direction to pay the temple due in "God's money" the shekel. But the deeper implication that applies for all time is missed by Mr. Morny and the Church protagonists. This is contained in the second part of the answer which was not part of the question asked.

"Render unto God the things that are God's." What are the things that belong to Him who made all the world and all that in them is? Naturally, the only possible reply is "everything." That means Caesar himself, being a creature of God, is on the same footing as an earthworm. Therefore he cannot be placed as a competitor to God in claiming a share in the loyalty due to our creator. All being God's there is no residue left for Caesar who may even be construed to be a usurper except in so far as he helps with God's dispensation. So Caesar gets nothing on his own rights. This brings Man into direct relationship with God his Maker.

Besides, in comparing Gandhiji with Jesus we have always to bear in mind that the earthly ministry of Jesus was barely over three mortal years in which he had hardly time enough to lay down his first principles. Even his close disciples were able to grasp his teachings only dimly as through a glass. He left hem promising the Comforter who will lead them into all the Truth. But Gandhiji's work extended over 45 years—nearly two generations! In this time he had the opportunity of, not only enunciating his principles, but also applying them to the various walks of life. Even then we are still only groping on. So it will be stultifying Jesus to limit him strictly to the fields of his operation.

We shall be doing the correct thing by extending his principles beyond the spheres in which he himself operated, and imbued in his spirit, exploring new fields. Anything less will dishonour him or place his teaching beyond human reach as impracticable.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Chen Shu-tung on Transformation of Private Industry and Commerce

Following are excerpts from the report on the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce made at the meeting of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on January 31st by Chen Shu-tung, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C., Chairman of All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce and formerly member of the board of directors of the biggest private publishing house, the Commercial Press, and of the National Commercial Bank :

Since the second half of last year, the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce has entered a new stage of development. This new stage is marked by the fact that transformation which, in the past, chiefly took lower and intermediate forms of state capitalism, is now chiefly taking the higher form of state capitalism. It has developed from joint state-private operation of individual factories and shops in the past to joint state-private operation of whole trades. Thus the scale of the transformation has been greatly expanded and accelerated.

The understanding of the industrialists and businessmen has been growing constantly. Nevertheless, quite a number of them lacked clear understanding or had misgivings about how specifically exploitation and classes would eventually be eliminated and capitalist ownership changed to ownership by the entire people in accordance with the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. Chairman Mao Tse-tung's directive enabled the industrialists and businessmen to see the essence of exploitation and the great future of our country. It also enabled them to understand that only by joining their own future and that of their children with that of the country can they step on to a bright path and take their destinies in their own hands. For this reason, not a few industrialists and businessmen have criticised their past exploitation and their erroneous thinking, either at meetings or in the press. Deep-going criticism and self-criticism have taken place among the industrialists and businessmen. One group after another, they have pledged to do meritorious work for transformation and to reform themselves into working people living by their own labour. A high tide of socialist transformation of private industry and commerce has therefore emerged throughout the country.

Our great capital, Peking, was in the forefront and was the first to complete joint state-private ownership of capitalist industry and commerce.

Following Peking, such cities as Tientsin, Siau, Kiang, Chungking, Wuhan and Canton around January 20th completed their work of joint state-private operation of all the private industry and commerce and entered a socialist society. When the joint state-private operation was achieved, the various cities were overwhelmed with unparallelled joy. Everywhere in the streets or lanes was decorated with lamps and fancy streamers and everyone was in great joy. The sound of gongs and drums and the bursts of fire-crackers continued day and night.

On January 20th, Shanghai, the biggest industrial and commercial city of China, victoriously completed joint state-private ownership of all capitalist industry and commerce and entered the socialist society.

In the high tide of transforming capitalist industry and commerce, many industrialists and businessmen in various parts of the country have taken specific meritorious actions in the course of transformation, and there have been a number of impressive instances in this connection.

The majority of industrialists and businessmen actively made preparations for joint state-private ownership. In the high tide of joint state-private ownership by whole trades, many industrialists and businessmen increased their investments as an expression of confidence in transformation.

What has characterised the high tide of transformation is the initiative taken by active elements among the industrialists and businessmen in various cities. This is also the important factor making it possible to complete joint state-private ownership by whole trades ahead of schedule speedily and well.

It is noteworthy that members of the families of many industrialists and businessmen showed great enthusiasm for the high tide of the transformation movement. Their efforts have been an important impetus in prompting the industrialists and businessmen to accept transformation.

The wives of many industrialists and businessmen have enthusiastically encouraged their husbands to go further to accept the transformation. In particular, the younger generation in the families of the industrialists and businessmen were all the more jubilant because their parents went a step further to accept transformation. The parents of quite a number of industrialists and businessmen, who have already reached to old age of 60 or 70, but were inspired by the new things in the new society, actively encouraged their sons to accept the transformation.

The great victories scored by China on various fronts since liberation were miracles unthinkable in the past. The enthusiasm shown by the industrialists and businessmen in vying with each other for transformation and many other impressive instances were also unthinkable in the past. These miracles could only appear in the great era of Mao Tse-tung, and only with the superior people's democratic state power.

The great victory of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce was not accidental. It has been achieved because of certain objective tendencies. In the past six years, very great achievements had been made in the steady development of state capitalism. Before the end of last year, approximately 80 per cent of capitalist industry in term of value of output has been processing or manufacturing for the state. By the first half of 1955, the number of joint state-private industrial firms reached approximately 2,000. The value of their

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output, compared with that of private industry, was almost in the ratio of three to five. In the field of commerce, practically all leading privately operated trades supplied by the state and co-operatives had in the main changed over to state capitalist commerce engaged in handling distribution by contract for state companies or become state sales agents. The high tide of transformation of capitalist industry and commerce has expanded because of the experience gained from the existing basis.

The correct leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung is an important factor in the tremendous victory of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. His teachings help us to see clearly that the bureaucrat capitalists, that is, the comprador bourgeoisie, is a ferocious enemy of the people, while the overwhelming majority of the national bourgeoisie can accommodate themselves to socialist transformation and can be transformed by peaeful means. His teachings help us to see clearly that in the period of socialist revolution, the people's state power led by the working class does not adopt the policy of expropriating or squeezing of the national bourgeoisie, but the policy of "buying off" their means of production through state capitalism as a transition. Under this policy, part of the profits produced by the working class for a certain period to come will still be allotted to the industrialists and businessmen. They will be allowed sufficient time in the process of transforming their enterprises to prove themselves and to change themselves from exploiters to working people living by their own labour as their enterprises become owned by the people as a whole. This is a mighty inspiration to all patriotic industrialists and businessmen and has greatly heightened their willingness to follow the path of socialism.

The brilliant achievements in the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce have further proved the correctness of the policy of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government toward the

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capitalist industry and commerce. Since the beginning of planned construction, the state has adopted toward private industry and commerce the policy of overall planning all-round re-arrangement and intensified transformation so as gradually to guide private industry and commerce into the orbit of state plan. All the industrialists and businessmen of China were informed of the contents of Vice-Premier Chen Yun's report and this has greatly strengthened their confidence in accepting the transformation. Since the beginning of the new stage in transformation, the state has adopted the method of turning whole trades into joint state and private ownership. It has accepted all applications for joint ownership by private industrial and commercial enterprises that are willing to be transformed and has helped the individual handicraftsmen and small trades both in cities and the countryside to organise themselves and proceed to co-operation.

The great victory of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce testifies to the mighty power of the leadership of the working class.

Since liberation, workers in private enterprises have constantly urged the capitalists to improve management and accept socialist transformation.

In the present changeover to joint state-private ownership by whole trades the mass of workers are jubilant and enthusiastic. They have formed youth shock-brigades which work tirelessly to assist the industrialists and businessmen to take inventory and assess capital and other necessary work. At the same time, they are making energetic efforts to do well in production and management. They have also pledged that hereafter they will further raise their working enthusiasm.

The great success of socialist industrialisation and agricultural co-operation throughout the country have provided the material basis for the rapid emergence of the high tide in the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. The speedy growth of the socialist sector of the economy has not only brought about the daily shrinking of the proportion of non-socialist sectors in the whole national economy, but, at the same time, made it possible for the state to accelerate the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

The great victory won in agricultural co-operation has now overcome in the main the spontaneous capitalist influence in the countryside and cut the peasant's link with capitalist industry and commerce. Thus industrialists and businessmen realise that it is necessary for them to go further in accepting transformation.

Due to the continuous guidance given by the Party and the Government, many industrialists and businessmen have considerably enhanced their understanding in varying degrees. In addition the industrialists and businessmen, pushed forward by the mass of people, inspired by the mass of workers and encouraged by their families, have become increasingly active in taking the road of socialism. The advanced industrialists and businessmen and the progressive core among them are increasing steadily.

Internationally, the power of the camp of socialism led by the Soviet Union grows daily and the enthusiasm of all the people in building socialism increases constantly. Under the impact of the great education of reality, the industrialists and businessmen's willingness to follow the path of socialism and go further in accepting transformation, like a mighty wave, has become a nationwide high tide, once Chairman Mao gave his guidance and directions.

Now, together with the people of the whole country, the industrialists and businessmen have triumphantly entered socialist society.

Our socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce is carried out in two distinct stages. First, changing capitalist enterprises into state-capitalist enterprises, and then changing these enterprises into state enterprises in order to carry out the changeover from capitalist ownership into ownership by the entire people as provided in the constitution. By carrying the present stage one step further it will be possible in the future smoothly to change state-capitalist enterprises into state enterprises owned by the entire people and transform the capitalists from exploiters into working people living by their own labour.

There remain now many urgent tasks to be carried out. The first is the task of taking inventory and assessing capital.

Then comes the question of "fixed interests." In the past, the method of distributing profit in state-capitalist enterprises was by apportioning it in four shares. Around one-fourth of the total profit was distributed to the capitalists. Since the changeover of whole trades to joint state-private ownership, this method of apportioning profit into four shares is no longer completely applicable, and it has been necessary to adopt the method of "fixed interest."

In addition, personnel arrangements is an important question. The policy of the state is to make proper arrangements for all industrialists and businessmen, to employ them according to their abilities and give them every possible consideration. In certain trades in some places, the work of placing of personnel has already been completed. According to the reactions of most of the industrialists and businessmen, they are all grateful for the considerate care of the state. Many have been placed in new positions and are happy beyond measure; they feel it a great honour.

As to the three questions mentioned above, the committees at all levels of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference should work closely with all department concerned, continue to apply the method of consultation, reflect all shades of opinion and help the organs of state to fulfil the current tasks speedily and successfully.

The transformation of the enterprises is only one aspect of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry

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and commerce. The other is to change the industrialists and businessmen. Changing them means primarily, ideologically re-educating the industrialists and businessmen, mainly through encouraging and organising them to study. To change them gradually from exploiters to working people of a socialist society who live on their own labour, it is necessary to raise their ideological understanding of patriotism and collectivism; to help them to study politics, world events and state policy, to help them to become proficient in the management of socialist enterprises and all the necessary techniques of production, and to encourage them to take part in political and social activities, and in this way raise still further the level of those in industrial and commercial circles who are already outstandingly active and constantly bring forward new activists.—*Hsinhua News*, January 31, 1956.

Women "The Superior Sex" Now Vote in all but 15 Countries

A wave of progress over the past sixty years has left the world with only fifteen countries where women still do not have the right to vote, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization reports in the issue of the *Unesco Courier* (No. 11, 1955) :

Unesco's survey shows that the wave began as a trickle in 1893 when New Zealand gave women the right to vote; only three other countries had followed suit by the beginning of the First World War. Today, the picture is completely reversed, especially in Europe and the Western Hemisphere where only four nations do not give political rights to women (Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Paraguay, Nicaragua). The other 11 countries : Afghanistan, Cambodia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Yemen.

In their march toward equality at the polls, in education and in professional careers, women have had to fight the tradition that they are the inferior sex. But there is more poetry than truth in this tradition according to Prof. Ashley Montagu, American anthropologist who writes:

"The scientific fact is that women are naturally superior to men and I would add that we should all be grateful . . . for in this fact lies the hope of the world."

This superiority, explains Prof. Montagu, can be traced back to the sex chromosomes—known as the X-and-Y chromosomes—which determine the sex of a child. An XY combination means a boy, while a double X produces a girl. "The Y-chromosome is an incomplete chromosome," he points out, "It is to these deficiencies that almost all of the male's trouble and inferiorities can be traced."

How are women superior to men? Here are Prof. Montagu's answers :

—They live longer : "Everywhere, the expectation of life is higher for females than males."

—They are healthier : "Women are more resistant to most diseases and recover from them more frequently than man. For every female stutterer, there are five males. For every female colour-blind person, there are sixteen males. Bleeders disease occurs almost exclusively in males."

—They are better "shock absorbers" than men : "During the last war, it was shown that women under imprisonment and concentration camp conditions withstood these conditions better than men. Almost anywhere, in any country, for every female suicide are three male suicides."

—Women are more intelligent, too : "It has been known to intelligence-testers that, on the average, boys are not as bright as girls. At five years of age when most children enter school in the United States girls are mentally two years ahead of boys and this advantage throughout their school years."

Then why is still a man's world? Prof. M. Duverger, French political scientist and author of Unesco study, *The Political Role of Women*, surveyed women's political and social rights in France, Germany and Yugoslavia and points out that higher the level of leadership (whether in the civil service, trade unions or business), the lower level of women's influence.

Male opposition is responsible for this situation but, writes Prof. Duverger, it would not have succeeded so well if it had come up against vigorous resistance from women. "The small infuence of women in State leadership is largely due to women's own inertia," he points out. A French public opinion survey conducted two months after municipal elections in 1953 showed that 60 per cent of the men questioned said that they had been interested in the election results for the entire country, as compared with 30 per cent of the women.

"While women have legally ceased to be minors they still have the mentality of minors in many fields, particularly in politics, they usually accept passively on the part of men," states Prof. Duverger, "When things go wrong, women blame their husbands, men blame the government."

An international picture of the enormous strides women are making throughout the world is presented in the *Unesco Courier* by Mrs. Alva Myrdal, formerly of Unesco's Department of Social Sciences and Swedish Minister to India, Burma and Ceylon. One of the many examples she cites is Japan where, until women had no civil rights whatever and where there are 15,000,000 registered voters.

"Whatever our opinion may be about what is happening today, one thing seems clear to me," writes Mrs. Myrdal, "It is impossible for any society to call itself advanced or to embark on the road to technical advancement and, at the same time, continue to treat women in their old inferior roles."

An article by A. H. Hourani, lecturer at Oxford University, tells of relatively little known changes taking place in the status of Arab women. "In all even the most backward regions," he comments, "polygamy has practically disappeared and the veil is rapidly disappearing."

The *Unesco Courier* also offers some new facts on "the woman who does nothing all day long but run her home"—the housewife. In France, for example, she works a 70-hour week. Social research experts in the United States, Great Britain, Belgium and France have discovered that housewives also handle and direct more than 60 per cent of the money in these countries.

Unesco's Survey does not show that the women of the world are on their way to achieve the same status as those of the Tehambuli tribes of New Guinea, where reports the *Unesco Courier*, women go off and work as family breadwinners while husbands stay at home, play the flute and decorate themselves with shells. But the survey does show that they have come a long way since the treatment of women was summed up in this adage:

"A dog, a woman, a walnut tree.
"The more you beat them, the better they be."

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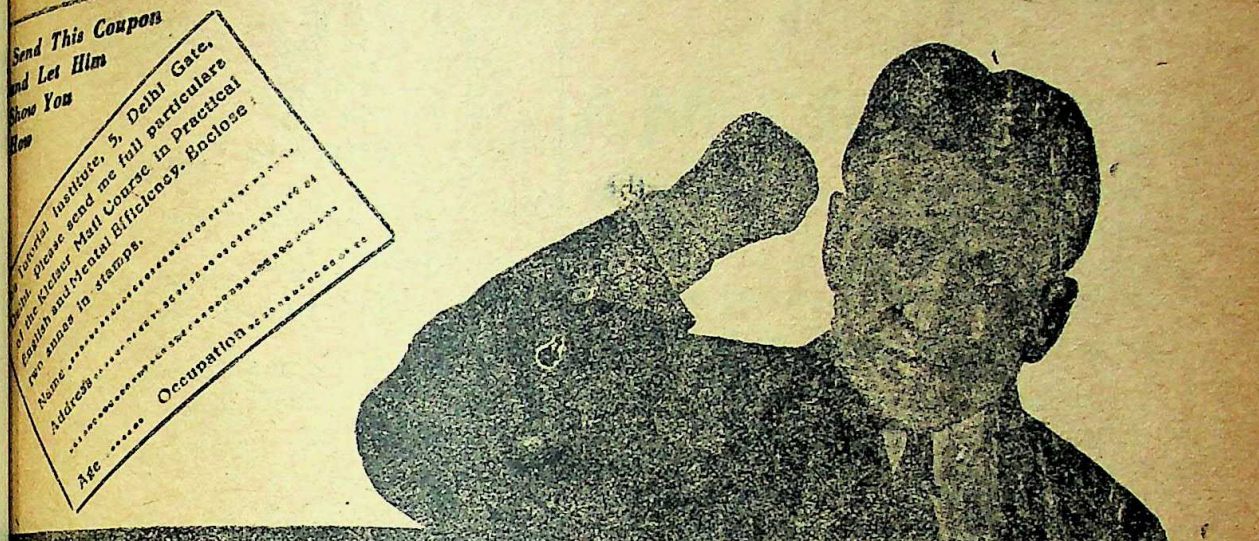

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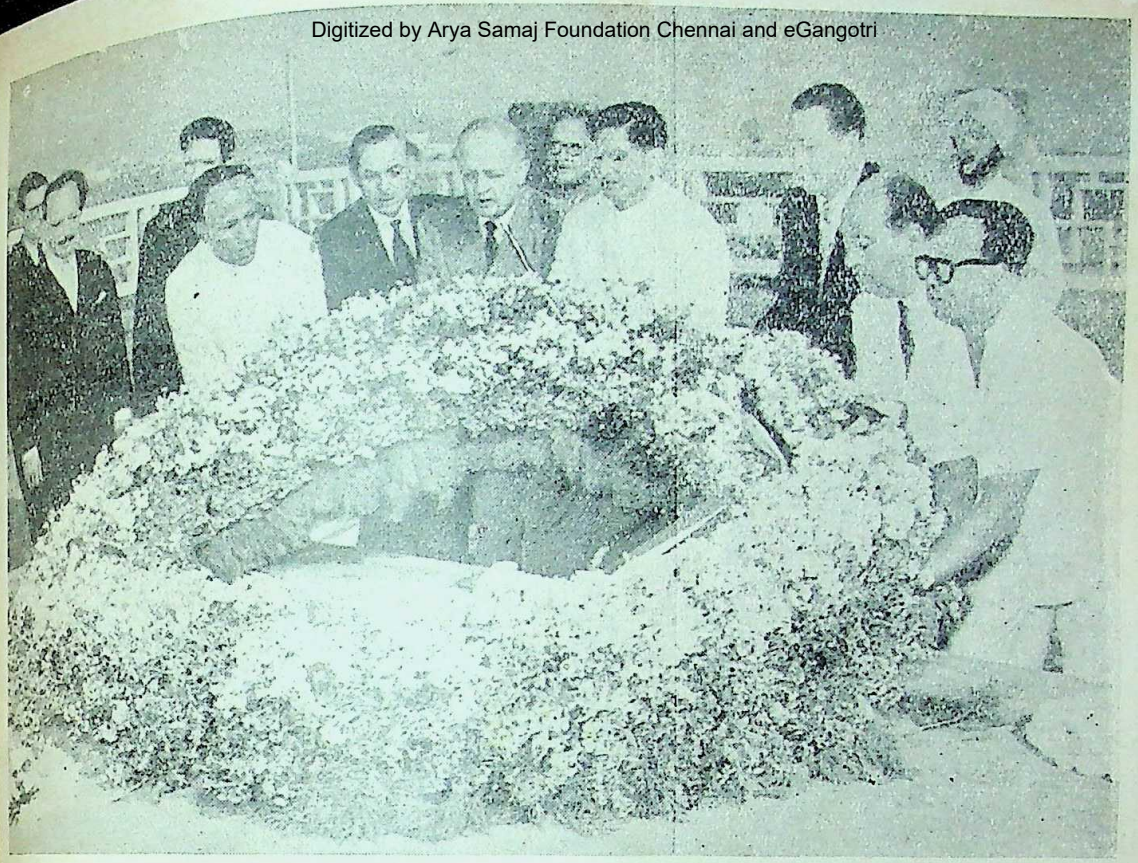
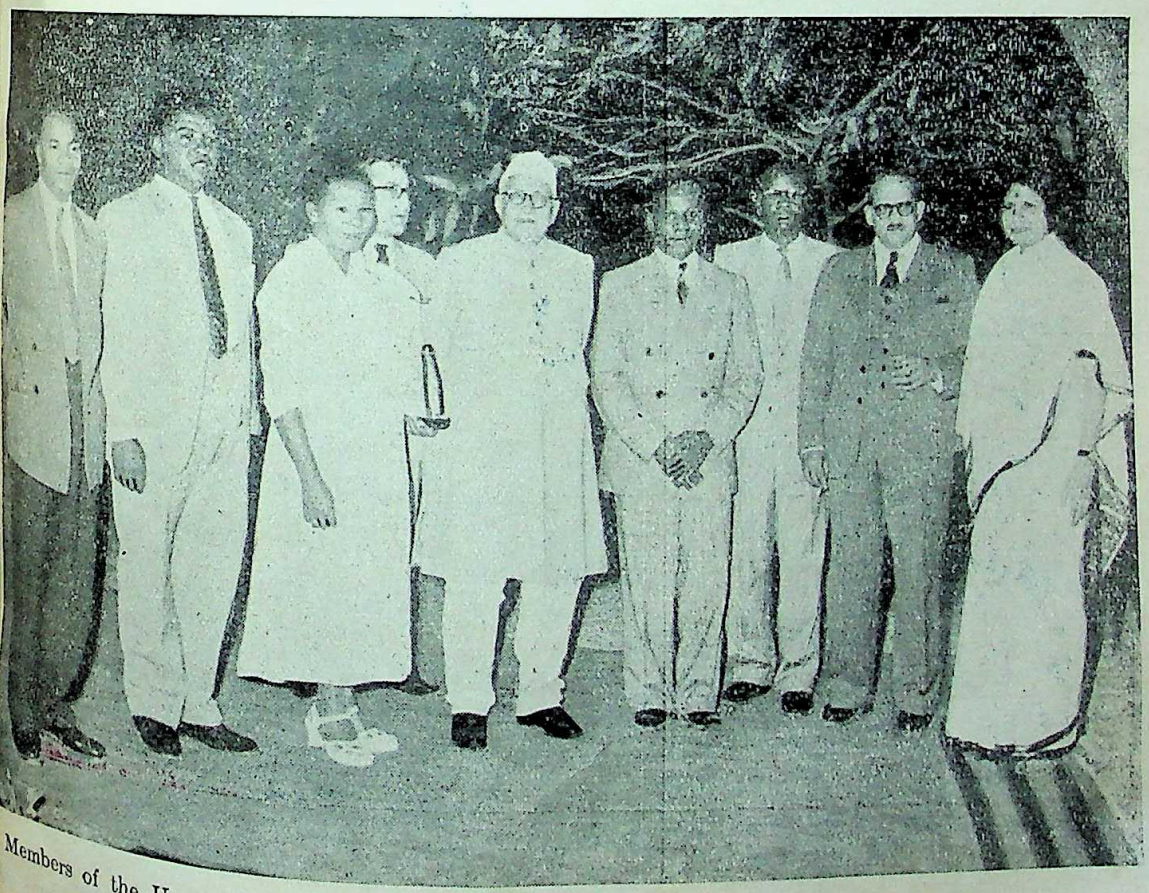


M. Christian Pineau, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of France, laying a floral wreath on the Samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi at Rajghat, Delhi



Members of the Uganda Goodwill Mission with Dr. Syed Mahmud, Minister in the External Affairs Ministry. at a reception held in their honour in New Delhi

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THE LAST JOURNEY
By Priyaprasad Gupta

Prabasi press, Calcutta.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL 1956

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NOTES

Yesterday, To-day and Tomorrow

The official budget year has come to a close and the budget for the next year is on the anvil. We have a whole host of officials who are putting forward claims for achievements—real or illusory—in the immediate past, and one or two who are putting forward plans for the future.

Achievements and Plans! The First Five-Year Plan, that is coming to a close, provides the main basis for the kudos claimed and the Second Five-Year Plan is the plan for the future. In both cases there is the same jumble of figures, without any clear statement in the terms of humane considerations, mental, moral or physical.

The First Five-Year Plan has failed miserably along those considerations. Education is at a lower level, considered in the proper terms of knowledge, *Gyan* and *Vidya*, as laid down by the ancients of all civilization, than it ever has been in the past four decades. Moral turpitude is rife in the country at all levels, official and non-official, and the lowering of Moral Values has reached calamitous proportions. Physically, this nation of C_3 persons has now been further downgraded, thanks to total lack of protective diets for 99% of the children over the past decade. No progress of any significant nature has been made in the matter of Public Health and Hygiene. The cities are as full—if not fuller—of slums as ever and the villages as full of misery as perhaps never before, despite a few show places furbished up by community projects. And yet we have the Planning Minister prating of achievement, *measured along the figures of moneys spent!* Elsewhere we give a Privy Council case to show what money does.

The poor have become poorer and the rich have become richer, that is known all over the country. Indeed, we would say that no honest man today has the chances of survival, unless he is prepared to sacrifice all his principles. But that is of no account, for money has been spent according to Plan, it matters little to what purpose.

Education has become expensive to a frightful extent, thanks to governmental indifference. Education means books and books mean paper, and paper has been taxed and controlled and wasted in thousands of tons, by the wiseacres at New Delhi. The result is that a text book costs five times that of pre-war rates, and a general knowledge book, of history, travel, popular science and normal information and relaxation, costs anything up to seven-fold the pre-war price. But what does that matter, the Central Government will prove—also by the figures of moneys wasted—that Education has progressed beyond measure!

We have no doubt that the Second Five-Year Plan will also show the same measure of success unless humane considerations prevail, in terms of cash, moral degeneration and misery.

In the meanwhile our neighbours are active. They have managed to secure the sinews of War, and are actively trying out the media of aggression, propaganda and armed skirmishing. We have let loose a spate of words, to what purpose, it is yet to be seen. Our prestige as a nation has not as yet reached anywhere near the impressive status that would justify most of the talk. The Dulles Press Conference, at New Delhi on March 10, made that point clear.

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The Kashmir Issue

The first clear comment on the Kashmir issue, by Pandit Nehru in the Lok Sabha, came in the following news report:

"The Prime Minister, who was intervening in the debate on the External Affairs Ministry's Budget demands dwelt at length on Indo-Pakistan relations and specially the Kashmir issue. A notable omission was the question of Goa.

"Regretting that Pakistan should have joined the SEATO and Baghdad alliances because of her hostility to India or her desire to negotiate with India from a position of strength, the Prime Minister once again offered to make a no-war declaration.

"He made no secret, however, of how India's confidence in outside arbitration had been shaken after the Kashmir experience and said that the no-war declaration should be unconditional.

"In his reference to Kashmir, which was obviously meant for Western ears in view of the SEATO declaration on Kashmir, Sri Nehru traced the whole history of the dispute and narrated how Pakistan had put forward 'a tissue of lies' to cover its aggression on Kashmir and had ultimately to admit it.

"He did not deny that after Kashmir's accession to India in order to end a state of suspended animation India had promised to honour her international commitments but pointed out that since then many developments had taken place calling for a reconsideration of the issue.

"Amongst these new factors he mentioned the U.S. military aid to Pakistan, Pakistan's participaton in the SEATO and Baghdad Pacts, creation of one unit in Western Pakistan and the constitutional changes in Kashmir and India. He reminded that no change in the Indian Constitution regarding Kashmir could now be effected without the concurrence of that State.

"Apart from all these, he felt that India should desist from taking any step which might upset the scheme of things in Jammu and Kashmir. In this connection he regretted the remark of the Pakistan President that the people of Kashmir were living in 'abject slavery' and disclosed that lured by the prosperity of the State, many people from occupied Kashmir were eager to come over to this side.

"He also repudiated the Pakistan President's allegation that for every border incident India was to blame and said that in all the ten incidents on the Jammu border, investigated by the U.N. observers, Pakistan had been to be at fault.

"In a brief reference to the situation in Bengal he said that the migration had hurt province also because 'quality' had come He believed that East Bengal had now begun realise the mistake."

India and Kashmir

The recent statement of Pandit Nehru Kashmir, though belated, categorically states the first time what should have been stated earlier. The Prime Minister declared on March in the Lok Sabha that in the present situation all talks of plebiscite in Kashmir were the point. He said that the question of plebiscite could arise only after Pakistan had completely withdrawn her troops from the occupied area Kashmir. While admitting that after Kashmir accession to India, India had promised to her international commitments but since many events had taken place calling for reconsideration of the issue. Amongst these factors, he mentioned U.S. military aid Pakistan, Pakistan's participation in the SEATO and Baghdad Pacts, creation of one unit Western Pakistan and the constitutional changes in Kashmir and India. He rightly pointed that no change in the Constitution of regarding Kashmir could now be effected without the concurrence of that State. Pakistan has SEATO and Beghdad Alliance becuase of hostility to India or her desire to negotiate India from a position of strength. The Minister ruled out arbitration to settle Pakistani dispute over Kashmir, because confidence in outside arbitration had been after the Kashmir experience.

The Prime Minister went a step further his Press Conference on April 1, when he it clear that he did not want a plebiscite held in Kashmir now. The accession of Kashmir to India is legal and complete as it has accepted by Kashmir through her representative Kashmir Assembly. We are glad that Pandit Nehru has now said correct things regarding Kashmir and it is time that India's stand on issue should be spoken in an unequivocal language. Over Kashmir issue we have been insisting India should state categorically that Pakistan no locus standi in the Kashmir affair, because she is an aggressor in Kashmir and there cannot be any agreement with a country

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has invaded a country forcefully and has since then kept it under control by force. It is gratifying that Pandit Nehru's latest statement is to the same effect. Pakistan now proposes to raise the issue in the U.N. General Assembly, because she knows that the Kashmir issue is likely to be vetoed in the Security Council by Russia. In this connection Pandit Nehru stated appro-vingly that the statement made by Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Krushchev was legally, constitutionally and practically completely correct.

In the Kashmir dispute, two things may be invoked and these are the doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus* and Prescription. Over the doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus*, the noted jurist Dr. Hall states as follow: "Neither party to a contract can make its binding effect dependent at his will upon conditions other than those contemplated at the moment when the contract was entered into, and on the other hand a contract ceases to be binding so soon as anything which formed an implied condition of its obligatory force at the time of its conclusion is essentially altered." (International Law, Sec. 116). International agreements are entered into under certain implied condtions which are equally part of the "valuable consideration" which forms the essence of the contract. In Kashmir, since accession, many events have happened and these call for a revision of the commitment given by India. Further, this is a matter entirely between India and Kashmir and no third party has any interest whatsoever in Kashmir. When India accepted the accession of Kashmir, Pakistan was no party to that accession and none of her proteges, who are now champion-ing her cause evidently to serve their own purpose, as a party to that. Whether there should be a plebiscite in Kashmir or not is a matter for India and Kashmir. We fail to understand how Pakistan can enter into the picture save and except that he is an aggressor in Kashmir. Pakistan's position in Kashmir has been accepted not by the United Nations as a whole, but by a few Great Powers that control the destiny of that International Circus.

What is the meaning of the term Plebiscite? Plebiscite means decision of a whole people given by direct voting. That can be done in a general election. Pandit Nehru stated that Jammu and Kashmir would soon have a new constitution and a general election would be held in the State on the basis at a future date. In other words, the general election in Kashmir on a new Constitution will amount to a plebiscite to all intents and purposes. India can also invoke the law of Prescription. Prescription in International Law means "the acquistition of sovereignty over a territory through continuous and undisturbed exercise of sovereignty over it during such a period as is necessary to create under the influence of historical development the general conviction that the present condition of things is in confor-mity with the international order." Prescription in International Law has the basis of consider-ations of stability and order.

The Kashmir issue inevitably calls for a revision of India's foreign relations, whether she will it or not. Hitherto India belonged more to the Anglo-American bloc than to the Russian one. But the Kashmir and Goa issue must change that relationship by implications. India is against all regional Pacts like SEATO and Baghdad Pact to which the UK and the USA are parties. That is the first step towards estrangement from the USA and the UK. Mr. Macdonald, the British High Commissioner, rightly pointed out that there was a slump in the Anglo-Indian relationship. Since then there came the British Foreign Minister, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and Lord Mountbatten to retrieve that deteriorating position in the Anglo-Indian relationshp. Lord Mountbatten endeavoured to bring back the old friendship between these two countries and Pandit Nehru the other day averred that there was no "crack" in India's relationship with Britain. But that is a false picture and temporary patchwork will not tie the bond that is fast loosening itself by the impact of world events.

War seems ineviable—that may be within ten years or twenty years. That war will be a war between Communism and the others, between USA and UK on the one side and Soviet Russia on the other. Britain's affinity is with the USA and she is bound to do that. In international affairs Britain will be compelled to play second fiddle to the USA and the former's foreign policy must be deemed to have been tied to the latter's. When it is a question of choice between India and the USA, Britain will have to choose the latter, becuase neither Britain can turn Red nor can she afford to lose the remnants of her colonies and dominions. Britain knows full well that without the assistance of the USA, she cannot retain her colonies during the next war.

India cannot afford to give up her claim over Kashmir and Goa. The USA seems to be com-

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mitted to defend Pakistan's interest in Kashmir and so also Portugal's interest in Goa. Russia is the only power that may help India in her effort to regain Goa and the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. By the force of events India is being pushed gradually towards Soviet Russia and that is inevitable, unless the Anglo-American bloc sees its way towards rectifying its present policy towards India. The commitment of American aid to Pakistan has tied that country to Pakistan and Britain is automatically stringed to that unholy entente. India must seek her ally elsewhere in this diplomatic warfare and against the nebulous designs of the USA. The Anglo-Indian relationship is bound to deteriorate notwithstanding Pandit Nehru's bold declaration that no crack has occurred to our mutual relationship. In the next war, Britain and India may have to part ways, if not earlier.

Refugees from East Pakistan

Sri Mehr Chand Khanna, Rehabilitation Minister at the Centre, gave the following information in the Union Parliament regarding the influx of refugees from East Pakistan :

"Replying to a motion by Sri Upendranath Barman and Sri K. M. Vallatharas for eliciting information regarding the large-scale migration of Hindus from East Bengal, Sri Khanna gave details of the efforts made by India to check the exodus and to prove that the Pakistan Government had not been co-operative in the least in regard to this matter.

"He said that the migration of nearly a quarter million people in 1955 had added tremendously to the heavy problem of migrants who had come to India previously and whose relief and rehabilitation was a most difficult task. The resources of West Bengal were already overtaxed and efforts were being made to locate lands in other states for the rehabilitation of the displaced.

"The Rehabilitation Minister said that the main reason for this increasing exodus was the feeling of insecurity and economic discrimination under which the minority community lived. A contributing factor was the recent statement by the Pakistan High Commissioner in India suggesting that the only effective way to stop migration was to seal the border. This was a negative approach to the problem and the result of such statements had been a feeling of panic among the minority community and an increase in the rate of migration.

"The question, he said, appeared to be engaging the attention of the Pakistan Government, and their Foreign Minister had recently expressed a desire to discuss the matter further and take necessary action."

Pineau on S.E.A.T.O.

The March 12 issue of the *Time* contained the following news-item regarding the French Foreign Minister's views on the doings of France's allies. It would be remembered that M-Pineau made similar remarks at New Delhi recently:

Two hours after the French Government announced that Premier Guy Mollet had accepted an invitation to visit Moscow in May, his fellow Socialist, Foreign Minister Christian Pineau, unburdened himself of the sharpest talk any French foreign Minister had directed at France's allies in years. Addressing the Anglo-American press club, Pineau declared bluntly : "I am in total disagreement with the policy followed by the Western nations during recent years." His theme: "We have made an enormous mistake in thinking that security problems were the only international problems we had to worry about. Of course we need security. Of course we need strong armies. But need we talk of this all the time ?"

Pineau pointed to SEATO's recent naval and military maneuvers off Thailand. "Do we really think that, in this atomic era, this handful of ships will give the impression that the West is the leader of he world? The Bulganin-Khruschev tour of India was much more important. If the West does not make an effort in the direction of propositions of peace, we shall be beaten first on the field of propaganda and on that of policy."

As for France's friends, "despite alliances, despite affirmations, there is no real common French-British-American policy today," said Pineau. He pointed to North Africa, where France blames much of its troubles on the support of the Arabs. "We have the impression that behind certain forms of rebellion and propaganda there lurks the desire of foreign powers to swallow up the heritage of France." Turning on the Americans present, he reproached the U.S. for backing the government of Ngo Dinh Diem against the French : "Each time you

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ans do something wrong, you do it with the est of intentions. If there had been full co-eration on Indo-China, we would not have rived where we are today."

Pineau spoke with the acerbity of a French-an sick and tired of hearing only criticism om his allies. His speech made no stir in rance, a nation oppressed by long years of treat and humiliation, and all too ready to lieve that the fault must be somewhere else.

udget and Inflation

The prices in India have tended to rise since e publication of the new budget of the Union overnment. There has been a sharp rise in rices of cloth, yarn, gur, sugar, gold, silver and uities. The upward spurt in prices is partly e to speculative motive of the people and rtly due to the budgetary influence. The entral Government has so far done nothing to rest the trend in price increase. The step to ontrol the forward deal in raw cotton has failed o have any significant effect on ready cotton rices. The market is apprehensive that control may be imposed on cloth production and its rices, and as has been the practice in India, rices go up by speculative activities whenever here is any rumour of control. During the past ur months, the prices of cloth and yarn have een steadily on the increase. The Chairman of a otton mill of repute in India has sounded a note warning in view of the rising prices of cotton xtiles. He has observed that the present trend price increase must necessarily affect India's ports of cotton textiles. Cotton textiles occupy e third place in our export trade and the rising ices will handicap India in world competitive arket. It is time that the Government of India e immediate steps to import raw cotton in ficient quantities and encourage establishment a few more cotton textile mills.

The sugar industry has not lost the opportu-y to reap a higher profit out of the speculative arket. The other day some sugar magnates in ia uttered sugar-coated words to the effect India is almost self-sufficient in sugar oduction and therefore India needs not import t from abroad and that the indigenous oduction will be stepped up so as to meet our mal demand. It is queer to note that whenever e is a shortfall in domestic production of r and whenever the Central Government allow import of this commodity, the internal production sharply increases. Relying on this trend, the Government next year stops import of sugar, and the industry quickly seizes this opportunity to reduce production with a view to earning windfall profits against higher demands, no doubt placing the blame for this shortfall in production either on the low production of cane or on low sucrose content of the cane or on both. In 1952, the production of sugar stood at 14.94 lakh tons; then it came down to just 10 lakh tons in 1953. To meet the internal demand Government had to import sugar from abroad. In 1955, there was record production of sugar (15.86 lakh tons). The internal demand is somewhere between 18 lakh to 20 lakh tons. Twenty-five new sugar mills are going to be established in the near future. But before they come into operation, the Government should continue to import sugar, otherwise the internal prices will increase further.

There has also been a steady rise in the prices of foodgrains. Last year there was some surplus in production of foodgrains. The authorities should have built up a buffer stock within the country, instead they allowed export and the result is that the inventory surplus has fizzled out and the market has tended to be speculative. This is also true of certain other agricutural commodities, like raw cotton and oil seeds. Last year when there was some sudplus production of raw cotton, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari advised the Government to purchase the surplus stock so as to build up a reserve and this would have enabled the Government to control the market in the face of shortfall in supply. But this advice was not accepted by the Finance Minister as he refused to provide funds for the purpose.

The Government of India's export policy was rather too hasty in so far as it encouraged export of commodities essential to domestic production and consumption. Rice was permitted to be exported to the extent of 2 laks tons, and out of this quantity nearly 60,000 tons have been exported. Now the domestic market is feeling the shortage of rice, the result being a steady rise in price. Instead of conserving the surplus stock within the country, the authorities encouraged export by relaxation of qualitative and quantitative restrictions on exports and export duties were reduced. Shipments of foodgrains and other agricultural commodities were freely allowed even with the full knowledge that floods have

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devastated a large part of the country with consequential loss in production.

The Government have been suffering from a complex of over-complacency in their economic policy. The First Five-Year plan witnessed a downward trend in prices, notwithstanding deficit financing to the extent of nearly Rs. 500 crores, amounting to one-fourth of the total expenditure. They do not place any importance in gold, the Finance Minister holding the view that gold is not an essential commodity for the life of the community. But theory does not always tally with the stern realities. There are more things that happen in reality than can be dreamt of in theory and it is that gold prices tended to have sympathetic movement with the rise in general prices and gold itself also influenced the general prices. Gold is the barometer of prices in a backward country like India and it is a known secret that 50 per cent of India's gold requirements come by smuggling, the entire margin of profits on that account going to the pockets of the few dealers and speculators. There is no reason why the Government should not allow import of gold from the sterling area countries against licence. That will have two effects—it will lower the prices of the yellow metal within the country and the State will earn a considerable amount on account of customs duty.

What is the cause of this inflationary spurt in prices? Some have observed that this is due to the deficit financing already done and which is also going to be done under Second Five-Year Plan. But this is too hasty a conclusion unwarranted by facts. During the First Five-Year Plan the country well absorbed the injection of extra money to the extent of nearly Rs. 2,000 crores, and in spite of that prices tended to move downwards. The excess income of the community was well matched with the rising tempo of production and supply of consumer goods. The turning point came with the new budget. No doubt from the first week of November 1955 to the last week of March 1956 there was an increase in the circulation of notes by Rs. 147.91 crores, as against Rs. 115.24 crores in the corresponding period of the last season. But the money market has not showed any tendency of easy money conditions, rather it is just the opposite. The money market is tight and it is passing through a stringency. In Bombay, the call money rates range between $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, and in Calcutta it is as high as $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, that is, this is higher than the Bank rate by $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. It is also unusual that call money rates should exceed Bank rate which is comparatively a long rate than the call money rate.

This is indicative of the fact that speculative hoarding is accelerated, encouraged with the supply of essential commodities including stuffs. Thanks to the Finance Minister's view regarding consumption which has him to impose excise duties on com essential to the daily use of life. The level is sympathetically attuned and common fact has been ignored by Finance Minister in his latest budget. Knowledgable circles aver that with the help of at a cheaper rate of interest advanced operative banks, farmers or middlemen are serving stocks of commodities for the purpose speculation for higher prices in the future. Reserve Bank should forthwith raise its rate loans to co-operative banks and the latter should be asked to raise their lending that speculation is discouraged.

Commercial banks should also raise lending rates. There has been a great at present between the borrowing rates and ing rates of commercial banks. The com banks should now think over to raise their term lending rates.

The nature of present inflation is much monetary as it is commodity-induced is, the tempo of rising prices is to be not to the deficit financing, but to spec withholding of stocks of essential goods help of cheaper bank credit. This situation been aggravated by the faulty outlook Government in not taking sufficient steps up stocks for the purpose of speculative falls. The Government decision in allow export of essential commodities has helped inflationary spiral. The taxation measures Central Government in so far as they are towards restriction of consumption, have their prices to go up by creating inducement their hoarding.

The Finance Minister thought that sumption will lead to increased savings, result has been inflationary. The Enquiry Commission also held the view raise increased savings during the Second Year Plan, consumption should be discouraged by direct and indirect taxations. But many a slip between the theory and the

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between the idea and the reality, and neither the Finance Minister nor the Taxation Enquiry Commission could foresee that it was a blunder to tax essential commodities. The inflation will raise the prices and as a result the cost of living and the cost of production are bound to go up. The export prices will tend to rise thereby affecting export trade of India.

The immediate step to fight the rising prices is to raise the Bank rate and also the rate of lending to co-operative societies. The Reserve Bank's bill rediscounting rates should also be raised. Co-operative bank should enquire thoroughly the purpose of loans that will be excreded to the farmers or the middlemen and loans against hoarding need be stopped. Instead of taxing the essential commodities, the Finance Minister could have raised the rates of estate duty. Rates in India are much too low in comparison with the rates of other countries, like Ceylon and Pakistan. Higher rates for estate duty will not affect consumption nor present capital formation. Besides, the slab system of estate duty lessens the incidence and to have the desired effect and to increase the income for the State, the slab system should be changed to step system, as it is in the United Kingdom.

Treasury Bills tend to have inflationary tendencies. The increase in the issue of Treasury Bills is a fundamental cause of inflation as it tends to increase the liquidity ratio of commercial banks. The liquidity ratio is the proportion of liquid assets to total assets and since Treasury Bills enable bank to turn the bills into cash they can afford to allow their cash ratio to fall below the conventional minimum limit. Withdrawal of Treasury Bills will compel the banks to revise their short-term lendings and a fall in such lendings will to a great extent arrest speculative deals.

Taxation in India

The new budget which has been, and is still being considered in the Lok Sabha, has certain aspects which is overlooked by our politicians in their enthusiasm for the socialistic pattern. We append the following remorks to show the other side of the medal :

At the recent General Meeting of the Bank of India, the Chairman, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Baronet, C.B.E., K.C.I.E., made the following remarks :

I should like to refer to the Central Budget introduced in the Lok Sabha a week ago on the 29th of February. I must confess to a pessimistic view of the proposals. I might describe the Budget as one to make the poor poorer and the rich poor. Leaving aside China, about which we know little, India is one of the poorest countries in the world and, taking into consideration the size of its population, it has fewer rich men than any other country. We hear a great deal about the equalisation of wealth. Since the landed classes have already been more or less wiped out, I presume that this can only refer to the industrialists. Does the Government mean that these industrialists are of no service to the country and that they do not give employment to hundreds of thousands and serve the country in many other directions of which the Government are well aware. There is now an impression that the intention of the Government is to wipe out the private sector. Every obstruction is being placed in its way and when it is unable to fulfil the targets contemplated for it in the Five-Year Plans the Government may have an excuse for nationalising all industries.

The Budget has introduced the principle of double taxation. Dividends paid by companies above 6 per cent. per annum on their paid-up capital are to be taxed. No distinction is made between companies recently brought into existence and companies of long standing which have been managed with efficiency and honesty and which have conserved their resources, enabling them to pay high dividends. All companies have already paid tax on their profits from which dividends are paid. This undoubtedly is double taxation, but, worse still, companies which intend to capitalise some of their accumulated profits on which they have already paid tax will have to pay tax again and companies which have already issued bonus shares from reserves which have been taxed will be taxed again on the dissolution of the companies. Again, the withdrawal of the rebate of I anna in the rupee on undistributed profits will cause a further drain on the resources of companies. The penal tax of 8 annas in the rupee on undistributed profits of investment companies which come under Section 23 A of the Income-tax Act will preclude any ploughing back of their profits for financing the further development of the country. Also, it appears that all companies which come under Section

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23 A will fall within the mischief of the new dividends tax. This is grossly unfair as it means that the Government compel such companies to pay a very high dividend and then tax them for doing so.

Few outside India realise that India can claim to be one of the highest taxed countries in the world. The Government have included all sections in the orbit of taxation by increased excise duties. Formerly, deficit financing was unheard-of by financiers and economists. India has put into operation very big schemes by deficit financing. The success of these schemes will depend upon good administration and no corruption. It appears to me that the success of deficit financing mainly depends on getting value for money. Maladministration and corruption may frustrate the very foundation of deficit financing. I am only speaking aloud what I know thousands are saying in ordinary conversations.

New Refinery Near Calcutta ?

Last month this news-item appeared in the daily press. In view of the fresh impetus given to the search for petroleum, by the Union Government, it is of interest to our readers to get a full picture of the other details :

New Delhi, Feb. 15—The Assam Oil Company, it is reliably learnt, has recommended to the Government installation of a 1 million-ton refinery near Calcutta, which it prefers to Digboi.

The proposal is based on the company's assessment that the Naharkatiya oilfield is potentially capable of sustaining an oil refinery of that size.

The company also calculates that Naharkatiya's 1 million ton a year of crude oil and what is being produced in Digboi can substantically meet India's oil requirements.

Before the estimate becomes a reality, however, a great deal more drilling and development will be necessary in the new oilfield. The need for this cautious approach is borne out by the results of drilling operations which have, so far, been carried out.

A total of 11 wells has been drilled, out of which three have proved complete failures. This supports the study of the geologists that the oil-bearing rocks in the Naharkatiya region are complex and contain, what they call, "many faults."

Nevertheless, the confidence of the experts has advanced to the stage when the construction of a new big refinery can be actively discussed.

The problem of transporting the crude Calcutta has been examined in some de would involve laying down a pipeline, 650 long linking Calcutta with the oilfield. T a difficult and costly operation, it has been ed a feasible proposition by the co advisers.

The alternative to a pipeline is trans crude oil by barges across Pakistan. The of such a project would depend on continued relations between the two countries.

Calcutta is specifically preferred to and other possible places on the ground t present refinery in Digboi more than me need of Assam and the new refinery, among reasons, must be near a potential cons centre of its products.

The proposal will be examined in det the Government, I understand, after the for of a rupee company in which the Gover according to existing commitments, will h 33-1|3% share.

Negotiations for this purpose betwee Government and representatives of the co are expected to be resumed in a few, weeks.

The effort still is to float the new co before the end of March as agreed in the of the recently granted prospecting licences.

In the meantime, the Government awai report of the Russian experts who are busy ing it in Calcutta.

The Stanvac Company, operating in Bengal, is expected to start exploratory drill the Bengal basin in a few months.

Co-operative Movement in Bomb

The annual report of the Bombay Co-operative Bank for the year 1954-5 veals that as the Apex Bank of the co tive movement in the Bombay State and balancing centre for the central and u banking institutions not only in the Bo State but also in other States in India Bank has to conduct all types of banking ness and to provide all banking facilities as maintaining of current accounts, colle of bills or remittance of funds, purchase of of shares and securities. The Bank has al assume responsibility for providing an in tional agency for financing agriculture th co-operative credit institutions in the Sta Bombay. The Bank has 69 branches spre

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over the States. The authorised share capital of the Bank is Rs. 1.5 crores including contribution from the Central and State Government to the extent of Rs. 1 crore.

It may be recalled here that the All India Rural Credit Survey has put great emphasis on the role of the co-operative movement in the economic regeneration of India. The Survey states: "Co-operation has failed; but Co-operation must succeed." Bombay leads with 8.3 per cent as the proportion of families borrowing from its co-operatives. The next highest percentage is 4.9 per cent for Uttar Pradesh. In terms of quantum of co-operative credit, Bombay is ahead of other States. A family in Bombay gets on an average more than Rs. 28 from the co-operatives; whereas no other State reaches even Rs. 9 per family (in Punjab and Madras are Rs. 8.8 and Rs. 8.9 respectively). As for the proportion of co-operative borrowing to total borrowings, Bombay's record is 16.2 per cent, the next highest is that of Punjab's with 4.2 per cent. Bombay leads in credit for short-term agricultural production with 42.1 per cent of total borrowings as compared with 5.9 per cent in Punjab and 1.2 per cent in Madras. Mainly on account of the adoption of crop loan system, the advances by primary agricultural societies in Bombay have sharply increased since 1946-47. In 1951-52, the amount of such advances stood at Rs. 8.12 crores. In India, the average owned funds per co-operative society amounts to Rs. 4,529 in Bombay, Rs. 2,293 in the Punjab and Rs. 2,080 in Madras.

In Bombay, during 1955, there were 1123 agricultural societies with a total membership of 9.29 lakhs. The total agricultural loans advanced amounted to Rs. 13.85 lakhs. The average loan per member is Rs. 148 and the average membership per society is 84. The system of providing agricultural loans is beset with various difficulties. The system of granting loans to the cultivator at the level of primary credit society is characterised by :—insistenoe on a form of security which results in credit signing itself to ownership of property; inference to recovery, the failure to recover in turn leading to low turnover of funds; inattention to purpose, productive or other, and failure to relate recoveries to production; consequent on all these, both a tendency to be complacent about supervision and, in actual fact, a very large lack of supervision, and necessarily the increase in outstanding dues. The agricultural credit that is extended nowadays generally falls short of right quantity, is not of the right type, does not serve the right purpose and by the criterion of the need often fails to go to the right people.

Bombay has tried to amend many of the aforesaid drawbacks of co-operative credit in India. She has introduced what is known as the crop-loan system. The crop-loan system has the following main features: (i) production is the main purpose of arrangement for finance, (ii) short-term loans are given on the basis that a crop is anticipated, and not primarily that a title exists; (iii) the loans are related in amount to the estimated outlay on raising the crop, and (iv) the recoveries are made, as and when the crop is sold, from the proceeds of the sale. The loan should, to the maximum extent possible, be disbursed in kind. The success of the crop-loan system is largely dependent on co-operative marketing, on which also depends effectiveness of recovery.

The shift in the mode of providing agricultural finance from security to anticipated crop and from creditworthiness to "creditworthy uses" of the credit, and the provision of agricultural credit on a scientific basis of a crop-loan system to the medium and small cultivator, especially in the economically backward and co-operatively underdeveloped areas or to the backward communities or sub-marginal cultivators, presupposes considerable amount of planning and supervision over the use of credit and loyalty and discipline among the borrowers and within the institutions providing such credit. Community projects and National Extension Blocks have been introduced and are being worked in most of the districts served by the Bombay State Co-operative Bank. The system introduced in the Kolhapur Community Project areas of providing timely manure doses for crops and marketing of the produce through co-operative agencies has given very encouraging results both in increasing agricultural production and encouraging co-operative effort and community action.

The Bhakra Project

We hear a lot about our achievements in the 1st Five-Year Plan. But we hear but little about

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the sordid side issues that this plan has brought in its train. The following news-item, taken from the *Hindusthan Standard* is an eye-opener in that respect :

"March 29.—The Public Accounts Committee of the Punjab Vidhan Sabha in its report on Bhakra Project said that it was high time that a probe be made into the working of the Board.

"The Committee also recommended 'with all the force at its command' that a high-power committee independent of the Bhakra Control Board and with public representatives on it should be set up to go into the working of the Project as early as possible.

"It may be stated that last year, too, the Public Accounts Committee had made a similar recommendation which said : 'Independent enquiry into the overall working of the Bhakra Canal's administration and Project administration is an indispensable necessity.'

"The Committee's report presented to the House today by its Chairman Chaudhuri Rizakram suggested immediate reconstitution of the Bhakra Control Board with some legislators on it.

"The Committee also complained of poor attention from Government department which, it stated, did not attend properly and promptly, to its questionnaires and frequently replies were delayed inordinately and even the replies were both 'vague and unsatisfactory.'

"The Committee expressed concern over the fact that irregularities and defects which were pointed out last year had again been repeated and that there was no noticeable improvement either in regard to the preparation of firm estimate of the project, or in regard to observing uniform schedule of rates in all circles of the project or in the execution of work which continued to be executed without sanctioned estimates.

"The Committee observed that relaxations like permission to recruit raw, inexperienced and unqualified engineers from unrecognised institutions for the project work by the Board brought in its trail irregularities and malpractices and that the Board failed to preserve financial control over the construction work which resulted in large-scale pilferage and corruption.

"Pointing out huge items of 'infructuous expenditure,' the Committee wondered how the average cost of the survey per mile of the Bhakra main line came to Rs. 590 while on other canals it ranged up to Rs. 147 only.

"Recommending a number of enquiries, the Committee suggested that the responsibility for infructuous expenditure should be fixed on the erring officers and expenditure amounting to lakhs of rupees, incurred by the Government in paying off demurrage should be recovered from officers through whose fault or negligence such losses occurred."

Aid to Asia

The *Time* Newsmagazine gave the following figures regarding aid to Asiatic countries by the U.S. as compared to that by the U.S.S.R.

From Washington last week came the latest statistics on the much-touted Communist economic offensive.

The big item; of a promised $500 million economic credits and grants-in-aid the Communists have delivered $23.4 million—between 4% and 5% of their promises. The U.S. has sent $[illegible] billion abroad since the war, including $[illegible] billion to the Middle East alone.

Other sample comparisons :

India. Since 1950 the U.S. has made outright gifts of about $266 million, plus loans of $272 million ; the Communists have contracted to build a 1,000,000-ton-capacity steel plant on a $80 million to $95 million loan at 2½% to be paid in twelve annual instalments.

Pakistan. Since 1951 the U.S. had made gifts of $290 million and loans of $65 million; the Communists have advanced 200 tons of drilling and three mobile electric stations for drilling rigs.

Egypt. Since 1952 the U.S. has given $[illegible] million in technical and development aid, recently offered $55 million more to help start the [illegible] Aswan Dam ; the Communists have made several offers of aid, including "a new railway [illegible] work" and a $5.600,000 electric plant.

Indonesia. Since 1949 the U.S. has [illegible] about $142 million ; the Communists have [illegible] an $8,000,000 loan to rehabilitate a sugar [illegible]

Desspite their negligible showing on actual [illegible] delivered, the Communists are getting [illegible] results that are far from negligible. In [illegible] underdeveloped and new countries, the [illegible] of opinion is strongly anti-capitalist, especially where capitalism can be linked to memories of imperialism. Government-to-government aid from the U.S. does not necessarily become an [illegible] ment for free enterprise. Government-to-government aid from Moscow fits ideologically into

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planned economy, anti-free-enterprise prejudices of those countries.

Economically, Red aid to underdeveloped countries cannot hope to rival U.S. activity. Propagandistically, the Communists are getting a lot of mileage out of each ruble that goes abroad.

Freedom for Malaya

Recent News from Malaya indicate great jubilations in the prospect of liberty. The following piece of news that reached us in February gives the background to that :

"Liverpool, February 7.—Malaya will be granted full independence within the British Commonwealth on August 31, 1957, it was announced today.

"The news was given to 300 Malayan student-teachers at Kirkby near here by Tengku Abdul Rahman, Malaya's Chief Minister, who for three weeks has been negotiating with the British Government.

"Prelude to full independence will be self-government starting from now.

"The Malayan prince told the teachers who are studying at a college for Malayans that the prosecution of the eight-year-old war against Communists in the rubber jungles would now be under the control of a Malayan Minister.

"He announced his mission to London had obtained control of finance and of internal defence and security.

"Plans for giving Malaya complete independence will be set out in a 7,000-word report to be published tomorrow.

"The report, following a three-week conference, is ready for signature by Tengku Abdul Rahman and Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, British Colonial Secretary.

"According to conference sources today, the 52-year-old Tengku has been granted practically everything he asked for."

De-Segregation in U.S.A.

The Supreme Court of the U.S.A. has decreed all segregation on the basis of colour to be against the Constitution. But prejudice dies hard—even in the U.S.A. In the first weeks after the dictum a coloured young woman got a most offensive reaction to her attempt at admission to the Alabama University.

The *New York Times* commented vigourously as follows :

Is it "white supremacy" that is being demonstrated when a mob of a thousand demonstrators turns on one mild-mannered young Negro woman, guilty of no other act than attending classes which the Supreme Court of the United States says she has every right to attend, and pelts with rocks and eggs the car in which she is being spirited across the University of Alabama campus ? Is it "respect for law and order" that is being shown, when the trustees of that university, instead of standing up to this threat, vote to suspend not the instigators of the outrage but the young Negro woman herself ?

We are glad to note some opposition among the University of Alabama students to what has happened there, and we honor them for this opposition. They are better defenders of the good name of their university than the rock-throwers. For the rock-throwers themselves there is only this much to be said : they are not the real makers of opinion in this sorry business; they are merely immature young men who have taken a tip from some of their more irresponsible elders who happen to be in positions of high power. What does a man like Senator Eastland expect to happen, on the student level, when he declares that a unanimous decision of the Supreme Court is the result of "left-wing brainwashing" of that court ? This is what he is asking for. This is what he gets.

We congratulate those students of the University of Alabama who have raised their voices in protest against mob violence on the campus and in Tuscaloosa on the issue of race segregation in education. Thus far the resolutions and petitions have not come to grips with the central issue, but they have indicated that some considerable number of the students realize clearly that mob rule is not the way to approach that issue.

This is sound thinking. The segregation problem is complex and difficult. It will not be solved this week or next. But it will never be solved if the method of approach is that which has been seen in Alabama. This is the first time that force and violence have become part of the question. It should be the last time. Some of the questions involved are legal, some sociological, some moral. No mob ever had the equipment to solve that sort of problem. Mob action, moreober, intensifies the problems in the emotional field precisely for those persons who are least able to contribute to their solution.

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An Important Judgment

The Queen's Bench Division of the Privy Council has delivered recently an important judgment which has revealed the way in which Indian Sea Customs Act is evaded to the detriment of national honour. The facts of the case are as follows :

In Septemtber 1948, K. C. Sethia (1944) Ltd. agreed to sell and deliver to Regazzoni 5 lakh jute bags c.i.f. Genoa at 248 shillings per 100. At that time India was the largest and cheapest producer of jute bags and South Africa a large consuming country, but, by way of political protest and on account of a dispute which had arisen between India and South Africa about the treatment of Indian nationals in South Africa, the Indian Government had, by regulations made under powers conferred by the Sea Customs Act, 1878, prohibited the export of goods to South Africa direct and sought to avoid indirect shipments, infringements of the regulations making the goods liable to confiscation and the shipper to a penalty. Consequently, South Africa was restricted in its purchase of jute bags and was prepared to pay high prices for any made available. Both the plaintiff and the defendants were well aware of the prohibition and that it would be unlawful for a shipper to export either directly or indirectly to South Africa, but they sought to take advantage of the situation, and both parties contemplated and intended that the contract goods would be shipped from India and be made available in Genoa for resale to the South African buying agency.

In an action by the plaintiff Regazzoni claiming damages for non-delivery of the jute bags, it was held by Justice Sellers, on Dec. 19, 1955, (*i*) that the Indian regulations prohibiting the export of goods to South Africa could not be regarded as either penal or revenue enactments (notwithstanding that infringement of the regulations might involve penalties and fines which would enhance the revenue) nor were they confiscatory or political laws such as the courts of this country would disregard, and therefore the English Courts would recognise that in September-October, 1948, it was illegal for an Indian shipper to export jute bags from India when the ultimate destination was the Union of South Africa.

(*ii*) That the business venture contemplated by the parties was dependent upon someone getting out of India the prohibited commodity which would enable the plaintiff to make a profit out of the demand of South Africa; that the contract, to the knowledge of both parties, could not have been performed without the performance in a foreign and friendly country of an act which was illegal by the law of that country; and that, therefore, the contract was invalid and unenforceable in the English Courts.

[Regazzoni *v.* K. C. Sethia (1944) Ltd. (1956) 2 W.L.R. 204]

Physical Education and Students

Commenting on the reported refusal of the Principal of a Poona College to send for the Intermediate Examination a batch of thirty boys otherwise qualified on the ground that their attendance at physical training classes had been unsatisfactory, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes that such an action was without precedent and there was even room for doubt "if it can be justified in law."

In the absence of sufficient details it is not possible to decide the merits of the Principal's conduct but it is inconceivable that any Principal could so behave without the backing of definite regulations governing such cases.

In this connection references to existing facilities in our educational institutions for the promotion of physical training naturally come to mind. Here the findings are none-too-remarkable. Most of the educational institutions have no open spaces worth mentioning to enable the students to practise games, etc. About the implements and accessories for physical education and training the less said, the better. Moreover, generally no stress is given on the importance of physical training. Whatever efforts are there are either limited within building up sports teams for tournaments and very little serious efforts are ever made to impart a systematic course of training. The general conditions of the country contribute not a little to this appalling condition and the *Bombay Chronicle* rightly traces the reasons for the inadequate provisions of physical training in educational institutions to the living conditions of students, the distance they have to cover to reach to their colleges, the varying hours of classes resulting in overcrowding and the general prov-

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of the majority of the students rendering them unfit to undertake physical exercises after the long hours of the classes are over.

Patna Police Firing was Unjustified

The one-man Judicial Commission set up by the Government of Bihar to enquire into the disturbances in Patna in mid-August last year in which one student had been killed and five others injured as a result of firing by the police, held that the police firing near the Bihar National College on August 12, 1955, "transgressed, in the circumstances of the case, the limits of justifiable firing."

Mr. Justice S. K. Das, Chief Justice of the Patna High Court, who comprised the one-man commission of enquiry, also held a judicial enquiry into the Nawadah police firing on August 15, 1955, but in that case the commission found the firing "justified and necessary."

Travancore-Cochin

The fifth Ministry in seven years in Travancore-Cochin resigned on March 12 after one year in office following differences within the ruling Congress Party. On March 23, the President by a proclamation issued under Article 356 of the Constitution took over the administration of the State in his own hands because he was satisfied "that a situation has arisen in which the Government of that State cannot be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of India." The State Legislature was dissolved and Mr. P. S. Rao, until recently Chairman of the D.V.C., was appointed Adviser to the President in Travancore-Cochin.

The outgoing Chief Minister, Mr. Panampilli Govinda Menon, said that while the Congress Party deeply regretted this development it was inevitable. He laid all responsibility for the imposition of President's rule to the irresponsible conduct of the Opposition including the six dissident Congress members.

Highly critical of the imposition of the President's rule in the State, Mr. Pottom Pillai, P. S. P. leader and a former Chief Minister of the State, urged for the holding of general elections at the earliest opportunity and added that there was no excuse for putting off the general elections in the State.

Mr. Pillai said that while the Congress had been allowed to form a Government when it had only a strength of 59 members in the Assembly last year the Praja Socialist Party with 61 members this time was not given an opportunity to form a new. "I leave it to the public for their own inference," he said.

The Speaker of the dissolved Assembly, Mr. V. Gangadharan characterised the decision to impose Presidents' rule as "unfortunate" and said, "The undemocratic attitude taken up by the Rajpramukh and the Government of India in this respect is not justifiable. Denial of the right of forming a Government to a leader of a party who commands the support of a majority in the legislature undermines democracy and hence the convention established in Travancore-Cochin now is a dangerous one."

In an editorial article on the President's rule in Travancore-Cochin, the *Hindu* writes that the imposition of President's rule after the failure of two ministries in two years could not be considered as reflecting a healthy state of affairs in the State. "Though the instability was inherent in the precariously balanced position of parties that resulted from the last general election, the crisis that led to the resignation of the Congress Ministry showed that an even greater weakness is the lack of cohesion within the different political parties."

The Congress Ministry failed because of the irresponsible conduct of the six dissident members. But such internal dissension was not the peculiar characteristics of the Congress Party alone. "The other political groups have shown themselves even more loose-knit; with the consequence that there are individuals inside each group who start a hectic manoeuvring for position the moment here seems to be even a remote chance of a change of Ministry. Otherwise it is difficult to account for the claims about the actual number of members who were supposed to be prepared to support this or that Party in office, or the astonishing frequency with which a handful who could tilt the balance avowed their readiness to support one Party at one moment and at the next moment declared that conditions had changed or they had not understood the conditions properly."

The newspaper does not find any point of criticism regarding the conduct of the Rajpramukh and avers that so far as the people were

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concerned they stood only to gain in promptness and efficiency on the part of the administration as a result of President's rule.

In conclusion, the *Hindu* writes : "If Party leaders realise that a new political approach alone can bring some kind of stability to the State and engage themselves earnestly to persuade the electorate, on the basis of declared policies, to return an effective majority they may find that the interlude of President's rule has not been too long or an unmixed evil."

Cyprus

Britain has apparently decided to adopt an openly "get tough" policy *vis-a-vis* the Cypriots' demand for national independence. The action of the British Government in deporting Archbishop Myriarthefs Makarios, the moderate leader of the Cypriot nationalists, from Cyprus could not have any other meaning. Indeed the British authorities made no bones about their policy and in an earlier broadcast announcing the breakdown of the talks between Britain and the Cypriot nationalists over the British offer of limited autonomy the Kenya-returned Governor of the island, Sir John Harding had said : "I am determined there shall be an end to violence. Terrorists must be eliminated and intimidation stopped." Justifying the deportation of the archbishop the Governor said : "[I reached the] decision to order the archbishop's deportation in the light not only of his overt seditious activities, but also of a large volume of evidence indicating that the archbishop has himself been deeply implicated in the campaign of terrorism."

But, as the U.S. newsmagazine *Time* points out, the British were thorougly mistaken in thinking that "such documentation would numb the shock which the deportation caused at home and abroad."

In Greece, the news of the deportation came as a surprising shock. A wave of great indignation swept over the whole of Gressce and public sentiments ran so high that Greek Government had subsequently to cancel their earlier order permitting political rallies in Athens against the British action. Meanwhile in Athens and Crete angry mobs burnt down the British flags.

The Holy Synod, governing body of the Greek orthodox Church which was presided over by Spyridon, octogenarian Archbishop of Athens and All Greece, characterised the deportation as "vandalism", as "a nefarious act reminiscent of the dark days of serfdom ;" and appealed Patriarch Alexi of Moscow and other prelates moral support in its protest against the depo tion of the Cypriot clerics.

Immediately on receiving the news of de tation the Greek Cabinet met in an emerge midnight meeting on March 9-10. After the m ing the Greek Foreign Minister Spyros Theod announced the Government's decision to re its Ambassador to London. The permanent G delegate to the United Nations was simultaneo instructed to lodge a complaint with the Secu Council. Premier Constantine Karamanlis s that Greece looked to the United States America for a just solution of the Cy question.

In the United Kingdom itself there widespread criticism of the Government's act The Labour Opposition brought a motion in House of Commons to censure the Governm policy though it was lost by 65 votes, 252 ing in favour and 317 against the motion the ensuing debate one labour member, M F. E. Jones, contended the legality of the de tation order because, as he said, the Govern had no lawful right to direct that the Arch shop should be taken to any particular p outside the island, in view of the fact that Governor's jurisdiction was limited in law to the island and its territorial waters. Mr. M Baker, who had served as an interpreter at talks in Cyprus, spoke of his "very sincere pect and admiration" for the archbishop said : "It is my impression he (Makarios a sincere, patriotic, modest and a very rem able leader of his people (Cypriots)."

The Government put forward the charges of terrorism and violence against exiled archbishop. The Colonial Secretary, Allan Lennox-Boyd, said in reply to a que by the liberal leader, Mr. Clement Daries, the Governor's action in deporting Mak had the full and prior approval of the Br Government. Defining immediate British Go ment policy toward Cyprus the Prime Mi Sir Anthony Eden said. "Our immediate pur must be to defeat terrorism. Our duty is to guard the strategic need of our country and allies." The House of Commons upheld Government policy by 317 votes to 251, Government majority of 66.

In the House of Lords the Governm policy came under criticism by the Archbis

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of Canterbury, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher who said that the arrest and deportation of Makarios had been received by Christian opinion in Britain and elsewhere with "great perplexity and distress." Dr. Fisher put forward a three-point plan to end the deadlock which provided for the appointment of a Commission for drafting a Constitution for Cyprus in consultation with Makarios and with a definite time-table for its promulgation. After the draft had been drawn up Britain, Greece and Turkey would appeal for an immediate end of terrorism on the island, Archbishop Makarios should also be assured of an end of his exile as soon as disturbances ceased on the island. Lord Munster, Minister without portfolio, said that he did not see any possibility of Dr. Fisher's suggestions being accepted by the Government.

Meanwhile on March 12 the United States Government urged the British Government to find means of resuming negotiations with Cypriot nationalists. Lincoln White, the State Department Press Officer, indicated that in the view of U.S. Government the deportation of Archbishop Makarios was a serious mistake. The U.S. Government had had no advance information, he added. On the following day, March 13, the U.S. Government formally offered its good offices to find a "fair and just solution" of the British-Greek dispute over Cyprus. The statement announcing the U.S. offer said that though the USA was not a party to the Cyprus issue she was following the matter with attentive interest as it involved the "interests of close friends and allies of the United States." The American Ambassador in Athens Cavendish W. Cannon in a talk with the Greek Foreign Minister on March 13 also expressed the "sympathetic concern" of the United States Government and "of the American peoples over the recent developments in Cyprus." He also praised the dignity and statesmanship shown by the Greek Government in this connection.

The British reaction was quick and sharp. The British newspapers took up the remark of Ambassador Cannon as an insult to Britain and the conservative *Daily Mail* came out with a front page editorial describing the attitude of the US as a "Kick in the Teeth." The British Ambassador in the USA Sir Roger Makins demanded an official explanation. Observers in London said that the Anglo-American alliance suffered its gravest setback since the end of the war over the Cyprus issue, reports the *Statesman*. The London office of the newspaper writes: "On the specific point of the deportation, we have . . . the authority of the *Times* special correspondent in Nicosia for saying that talks with Archbishop Makarios should not have broken down at least when they did."

The view of the Government of India on the Cyprus question was given by Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon in New York. Speaking at a luncheon of the UN Correspondents' Association Mr. Menon said that Cyprus must be given independence before being linked with any other country. "We have always held that the idea of a country choosing to go on one side or the other when she is not totally free is not a real choice." He, however, did not say whether India would change her position of neutrality in favour of the support for the inclusion of Cyprus issue on the UN agenda in the ensuing General Assembly Session.

Makarios Deported

On March 9, when Archbishop Makarios, leader of the Cypriots' union with Greece mobement, was driving to the airport to board a plane bound for Athens a British Security Officer quietly took Makarios into custody. The U.S. newsmagazine *Time* describes the episode in the following words. "In his flowing black robes the archbishop was led into the airport, past the Greek airlines plane waiting to take him to Greece, to another corner of the tarmac where an RAF Hastings transport plane was parked. Already in custody beside the Hastings were three other Cypriot clerics, including Kyprianos, Themistokleons, Kyriakides, Bishop of Kyrenia. At 4.30 p.m. the Hastings took off for Kenya, where the Cypriots were transferred to H.M. Frigate *Loch Fada*, which set out for the Seychelles Islands, a British crown colony in the Indian ocean, about 1000 miles east of Kenya, and just south of the Equator. Here the archbishop will be confined to a small bungalow, 1800 feet above the sea, which Lady Addis, wife of the resident British Governor, discribes as 'a delightful place—sunny, peaceful, beautiful but rather lonely'."

Cracks in North Atlantic "Defense"

The aggressive character of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation came in for comment in neutral political quarters. The Western

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bloc had so long continued to make it appear as a purely defensive device. Despite French criticism of the organisation's extetnsion into the Middle Eastern politics through the Baghdad Pact and occasional squabbles among the members on specific questions affecting the one or the other, generally speaking the facade of unanimity of the Atlantic Powers was successfully maintained. However, the decision of the Icelandic Parliament calling upon the withdrawal of NATO forces (wholly American) from the island directly affects the very organisation of the NATO and this marks a new phase in Atlantic diplomacy.

Iceland has no army of her own. She was, however, a founder-member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Under a 1951 Agreement between the USA and Iceland American servicemen were stationed at Keflavik, 35 miles from Reykjavik, capital city of the island. The Keflavik aerodrome had been based out to the USA in 1946 under a law of the Icelandic Parliament.

Following countrywide general mass discontent at the stationing of American troops on the territory of Iceland proposals for the revision of the 1951 defense treaty with the USA were moved in Iceland's Althing (Parliament) in the middle of November, 1955, by Socialists, Social-Democrats, and the Defence of the Nation Party. The resolutions *inter alia* called for transferring to Iceland maintenance of the military installations and bases and for withdrawal of American forces from Iceland within three months of an appropriate request from the Icelandic Government.

The vote in the Icelandic Parliament "has spread considerable alarm in US Government circles," reports *Press Trust of India*. The news agency adds: "But what intrigues the US administration is the contradictory nature of the resolution which, even while demanding American withdrawal of defence forces reaffirms the country's adherence to NATO. A section of the (US) Press is willing to dismiss this as pure election tactics but what is not explained is the nature of the majority by which the resolution which is as anti-American as any could be, was passed."

"Meanwhile Iceland's President has called for new elections on June 24. By that time US Administration officials hope to assuage the wounded Icelanders' feeling resulting fr continued stay of American forces."

Arab Powers Meet

The heads of three leading Arab Sta Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria—met in a w long conference in Cairo from March 6 to at the initiative of the Syrian President. T participants in the conference were Pre Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, His Ma King Saud Ben Abdel Aziz of Saudi Arabia President el Sayed Shukry al-Kuwatly of Sy King Hussein of the Hashemite kingdom Jordan was also invited to join the confere but he declined the offer. A communique w issued on March 12 from Cairo after the co clusion of the talks.

The three leaders reaffirmed their ad ence to the UN Charter to the princi announced in the Afro-Asian Conference Bandung. They discussed the present situa in the Middle East, with particular refer to the threat to their security presented by Baghdad Pact, imperialist interference into internal affairs of Arab countries, and continued violation of agreements by Is and came to "well-defined decisions concer the problems which were laid before th The conferees noted the "increased nati consciousness of the Arab nations" and al them were "agreed to work for peace."

Eleven major decisions of the confere were mentioned in the communique. The decision was the setting up of an "all-conclu plan . . . for enduring Arab security, pres ing the safe structure of the Arab Nation defending it against the dangers of Zio aggression and foreign domination, which vent a state of peace and stability from re ing over the area, thus creating a stat tension and constituting a threat."

Plans were also drawn up to co-ordin Arab defence against the violence of Israe well as to meet the situation "arising from stand certain states have adopted by allow the recruitment of their subjects into the Is armed forces." The conferees also agreed plan to counter the supply of arms to Isra

The fifth decision related to the la down of an "all-conclusive plan . . . counteract attempts exerted through the Ba dad Pact to bring pressure to bear upon A

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countries, endangering Arab security and dis-
uniting the common Arab front at a time when
the Arab countries feel they are in bitter need
of being united in effort and policy.

It was also agreed to extend all possible
support to Jordan and to give her "every help
. . . in the event of foreign pressure or Zionist
aggression." The conferees would contact King
Hussein of Jordan and would reiterate their
previous assurance to him.

Measures for strengthening the Arab ties
and for fostering Arab unity, which was most
necessary now for the preservation of Arab
independence, were also agreed upon by the
three leaders.

The three heads of States further agreed
on a plan to co-ordinate "Saudi-Syrian-
Egyptian policy in political, military, economic
and cultural fields, aiming by such thorough
co-ordination at the mobilization of all forces
and their direction toward the realization of
the general good of the Arab Nation."

A decision was also made to face the pro-
blem "arising from the British occupation of
the Buraimi Oasis and the Oman Emirate."

The three leaders decided, "after extensive
examination of the present situation in North
Africa, that French policy which persists in
violating the rights of the North African
peoples gravely threaten the peace of that area.
France has to recognise the rights of the North
African peoples to independence in accordance
with the Charter of the United Nations and
the principle that all peoples have the right to
internal self-determination."

Pakistan Becomes a Republic

Pakistan became the second Republic mem-
ber of the Commonwealth at five minutes past
seven o'clock in the morning of March 23—the
date on which 16 years ago the Muslim League
had adopted a resolution at Lahore demanding the
creation of Pakistan. The proclamation announc-
ing the inauguration of the Islamic Republic of
Pakistan was read at a ceremony in Karachi
attended by thirty-five special envoys and over a
thousand distinguished persons.

The Constitution bill calling for the estab-
lishment of an Islamic Republic of Pakistan was
passed by the Constituent Assembly on February
29, nineteen members boycotting the session. On
March 5 Major-General Iskander Mirza was elected
First President of the Republic. Proposed by 50
members election was not opposed but twenty-one
East Bengal members—12 Awami Leaguers, two
Ganatantri Dal men and seven Hindus—boy-
cotted the election of President. General Mirza
would continue as the provisional President till
a new President was elected after the General
Elections to be held under the Constitution.

In a broadcast on March 23, President
Iskander Mirza said that Pakistan would be
"the friends of all and the enemies of none. We
cherish our ideals of peace and democracy and
the territorial integrity of Pakistan will always
remain an invincible article of faith for us."

"Our motto at home will be fair play and
generosity towards the minorities and freedom
from fear, want and poverty for all."

Referring to Kashmir the President said:
"On this day of national rejoicing I cannot help
thinking of our unfortunate brethren in
Kashmir, who for eight long years have lived
under the darkening shadows of suffering and
sacrifice.

"These brave people are the torch-bearers
of liberty and their struggle is for nothing more
than a longing to exercise their birthright of
self-determination. This is a basic human right
and we shall stand firmly by their noble cause.

"We send our greetings to the people of
Jammu and Kashmir with a solemn assurance
that their cause is as dear to us as the cause of
Pakistan itself. We shall always be with you.
You shall never be alone in you sacrifices and
struggle for freedom."

Earlier addressing the armed forces as their
Commander-in-Chief President Mirza said: "This
machine, I declare, is an insrument for peace
and for service of not only Pakistan but of the
free world."

President Rajendra Prasad, Mr. Eisenhower
and Mr. Mao Tse-tung were among the world
leaders who conveyed their best wishes for the
newly-born republic.

There was, however, one regrettable incident,
when Mr. Meher Chand Khanna, special Indian
envoy, to the Pakistan Republic Day celebrations,
rose to address the ceremonial public meeting
presided over by Pakistan Premier Chaudhuri
Mohammed Ali, the several thousand-strong crowd
was instigated to boo him asking him to go
back to India. However, Pakistan Premier regretted
the incidents and the matter was closed. Replying
to questions in the Lok Sabha Premier Nehru

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said that the Pakistani people were quite friendly to India and such regrettable incidents occurred only on account of the instigations of the irresponsible section of the Pakistani Press.

Addressing the first session of the National Assembly of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan President Mirza said on March 25 that war between Pakistan and India would be suicidal. He declared he could not conceive of any aggressive designs against India on the part of Pakistan. He put all responsibility of the recent border incidents on India. "In every one of these instances Indian armed forces were the first to open fire on Pakistan border outposts," he said.

While all Indians naturally welcomed the emergence of Pakistan as a Republic, it was not possible to shut one's eyes to the anti-Indian policies followed by the Pakistan political leaders. On the face of the recurring and increasingly damaging border "incidents" engineered by Pakistani armed forces, for which President Mirza contrary to the evidence of facts put the blame at India's doors, and the continued exodus of minority Hindus from East Pakistan in increasingly large numbers as well as the renewed threat of aggression on the Kashmir front, much of the good things contained in the President's inaugural speech appeared to be rather "phoney"

Chinese Buddhist Encyclopaedia

The Chinese Buddhist Association set up a 15-man Committee on Febuary 22 to compile a Chinese Buddhist encyclopaedia in the next two years. The Committee would also help Ceylon to compile the Chinese section of its Buddhist encylopaedia to commemorate the 2500th anniversary of the Nirvana of Buddha.

The Chinese Buddhist Asociation further decided, as its part of the commemoration of the anniversary, to open this year the famous cave in Fangshan Country, over 30 miles to the west of Peking, which contained Buddhist Tripitaka carved on stone, dating from the sixth to the eleventh centuries. These hitherto unpublished scriptures would now be printed for circulation. Buddha's images would be made and a collection of prints of Buddha's statues and pictures would also be published.

American H-Bomb Tests

The U. S. Atomic Energy Commission announced on the 1st of March that it would seal off a "danger area of 375,000 square in the Pacific for neuclear weapons beginning about April 20." The tests were expected to include both atomic hydrogen weapons would be held in the around Eniwetok and Bikini Atolls. The dates of the tests were not given but it stated that most of the area would be re by the end of August next. The area seal was rectangular and was many times than that used for the first stage of atomic series held there in 1954 when a numbe Japanese fishermen were wounded by the of radiation.

A spokesman of the Japanese F Ministry said on March 2 that the Ja Government was not satisfied with the g tees given by the USA in connexion wit proposed tests of nuclear weapons in Pacific. Later on during the month the nese Fishermen Association sent an appe President Eisenhower to stop the pro nuclear tests.

India Government served a notice March 2 that it proposed to ask the I national Court of Justice to give a whether the United States of America ha right to carry out hydrogen bomb tests in Pacific Trust territories. "If the United S embarks on these tests before the next Tru ship Council meeting, then my Governme submit its own proposals," said Mr. M Those proposals would be put forward for determination "whether the administe authority is competent to use what is U Nations Trust territory for its own purpose

"We want the World Court to te whether the right to destroy the trust pro is vested in the Trusteeship Agreement," Mr. Menon. "I submit that it is not added.

Referring to the ineffectiveness of assurances, Mr. Menon said that the area which the tests were projected was a fi area "and fishermen usually dont' read munications of Governments." Moreover in all probability, the times of the explo would be kept secret "these men would pro take risks." Expressing India's scepticism the effectiveness of any measures adopte check radiation effects Mr. Menon refer the unexpected fall-out from the last U

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...es hydrogen bomb explosion in the same ...s two years ago and recalled that the cal-...lations had then been upset by unexpected ...ange of wind.

"The explosion of these weapons can do ...thing but damage to the prestige of the ...nited Nations, to the cause of peace, and the ...elfare of these populations," Mr. Menon said. ...e urged for the stoppage of these steps and ...d that India was opposed to such tests ...ether by the USA, UK or USSR. "The ...drogen powers have now in their possession ...the powers of destruction that are necessary ...blow this planet to pieces."

A *Reuter* despatch from New York dated ...h March says: "The UN Trusteeship Coun-...today declined to interfere with the planned ...nuclear tests in the Marshall Islands. The ...uncil approved by nine votes to four (India, ...rma, Syria and the Soviet Union opposing) ...resolution noting the declaration by the ...A that further nuclear weapons tests were ...essary for the maintenance of international ...ace and security."

During the discussions in the Trusteeship ...uncil India's representative, Mr. V. K. ...Krishna Menon said that India was not trying ...cast the USA as the villain in the piece. "We ...e not saying that if it were exploded by any-...e else it would be any better." Mr Menon ...ted out that the Government of India was not ...e in its anxiety at the result of these tests. ...e Japanese Parliament had already passed a ...olution requesting that explosions be banned ...both the USA and the USSR. He said that ...Trusteeship Council was not competent to ...ss whether or not the tests were necessary ...the interests of the world security.

U Than Hla of Burma said that atomic ...e should be suspended by the USA, UK and ...USSR pending the disarmament negotia-...ns. "The tests are not compatible with the ...arter and the Trusteeship Agreement," he ...d.

President Eisenhower rejected the applica-...of the inhabitants of the Marshall Islands ...which Bikini and Eniwetok testing ...ds were parts—for the suspension of the ...ic tests. The US Government statement ...it was not possible to suspend the tests ...use it "is the conviction of the USA that ...as a responsibility not only to its people but to all the peoples of the free world to maintain at a maximum its capacity to deter aggression and preserve peace."

Dutch-Indonesian Union Abrogated

The Dutch-Indonesian Union linking the two countries under the Dutch Crown came into effect in 1949 when Indonesia achieved her independence. Indonesian public and government had long wanted to end that union. Recently after the failure of Dutch-Indonesian talks at Geneva the Indonesian Cabinet met in an emergency session and decided on the abrogation of Indonesia's Union agreement wtih the Netherlands. It was also decided to cancel the financial and economic agreements with Netherlands.

The Indonesian Parliament passed a law on March 1, upholding the Cabinet's decision to abrogate the Union and financial agreements with the Netherlands.

Anak Agung Gde Agung, Foreign Minister of Indonesia, said in Djakarta on February 15 that the Round Table Conference Agreement signed in 1949 with the Dutch did not bind either nation to the RTC for any specific period of time, so that either State could, at any time it chose, free itself of the terms of the Agreement. The abrogation was fully in accord with International Law and fully conformed to the procedure laid down in Clauses 98 and 120 of the Provincial Constitution of Indonesia.

The Foreign Minister added that Indonesia's continued adherence to the RTC (union with Holland) Agreements "had, in fact, hampered constantly all the national efforts and resolves to proceed rapidly with plans of reconstruction aimed at furthering the prosperity of the people as a whole. To put an end to this unwanted obstacle, the first essential was to do away with the RTC 'chain'; with this end in view several attempts had been made in the past to find the proper way out through the process of friendly and amicable discussion with the Dutch. But these attempts at negotiation have always proved futile, thus frustrating the will of the people of Indonesia."

Asia and the U.S.A.

The Christian Science Monitor of Boston wrote this editorial on 17th of Feburary last. It is particularly interesting to read these comments in the light of Secretary Dulles' visit:

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"When the historians sit down to write the annals of this decade, one of their most decisive topics will be: What did the United States do about the hundreds of millions of uncommitted, underdeveloped nations of Asia?

Did the United States have a definite objective? Did the people of the United States understand the stakes involved? Did they take effective action?

Because the Communists do have a program. And their leaders understand the stakes involved. And intelligence surveys show they are intending to take shrewd action.

John Sherman Cooper, United States Ambassador to India, has been alerting members of Congress, the State Department, and President Eisenhower, to the critical danger of 'losing' the uncommitted peoples of Asia, including India. Other American ambassadors on the spot, no longer intimidated by the recent security miasma, are sending back warning signals.

John Cowles, publisher of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune and of Look magazine, is back from a tour of Asia with a sense of mission. Writing for his newspaper, he wonders 'whether we will wait passively until the backward countries begin to accept Moscow's political and economical philosophies as their model.'

The underdeveloped countries such as India, Burma, Indonesia, and the rest are intensely conscious that they missed the industrial revolution. Now they are trying to catch up. They know that the Soviet Union by ruthless, force-draft methods, made stupendous strides in shoving a backward, illiterate, nation into the forefront of the twentieth century. Red China is embarked on the same course.

Will the underdeveloped neutrals follow the Red example, or the Democratic route? So far they are trying to industrialize by democratic methods.

Consider India, with 370 million people, second most powerful nation of Asia, leader of the neutralist bloc. Premier Nehru is a proud, overly sensitive, complex individual, but a believer in the democratic way. India has an effective civil service, inherited from the British occupation, and has men of thoroughly independent stature in its cabinet. The English common law is practised in its courts. It now has the kind of government which, though neutralist, will certainly not succumb to the Khrushchev-Bulganin blandishments.

Those who criticize Mr. Nehru for not embracing capitalist principles and for not [illegible] with the West overlook the fact that the [illegible] Indian has an income of about $55 a year, [illegible] is embarked on an impressive five-year pla[illegible] along democratic lines. It needs two [illegible] dollar worth of foreign exchange for acquir[illegible] capital equipment—railroads, port facilities, [illegible] plants and the like—which will lay the in[illegible] base for faster economic progress.

It must either obtain foreign loans [illegible] purpose, or extract the wherewithal out [illegible] hides of a populace already on a terrifica[illegible] standard of living—as did the Soviet [illegible] *That route leads to unrest, repression, and e[illegible] communism.*

Ambassador Cooper is known to estima[illegible] if the United States stepped up its annual [illegible] aid to India from 50 million to 75 million d[illegible] India could make sufficient headway with its [illegible] year plan. Help would also have to com[illegible] unexpended sterling balances, the Inter[illegible] Bank, the Colombo Powers, and private i[illegible] ment. Mr. Cowles and others contend this i[illegible] in American aid to India won't suffice, and [illegible] actually the United States should be prepa[illegible] loan and grant India a billion dollars ove[illegible] years.

But the over-all problem is also psycho[illegible] —a question of attitudes. Perhaps it would [illegible] if President Eisenhower and Mr. Nehru co[illegible] down together and thrash out American-[illegible] misunderstandings. Such a meeting has [illegible] proposed. Secretary of State John Foster [illegible] is shortly visiting Burma, India, and other [illegible] nations, and the reception he receives will b[illegible] teresting to watch, in view of the colossal u[illegible] larity—throughout Asia—of his disastrous [illegible] ment on Goa.

Americans may think they are paying [illegible] vast sums now on foreign economic develop[illegible] since the 'foreign aid' budget runs to fou[illegible] lion dollars a year. But actually about [illegible] fifths of this goes for the military bulwark[illegible] our allies—Korea, Formosa, Indo-China, [illegible] Turkey, and so on.

A less ambiguous State Department a[illegible] a frank admission in Congress that it is [illegible] country's crucial self-interest that uncom[illegible] Asia merely be kept uncommitted (instead o[illegible] ing into the Communist camp), some de-emp[illegible] of military 'pactomania' in Asia, a little [illegible] spending and a lot less pique—these ingre[illegible] of a new policy would do much to halt the [illegible] ade.

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AMERICAN-ASIAN RELATIONS*

By Dr. HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR,
Professor of Sociology, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa

What is the Conference on Asian Affairs? It is a young organization—a mere four-year-old infant, just entering its fifth year. As organizations go, the Conference on Asian Affairs is not even in its teething stage. But in some ways the precocious infant behaves as an adult, as a wise adult.

Ever since our friend, Dr. Buchanan, Director of the Institute of Asian Affairs at the University of Oklahoma, launched this Conference four years ago, scholars and savants from different fields of knowledge, from different disciplines, and from different campuses, have been gathering together once a year to share the results of their researches and meditations one with another.

While most participants in our deliberations from year to year have been Americans, citizens either by birth or by adoption, the Asian flavour is palpably felt in every direction. To begin with, Dr. Buchanan and his co-workers launched this organization on faith, and without any grandiose plan. Second, disregarding the distinctively American pattern of "wherever two or three are gathered together there emerges a written constitution, our organization came into being without a constitution and has managed to get along without one so far. Third, the Asian pattern has become so unobtrusively pervasive that we as an organization have been living from hand to mouth, depending on the generosity and co-operation of the administrations of our respective institutions to pay our bills. Finally, the Asian character of our organisation is evident nowhere better than in the disreputably meager budget on which we have thus far managed to prosper. This reference to the budget is not meant as a hint to Uncle Sam to put at our disposal a microscopic portion of the huge annual budget which has been rising to giddy heights ever since the beginning of World War II. But I am sure if some private foundation wishes to take a hint, none of us would object to receiving for our organization a four or five figure amount, to begin with.

With a modest endowment, we could really go to town. First, we could implement the purposes and objectives of our Conference more adequately than at present. Second, our membership, open to all who have a professional and scholarly interest in Asian affairs, could be immediately increased. Third, the papers read at our Conferences could be made available to a larger circle of scholars and laymen. Fourth, we could serve as an effective agency to interpret Asia, its peoples and cultures and problems to the American people on the one hand and to interpret the American people, their culture and problems to the Asians on the other.

Let me assure you that with or without outside aid, our precocious child with the wisdom and maturity of the adult shall carry on in the fifth year and in subsequent years as it has done in the last four years—with energy and with effectiveness.

The Jigsaw Puzzle of Asia

This evening I have chosen as my topic American-Asian Relations. If Asia were a homogeneous cultural unit, my task would still be difficult, because people's hopes and aspirations, ambitions and problems, refuse to be contained within the neat formula of social scientists. The enormity of the task is increased by the fact that Asia, geographically a unity, represents wide diversity culturally, economically, politically, religiously.

In spite of the vastness and complexity of the situation, it should be possible for us to analyze Asian ambitions and problems with the aid of a few conceptual tools.

To begin with, Asia may be divided into five culture areas: (1) The Arab World in the

* Presidential address delivered by Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, Professor of Sociology, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa, at the Annual Banquet of the Fourth Conference on Asian Affairs, Hotel Wildcat, Manhattan, Kansas, November 18, 1955.

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Near East, including Egypt in this context; (2) India and South-east Asia; (3) Monolithic Communist China in process of emergence; (4) Japan with a high degree of industrialization and urbanization; and (5) Totalitarian Communist Asia in what used to be known as Siberia.

Iran with its Islamic culture may be safely put in the Arab World. Pakistan, a blend of Islamic and Hindu cultural influences, belongs both to the Arab world and to the world of India and South-east Asia. Israel, suspiciously eyed by the Arabs as an intruder, serves as a bridgehead of two contradictory cultural forces, American-democratic and Russian-totalitarian. For good or for ill, compatible or incompatible, Israel must be considered a part of the Arab world.

The mere mention of the names of some of these countries brings to our mind a host of problems peculiar to each. Iran, for instance, is oil-rich and economically poor so far as the purchasing power of its people is concerned. The same holds true for Arabia. The Arab nations have internal rivalry for leadership, but all Arab nations are united in wishing Israel out of existence. Pakistan is resources-poor and also economically poor. India has comparatively more resources but her people have as low purchasing power as the people of Pakistan. The Republic of Indonesia is rich in oil, rubber, tin, and good agricultural land, and yet her people suffer from hunger and low purchasing power, with the threat of communism hanging over their head like the sword of Damocles. Japan has the industrial know-how but is poverty-stricken in regard to resources including arable land. The people of China, who through the ages lived according to the golden mean preached by Confucius, Laotze and Buddha, are today undergoing a transformation which staggers the imagination. Whether the Confucian Middle Path will ever again be trodden by the people of China is in the lap of the gods. At the moment, China, a slumbering giant, just awakened, is on the march toward a ruthless totalitarian dictatorship which knows nothing of the Confucian canon or Li or propriety; which, indeed, deliberately acts as an outlaw in its international dealings. Korea hangs uneasily between totalitarian China and Russia on the one hand and capitalist Japan on the ma[illegible] toward democracy on the other.

The mere contemplation of such a jig[illegible] puzzle involving the destiny of half the po[illegible] lation of the world taxes the imaginatiotn. A[illegible] when we are confronted with such a jig[illegible] puzzle and are called upon not only to [illegible] together the pieces in their proper places b[illegible] also to create a harmonious picture with [illegible] addition of pieces from American fore[illegible] policy, the task seems well-nigh hopeless.

America and Asia Since World War II

Appearances to the contrary notwithstan[illegible] ing, the task of American foreign policy in As[illegible] is not hopeless. Fortunately for us, Ame[illegible] has come of age; we have outgrown our isol[illegible] tionist breeches, and our generous impulses a[illegible] gifts are recognized abroad as symbols [illegible] American might—and of American goodwill.

The whole world, and most conspicuou[illegible] the Asian part of it, has decided to catch [illegible] with our Zeitgeist, with the spirit of our tim[illegible] People everywhere are resolved to give loya[illegible] to the three magnificent principles of [illegible] people, the *San Min Chu I*, enunciated by [illegible] great Asian—by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father [illegible] modern China. (1) People's Nationalism, [illegible] People's Democracy, (3) People's Livelihood—these are the three great principles the Asi[illegible] have vowed to achieve regardless of the cost [illegible] lives or resources.

What is America's role in the unfold[illegible] drama of Asians claiming a place in the sun a[illegible] an umbrella of their own, not an umbre[illegible] belonging to England or France, neither to [illegible] Netherlands nor to Soviet Russia? I am afr[illegible] America's role since World War II has been [illegible] unenviable one. Involved in the fortunes of [illegible] European friends and allies, we have stulti[illegible] our position and tended to give an impress[illegible] to the Asians that we bless and sanction [illegible] colonialism and imperialism of our Europ[illegible] friends.

With the noble tradition of the Ameri[illegible] heritage of the right of a people to revolu[illegible] and to self-government before us, it is pas[illegible] strange that our State Department should sh[illegible] in its boots whenever any Asian or Afri[illegible] people dare to demand self-government [illegible] resort to Revolution when their demand [illegible] freedom is not met!

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It is because of the betrayal of the American heritage by our namby-pamby policy-makers that we are always permitting the dictators of the totalitarian Soviet regime to pose as friends of the oppressed people of Asia and Africa.

In addition to this stultification born of expediency, our State Department has become a prisoner of the policy of timidity verging on loss of self-respect. Instead of developing a positive American foreign policy, by and large our State Department is content to react to Soviet moves and stratagems.

The Crisis in the Near East

To cite the most recent example, a barter agreement entered into by Czechoslovakia and Egypt, less than two months ago, to swap arms for cotton upset our State Department. And what did Mr. Dulles do? He served a warning on Mr. Molotov about the unrighteousness of upsetting the power balance in the Near East; and he sent his deputy to Egypt to coax and/or intimidate Premier Nasser.

Instead of reacting to Soviet moves, we need a positive American policy. And that positive policy, happily for us, involves nothing more—nor less—than a re-enunciation, and translation into practice, of the American doctrine of the right of every people to revolution with a view to achieving self-government. Any other policy would smack of expediency; and expediency, in my judgment, leads to worse results than the conditions it professes to cure, as attested by Yalta.

With due respect to Mr. Dulles, I must take exception to his warning to Mr. Molotov regarding arms sales to Egypt by Czechoslovakia. In the first place, can our State Department honestly maintain that we never supplied arms—or permitted supply of arms—to our friends and neighbors when they were in trouble?

If we maintain the right to supply arms to other nations in terms of our conception of the best interests of all concerned, then I believe equity requires that we recognise a similar right for the Soviet Union.

Which is not to say that I am happy about the Soviet Union fishing in the troubled water of the Near East. I deeply grieved over the dangerous situation developing in that troubled region.

And I am sure the Kremlin dictators are moved not by the desire to help rectify a wrong but by the sinister motive to create confusion, to let loose violence, to create diversionary small wars all over the world.

Four Steps to Peace in the Near East

The way to improve this deteriorating situation is not to read a moral lecture to Premier Nasser of Egypt nor to Mr. Molotov. The way to solve the problem is :

(1) To enunciate a policy of fair play as between Arabs and Israelis; (2) to adjudicate the boundary lines between Israel and the Arab nations on the basis of equity and fair play, not on the basis of the brute force either of Israel or of the Arab nations; (3) to provide homes and hearths to the thousands of Arab refugees from Palestine now living in torn tents in the Gaza strip; (4) in short, to show charity and chivalry both to Arab and Israeli.

American Beliefs and Fundamental Values

I believe it is time for us to go back to first principles, to the fundamental values to which we owe allegiance.

First, let us recognize the Soviet Union for what it is—an aggressive totalitarian empire.

Second, let us enunciate the general principle that we believe in the right of every captive nation—whether dominated by the new-style Soviet empire or by the old-style British-French empire—to revolution and to self-government.

Third, let us open-handedly help all aggrieved and captive nations to break off their shackles.

Fourth, let us recognize only those governments which permit their citizens the right to vote freely by secret ballot.

Fifth, if such a policy on our part should lead to severance of diplomatic relations between us and the USSR, let it be so. After all, Mahatma Gandhi succeeded in upholding moral values by non-co-operation.

Sixth, let like-minded free nations—free from dictatorship and free from the taint of empire—salvage from the existing United

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Nations whatever can be salvaged. Such a policy, I believe, is apt to clear the air and to emancipate the whole world from hypocrisy and from the mockery of self-delusion.

Asia and the American Heritage

These are the basic principles on which American foreign policy may well be based. As for Asia specially, I should say that the American heritage is made to order to win Asians as our friends and co-workers in the common task of promoting freedom with justice and peace with prosperity.

Through the ages America has stood as a beaconlight of hope to the oppressed peoples of the world. No taxation without representation played as large a part in India's revolution of our times as it did in the American Revolution of a hundred and eighty years ago. The American Constitution, with its Bill of Rights, has been availed of by India and other countries recently launched on their career of freedom and self-government. And, of course, to say that the high American standard of living has been the envy of the world is to utter a truism. The American dollar has taken the place of the gold standard, which since 1933 has joined the ranks of the dodo.

The awe and respect with which America is viewed abroad is well illustrated by the following story told by the natives of the South Pacific: "The Japanese," they used to say, "is a good jungle fighter. The Australian—he, too, a good jungle fighter. Come American, no jungle!" Our technological advances are indeed the wonder of the whole world.

With the American heritage as our resources, how can we fit the jigsaw puzzle of Asia and create a harmonious new picture with the additions of a few American pieces?

To begin with, I would say that our Point Four program to aid the under-developed countries of Asia is a good one and must be continued—if need be, on an enlarged scale. So the community projects sponsored by the Foundation in India and elsewhere are excellent devices to help the Asians to help themselves. Third, we must make available to Asian countries our technical know-how, helping them to solve their problem. Fourth, this co-operative venture, let us be sure respect the values of our Asian neighbors.

I have an uneasy feeling that the American people who are the best salesmen in the world have failed to present our democracy and values in proper perspective to the Asians. That is a challenge to you and to me.

In conclusion, I may affirm that three forces are shaping the destiny of Asia—and the world:

(1) The craving to realize National and Self-Government,
(2) The craving to improve the Standard of Living,
(3) The craving to be treated and respected as Equals.

The American heritage is in full harmony with these three dominant cravings of Asia. Let us advertise this fact, and let our foreign policy in Asia reflect the values of our American heritage. Then, and not until then, shall we win Asians as our friends and co-workers in the task of bringing peace on earth and good-will among men.*

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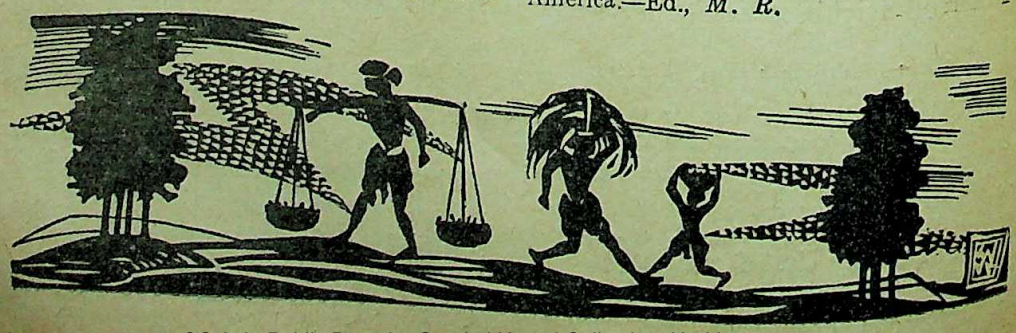
* Dr. Muzumdar, friend and biographer of the Mahatma Gandhi, actively participated in India's struggle for freedom; from 1930 until the end of World War II, he used to be known as "the unofficial ambassador of goodwill from India to America." Muzumdar became an American citizen in 1947. He has been actively engaged in promoting better understanding between America and Asia. He has been Professor of Sociology at Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa, USA, since 1951. His last book *Mahatma Gandhi: Peaceful Revolutionary* (New York: Scribners—Scribner's Twentieth Century Library) has been spoken of highly in India, Europe and America.—Ed., *M. R.*



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SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(VIII) Fundamental Rights : Right to Freedom *(Continued)*

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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I

We now propose to deal with Articles 20 and 21 of our Constitution. Article 20 which provides for "protection in respect of conviction for offences," runs as follows :

"20.(1) No person shall be convicted of any offence except for violation of a law in force at the time of the commission of the act charged as an offence, nor be subjected to a penalty greater than that which might have been inflicted under the law in force at the time of the commission of the offence.

"(2) No person shall be prosecuted and punished for the same offence more than once.

"(3) No person accused of any offence shall be compelled to be a witness against himself."

It is evident from the above that Clause (1) of Article 20 provides a guarantee against what may be described as *ex post facto* criminal legislation. It is as it should be. Retrospective criminal legislation is not merely objectionable in principle; but it is also exceedingly liable to abuse. Criminal legislation in particular should be prospective, and not retrospective, in its operation.

"It manifestly shocks our sense of justice," says Herbert Broom,[1] "that an act legal at the time when it was done should be made unlawful by a new enactment; and the injustice and impolicy of *ex post facto* or retrospective legislation is most apparent in the case of new criminal laws . . . There is a great difference between making an unlawful act lawful and making an innocent action criminal."

It may perhaps be interesting to note here that the Constitution of the United States has "forbidden"[2] any *ex post facto* legislation either by the Federal Government or by any State Government. Originally many persons thought—and very rightly—that "the terms, *ex post facto*, laws in a comprehensive sense, embrace all retrospective laws, or laws governing or controlling past transactions, whether they are of a civil or a criminal nature."[3] But as early as 1798 the Supreme Court of the United States declared in *Calder* V. *Bull* that the prohibition imposed by the Constitution on Congress and the State legislatures in respect of *ex post facto* laws, applied only to criminal legislation. This declaration "settled the law in the United States" in respect of *ex post facto* legislation and "has been followed ever since."[4]. Thus,

"Every law," says an authoritative American official publication,[5] "which makes criminal an act which was innocent when done, or which inflicts a greater punishment than the law annexed to the crime when committed, is an *ex post facto* law within the prohibition of the Constitution."

But this "limitation has no application to purely civil proceedings though taken under retroactive statutes. Thus, it does not apply to a statute for the commitment and detention of the insane."[6]

Apparently the authors of our Constitution followed the corresponding American constitutional law in framing Clause (1) of Article 20 of the Constitution. But they seem to have omitted, as will appear from what follows one important element of American constitutional law in this connexion. In delivering the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Calder* vs. *Bull* Mr. Justice Chase observed[7] :

"I will state what laws I consider *ex post facto* laws, within the words and the intent of the prohibition. 1st. Every law that makes an action done before the passing of the law, and which was innocent when done, criminal; and punishes such action. 2nd. Every law that aggravates a crime, or makes it greater than it was, when committed. 3rd. Every law that changes the punishment, and inflicts a greater punishment than the law annexed to the crime, when committed. 4th. Every law that alters the legal rules of evidence,

1. See his *A Selection of Legal Maxims*, 10 Ed. (Kersley), pp. 357-58.
2. See Sections 9 and 10 of Article 1 of the Constitution of United States of America.
3. See Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, Vol. II, 5th Ed., 1891, Section 1345.
4. See *ibid*; also Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, pp. 515-16; also James Kent, *Commentaries on American Law*, 10th Ed., p. 458.
5. *The Constitution of the United States of America, Analysis and Interpretation*, Corwin, United States Government Printing Office, 1953, p. 316.
6. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 515-16.
7. *Calder* vs. *Bull*, Supreme Court of the United State, 1798, 3 Dall. 386. See Dodd, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1949, pp. 1360-1361.

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and receives less or different testimony than the law required at the time of the commission of the offence, in order to convict the offender. All these and similar laws are manifestly unjust and oppressive. In my opinion, the true distinction is between *ex post facto* laws and retrospective laws. Every *ex post facto* law must necessarily be retrospective, but every retrospective law is not an *ex post facto* law; the former only are prohibited. . . . I do not consider any law *ex post facto*, within the prohibition, that mollifies the rigor of the criminal law; but only those that create, or aggravate, the crime; or increase the punishment, or change the rules of evidence, for the purpose of conviction . . . There is a great and apparent difference between making an unlawful act lawful, and the making an innocent action criminal, and punishing it as a crime."

It is evident from what is quoted above that "a law which alters the rule of evidence to permit a person to be convicted upon less or different evidence than was required when the offence was committed is invalid."[8] And Professor Willoughby has shown[9] that by later decisions the definition of *ex post facto* legislation as given by the American Supreme Court in *Calder* V. *Bull* in 1798, "has been broadened so as to include all laws which in any way operate to the detriment of one accused of a crime committed prior to the enactment of such laws." Apparently there are no such safeguards of the rights of the accused in Clause (1) of Article 20 of our Constitution. There is, therefore, a strong case for the amendment of the Clause so as to make it correspond to American constitutional law in this respect.

Clause (2) of Article 20 which, as shown before, lays down that "no person shall be prosecuted and punished for the same offence more than once," is comparatively simple. It embodies the "great fundamental rule" of English "criminal law, which forbids that a man should be put in jeopardy twice for one and the same offence." Thus,

"When a criminal charge has been once adjudicated upon by a Court of competent jurisdiction, that adjudication is final, whether it takes the form of an acquittal or a conviction."[10]

Obviously, the punishment referred [illegible] the aforesaid Clause means punishment [illegible] competent court of law only, and not by [illegible] other authority. The corresponding Clause [illegible] the *Draft Constitution of India* was "[illegible] person shall be punished for the same [illegible] more than once." This was changed [illegible] present form at the instance of Shri [illegible] Krishnamachari who had pointed out [illegible] Constituent Assembly[12] that the Clause [illegible] had stood in the Draft Constitution [illegible] create difficulties in its working in the [illegible] instance, of a Government servant. [illegible] Government servant had committed a [illegible] offence and had been first dealt with [illegible] punished departmenally, he could not under [illegible] clause be again prosecuted before, and [illegible] by, a court of law. On the other hand [illegible] Government servant had once been pro[illegible] before, and sentenced to imprisonment [illegible] by, a court of law for a criminal offence [illegible] clause might prevent the Government [illegible] taking any disciplinary action against [illegible] These difficulties would not arise under [illegible] clause as it stands now.

Another point emerges in this con[illegible] In his *Treatise on International Law* Pro[illegible] Hall has observed[13] that

"The authority possessed by a State com[illegible] over its members being the result of the [illegible] relation existing between it and the individ[illegible] which it is formed, its laws travel with them [illegible] they go, both in places within and without the [illegible] diction of other powers"; that although "[illegible] cannot enforce its laws within the territory of [illegible] State," yet "its subjects remain under an obl[illegible] not to disregard them;" that "their social [illegible] for all purposes as within its territory are deter[illegible] by these laws; and that "it preserves the po[illegible] compelling observance by punishment if a [illegible] who has broken them returns within its jurisdi[illegible]

Thus, according to this writer,[14] "the [illegible] jects of a State are not freed by absence [illegible] their allegiance," and "if they commit [illegible] they can be arraigned before the tribun[illegible] their country notwithstanding that they [illegible] have been already punished elsewhere." It [illegible] to us that, regard being had to the word[illegible]

8. See *The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation*, referred to in foot-note 5 above. p. 317.

9. See Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1929, Vol. II, p. 1135.

10. "Provided that the adjudication be by a Court of competent jurisdiction, it is immaterial whether it be upon a summary proceeding before justices or upon a trial before a jury." See Herbert Broom, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

11. See Clause (2) of Article 14 of the *Draft Constitution of India*.

12. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 3rd December, 1948.

13. See Hall, *A Treatise on International Law*, 8th [illegible] gins), Oxford, pp. 56-57.

14. See *ibid.*

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use (2) of Article 20 of our Constitution, h arraignment as has been referred to by fessor Hall, will not be permissible under Constitution. This point, therefore, needs rification.

Clause (3) of Article 20 which lays down, shown before, that "no person accused of offence shall be compelled to be a witness nst himself," provides a constitutional pro- ion against self-incrimination. It appears have been based upon the principle of glish law that "no man can be compelled to rimate himself"* and also upon the provi- in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitu- of the United States, which declares that person . . . shall be compelled in any minal case to be a witness against himself." e source of this American constitutional vision was, according to Professor Corwin,[15] e maxim that 'no man is bound to accuse self' . . ., which has brought forward in land late in the sixteenth century in pro- against the inquisitorial methods of the ecclesiastical courts." The immunity granted this provision "has for its object," says fessor Willoughby,[16] "the protection of the dividual against criminal prosecution based on evidence which has been compulsorily tained from him." And referring to this ilar amendment the Supreme Court of the ted States declared in *Hale* v. *Henkel*[17] in ds:

"The object of the amendment is to establish in ese language and upon a firm basis the general ple of English and American jurisprudence, that one shall be compelled to give testimony which expose him to prosecution for crime. . . . The ection of the . . . amendment operates only a witness is asked to incriminate himself,—in er words, to give testimony which may possibly him to a criminal charge. But if the criminality ready been taken away, the amendment ceases ply."

Further, this American constitutional pro- on has, according to Professors Corwin and Mason,[18] "been greatly broadened by judicial pretation. Originally it meant only that *a person under trial* might not be forced to testify against himself. Today it means that no person may be compelled by *any governmental agency* —the House Committee on Un-American Activities, for instance, or the Federal Trade Commission—to answer *under oath* any question if, *according to his own claim*, his answer would 'tend to incriminate him'." As compared with this, the scope of Clause (3) of Article 20 of our Constitution is narrower and is restricted only to a "person accused of any offence."[19]

We may conclude the consideration of Article 20 with extracts† from the judgments of Mr. Justice Mukherjea and Mr. Justice Das of our Supreme Court in *A. K. Gopalan* v. *The State of Madras*. Mr. Justice Mukherjea has observed :

"A person cannot be convicted or punished under an *ex post facto* law, or a law which compels the accused to incriminate himself in a criminal trial or punishes him for the same offence more than once. These are the protections provided for by Article 20."

And Mr. Justice Das has said :

"Article 20 . . . is concerned with providing protection against what are well known as *ex post facto* laws, double jeopardy and self-incrimination. This article constitutes a limitation on the absolute legislative power which would, but for this article, be exercisable by Parliament or the State Legislatures under Article 246 read with the legislative lists. If the Legislature disobeys this limitation the Court will certainly prevent it."

II

Let us now pass on to Article 21 of our Constitution which lays down :

"No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law."

Referring to this provision the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly of India observed[20] that it was "of opinion that the word 'liberty' (therein) should be qualified by the insertion of the word 'personal' before it, for otherwise it might be construed very widely so as to include even the freedoms already dealt with in Article 13" (of the

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See Herbert Broom, *op. cit.*, p. 660.

See Corwin, *The Constitution and What It Means Today*, p. 166.

Willoughby, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1166; also see Cooley, *Treatise on Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., p. 442.

Hale vs. Henkel, 201 U.S. 43 (1906). See Dodd, *op. cit.*,

18. See Corwin and Peltason, *Understanding the Constitution*, The Dryden Press, New York, 1952, pp. 96-97 ; also Corwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-68.

19. Also see in this connexion Basu, *A Commentary On the Constitution of India*, 1951, pp. 148-51.

† *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III —April and May, 1950, p. 255 and p. 306.

20. See *Draft Constitution of India*, Manager, Government of India Press, New Delhi, 1948, p. 8.

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Draft Constitution of India, corresponding to Article 19 of the Constitution of India). Further, the Committee stated that it had also substituted the expression "except according to procedure established by law" for the words "without due process of law (as originally suggested by the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights appointed by the Constituent Assembly on 24th January, 1947, and adopted by the Constituent Assembly during its session held in April-May, 1947),[21] since the former expression was "more specific (*c.f.* Article XXXI of the Japanese Constitution, 1946)."[22]

We shall now consider the scope and applicability of Article 21, with special reference to the meanings of the words "law," "procedure established by law," and "personal liberty" in it, as judicially determined. In *A. K. Gopalan* v. *The State of Madras*,[23] Kania C.J., and Mukherjea and Das JJ. held in 1950 that in Article 21 "the word 'law' has been used in the sense of State-made law and not as an equivalent of law in the abstract or general sense embodying the principles of natural justice"; that the expression "procedure established by law" "means procedure established by law made by the State, that is to say, the Union Parliament or the Legislatures of the States;" and that "it is not proper to construe this expression in the light of the meaning given to the expression 'due process of law' in the American Constitution, by the Supreme Court of America."[24] And so far as the meaning of the term "law" was concerned, Patanjali Sastri J. also held :[25]

"I am unable to agree that the term 'law' in Article 21 means the immutable and universal principles of natural justice. 'Procedure established by law' must be taken to refer to a procedure which has a statutory origin, for no procedure is known or can be said to have been established by such vague and uncertain concepts as 'the immutable and universal principles of natural justice.' In my opinion, 'law' in Article 21 means 'positive or State-made law' ... it is difficult to accept the suggestion that 'law' in Article 21 stands for the *jus naturale* of the civilists and that the phrase 'according to procedure established by law' is equivalent to due process of law in its procedural aspect, for that would have the effect of introducing into our Constitution those 'subtle and elusive criteria' implied in that phrase which was the deliberate purpose of the framers of our Constitution to avoid."[26]

Elaborating his view on Article 21 Kania C. J. observed :[27]

"Without going to details, I think there is justification to adopt the meaning of the word 'law' as interpreted by the Supreme Court of (the) U.S. in the expression 'due process of law' merely because the word 'law' is used in Article 21. The discussion of the meaning of 'due process of law' found in Willis on Constitutional Law[28] and in Cooley's Constitutional Limitations[29] shows the diverse meanings given to that expression at different times and under different circumstances by the Supreme Court of (the) U.S. so much so that the conclusion reached by the authors is that the expression means reasonable according to the view of the majority of the judges of the Supreme Court at a particular time holding office. It also shows how the meaning of the expression was widened or abridged in certain decisions. Moreover, to control the meaning so given to the expression from time to time the doctrine of police powers was brought into play. That doctrine, stated put, is that legislation meant for the good of the people generally, and in which the individual has to surrender his freedom to a certain extent because it is for the benefit of the people at large, has not been tested by the touchstone of the 'due process of law' formula."

Further,[30]

"A perusal of the report of the drafting committee to which our attention was drawn shows clearly that the Constituent Assembly (of India) had before them the American article and the expression 'due process of law,' but they deliberately dropped the use of the expression from our Constitution.

21. See *Reports of Committees* (First Series), 1947 (From December, 1946. to July, 1947), the Manager of Publications Delhi, pp. 18-22 and pp. 28-29 ; also *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 6th December, 1948, pp. 842-57.

22. Article 31 of the Japanese Constitution has laid down :

"No person shall be deprived of life or liberty, nor shall any other criminal penalty be imposed, except according to procedure established by law."

23. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950—Vol. 1, Parts II and III April and May, 1950, pp. 90-91.

24. Fazl Ali J. dissented from these views.—See *Ibid*, p. 91.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 199-201 and also pp. 90-91.

26. With regard to the meaning of the expression "procedure established by law," however, Patanjali Sastri J. did not agree with Kania C. J. and Mukherjea and Das JJ. According to the expression "does not mean . . . . any procedure which may be prescribed by a competent legislature," but "the ordinary and established criminal procedure, that is to say, those settled and normal modes of proceeding sanctioned by the Criminal Procedure Code which is the general law of criminal procedure in the country."—See *Ibid.*, p. 91 and p. 205.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

28. *I.e.*, Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*.

29. I.e., Cooley, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*.

30. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III April and May, 1950, pp. 111-113.

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"No extrinsic aid is needed to interpret the words of Article 21, which in my opinion, are not ambiguous. Normally read, and without thinking of other Constitutions, the expression 'procedure established by law' must mean procedure prescribed by the law of the State. If the Indian Constitution wanted to preserve to every person the protection given by the due process clause of the American Constitution there was nothing to prevent the (Constituent) Assembly from adopting this phrase, or if they wanted to limit the scope to procedure only, to adopt that expression with only the word 'procedural' prefixed to 'law.' However, the correct question is what is the right given by Article 21? The only right is that no person shall be deprived of his life or liberty except according to procedure established by law. One may like that right to cover a larger area, but to give such a right is not the function of the Court; it is the function of the Constitution. To read the word 'law' as meaning rules of natural justice will land one in difficulties because the rules of natural justice, as regards procedure, are nowhere defined and in my opinion the Constitution cannot be read as laying down a vague standard. This is particularly so when in omitting to adopt 'due process of law' it was considered that the expression 'procedure established by law' made the standard specific. It cannot be specific except by making the expression as meaning procedure prescribed by the legislature. The word 'law' as used in this Part has different shades of meaning but in no other article it appears to bear the indefinite meaning of natural justice. If so, there appears no reason why in this article it should receive this peculiar meaning. Article 31 which is also in Part III and relates to the fundamental rights in respect of property runs as follows:

'No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law.'

It is obvious that in that clause 'law' must mean settled law. The object of dealing with property under a different article appears more to provide the exceptions found in Article 31(2) to (6), rather than to give the word 'law' a different meaning than the one given in Article 21. The word 'established' according to the Oxford Dictionary means 'to fix, to institute or ordain by enactment or agreement.' The word 'established' itself suggests an agency which sets the limits. According to the dictionary this agency can be either the legislature or an agreement between the parties. There is therefore no justification to give the meaning of 'jus'[32] to 'law' in Article 21. The phrase 'procedure established by law' seems to be borrowed from Article 31 of the Japanese Constitution . . . It is not shown that the word 'law' means 'jus' in the Japanese Constitution . . . The word 'due' in the expression 'due process of law' in the American Constitution is interpreted to mean 'just,' according to the opinion of the Supreme Court of (the) U.S.A. that word imparts jurisdiction to the Courts to pronounce what is 'due' from otherwise, according to law. The deliberate omission of the word 'due' from Article 21 lends strength to the contention that the justiciable aspect of 'law,' *i.e.*, to consider whether it is reasonable or not by the Court, does not form part of the Indian Constitution. The omission of the word 'due,' the limitation imposed by the word 'procedure' and the insertion of the word 'established' thus brings out more clearly the idea of legislative prescription in the expression used in Article 21. By adopting the phrase 'procedure established by law' the Constitution gave the legislature the final word to determine the law."

As noted before, essentially similar views were expressed by Mr. Justice Mukherjea and Mr. Justice Das of the Supreme Court on Article 21, in the course of their judgments in *A. K. Gopalan* v. *The State of Madras.* Thus Mr. Justice Mukherjea said:[33]

"It is not correct to say . . . that Article 21 is confined to matters of procedure only. There must be a substantive law, under which the State is empowered to deprive a man of his life and personal liberty and such law must be a valid law which the legislature is competent to enact within the limits of the powers assigned to it and which does not transgress any of the fundamental rights that the Constitution lays down."

Again:[34]

"On a plain reading of the article the meaning seems to be that you cannot deprive a man of his personal liberty, unless you follow and act according to the law which provides for deprivation of such liberty. The expression 'procedure' means the manner and form of enforcing the law. In my opinion, it cannot be disputed that in order that there may be a legally established procedure, the law which establishes it must be a valid and lawful law which the legislature is competent to enact in accordance with article 245 of the Constitution and the particular items in the legislative lists which it relates to. It is also not disputed that such law must not offend against the fundamental rights which are declared in Part III of the Constitution."

Finally:[35]

"I have no doubt in my mind that if the 'due process' clause which appeared in the original draft

32. *i.e.*, Part III of the *Constitution of India.*
33. *i.e.*, "law in the abstract sense of the principles of natural
34. See the *Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts II & April and May, 1950, p. 108.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 264.
35. See *ibid.*, pp. 274-78.

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was finally retained by the Constituent Assembly (of India), it could be safely presumed that the framers of the Indian Constitution wanted that expression to bear the same sense as it does in America. But when that form was abandoned and another was deliberately substituted in its place, it is not possible to say that in spite of the difference in the language and expression, they should mean the same thing and convey the same idea . . . . it is quite clear that the framers of the Indian Constitution did not desire to introduce into our system the elements of uncertainty, vagueness and changeability that have grown round the 'due process' doctrine in America. They wanted to make the provision clear, definite and precise and deliberately chose the words 'procedure established by law,' as in their opinion no doubts would ordinarily arise about the meaning of this expression. The indefiniteness in the application of the 'due process' doctrine in America has nothing to do with the distinction between substantive and procedural law. The uncertainty and elasticity are in the doctrine itself which is a sort of hidden mine, the contents of which nobody knows and is merely revealed from time to time to the judicial conscience of the judges. This theory, the Indian Constitution deliberately discarded and that is why they substituted a different form in its place which, according to them, was more specific. In the second place, it appears to me that when the same words are not used, it will be against the ordinary canons of construction to interpret a provision in our Constitution in accordance with the interpretation put upon a somewhat analogous provision in the Constitution of another country, where not only the language is different, but the entire political conditions and constitutional set-up are dissimilar. In the Supreme Court of America, stress has been laid uniformly upon the word 'due' which occurs before and qualifies the expression 'process of law.' 'Due' means 'what is just and proper' according to the circumstances of a particular case. It is this word which introduces the variable element in the application of the doctrine; for what is reasonable in one set of circumstances may not be so in another and a different set. In the Indian Constitution[36] the word 'due' has been deliberately omitted and this shows clearly that the Constitution-makers of India had no intention of introducing the American doctrine. The word 'established' ordinarily means 'fixed or laid down' and if 'law' means, as Mr. Nambiar[37] contends, not any particular piece of law but the indefinite and indefinable principles of natural justice which underlie positive systems of law, it would not at all be appropriate to use the expression 'established,' for natural law or natural justice cannot establish anything like a nite procedure.

"It does not appear that in any part of the titution (of India) the word 'law' has been the sense of 'general law' connoting what has described as the principles of natural justice the realm of positive law. On the other hand provision[38] of Article 31 of the Constitution, appears in the chapter on Fundamental R makes it clear that the word 'law' is equivalent State-made law and to deprive a person of his prop the authority or sanction of such law is nece . . . The provision of article 21 of the Indian C titution reproduces, save in one particular, the age of article 31 of the Japanese Constitution is quite clear from the scheme and provisions of Japanese Constitution that in speaking of law it to law passed or recognised as such by the State the Irish Constitution also, there is provision most similar language which conveys the same Article 40(4) (1) provides that 'no citizens sh deprived of his personal liberty save in accord with law', and by law is certainly meant the law the State . . . In the Constitutions of various countries, the provisions relating to protection of personal liberty are couched very much in the same guage as in Article 21. It is all a question of policy to whether the legislature or the judiciary would the final say in such matters and the Constitution makers of India deliberately decided to place powers in the hands of the legislature. Article 31 the Japanese Constitution, upon which Article our Constitution is modelled, also proceeds upon same principle . . . My conclusion, therefore, is in Article 21 the word 'law' has been used in the of State-made law and not as an equivalent of law the abstract or general sense embodying the principles of natural justice. The article presupposes that law is a valid law and binding law under the provisions of the Constitution having regard to the competency of the legislature and the subject it relates to and does not infringe any of the fundamental rights which the Constitution provides for . . . enough, in my opinion, if the law is a valid law the legislature is competent to pass and which not transgress any of the fundamental rights de in Part III of the Constitution."

And Mr. Justice Das stated:[39]

"Article 21, as the marginal note states, guarantees to every person 'protection of life and personal liberty.' As I read it, it defines the substantive

36. In Article 21 thereof.

37. Mr. M. K. Nambiar, Counsel for the petitioner Mr. A. K. Gopalan in the case *A. K. Gopalan* vs. *The State of Madras.*

38. Reference is to Clause (1) of Article 31 of our Constitution which lays down: "No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law."

39. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II, III, April and May, 1950, pp. 306-307.

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mental right to which protection is given and does not purport to prescribe any particular procedure at all. That a person shall not be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law is the substantive fundamental right to which protection is given by the Constitution. The avowed object of the Article, as I apprehend it, is to define the ambit of the right to life and personal liberty which is to be protected as a fundamental right. The right to life and personal liberty protected by Article 21 is not an absolute right but is a qualified right—a right circumscribed by the possibility or risk of being lost according to procedure established by law. Liability to deprivation according to procedure established by law is in the nature of words of limitation. The article delimits the right by a reference to its liability to deprivation according to procedure established by law and by this very definition throws a corresponding obligation on the State to follow a procedure before depriving a man of his life and personal liberty. What that procedure is to be is not within the purpose or purview of this article to prescribe or indicate."

Further :[40]

"The question then arises as to what is the meaning of the expression 'procedure established by law.' The word 'procedure' in Article 21 must be taken to imply some step or method or manner of proceeding leading up to the deprivation of life or personal liberty. According to the language used in the Article, this procedure has to be 'established by law.' The word 'establish' according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Vol. III, p. 297, means, amongst other things, 'to render stable or firm; to strengthen by material support; to fix, settle, institute or ordain permanently by enactment or agreement.' According to Dr. Annandale's edition of the *New Gresham Dictionary*, the word 'establish,' means, amongst other things, 'to found permanently; to institute; to enact by decree; to ordain; to ratify; to make firm.' It follows that the word 'established' in its ordinary natural sense means, amongst other things, 'enacted.' 'Established by law' will, therefore, mean 'enacted by law.' If this sense of the word 'established' is accepted, then the word 'law' must mean State-made law and cannot possibly mean the principles of natural justice, nor no procedure can be said to have ever been established by those principles. When Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code speaks of 'Government established by law,' surely it does not mean 'Government set up by natural justice.' Therefore, procedure established by law must, I apprehend, be procedure established by the State which, by its definition in Article 12, includes Parliament. There is no escape from this position if the cardinal rule of construction, namely, to give the words used in a statute their ordinary natural meaning, is applied . . . . I find it difficult to let in principles of natural justice as being within the meaning of the word 'law,' having regard to the obvious meaning of that word in the other articles (of the Constitution) . . . There can be no doubt that the words 'in accordance with law' in Article 17 have reference to State law. Likewise, the word 'law' in Article 20(1) can mean nothing but law made by the State . . . If this be the correct meaning of the word 'law,' then there is no scope for introducing the principles of natural justice in Article 21 and 'procedure established by law' must mean procedure established by law made by the State which, as defined, includes Parliament and the Legislatures of the States."

Mr. Justice Das added :[41]

"We have been referred to a number of text-books and decisions showing the development of the American doctrine of 'due process of law' and we have been urged to adopt those principles in our Constitution. . . . The expression 'due process of law' has been interpreted by the American Courts in different ways at different times . . . Whenever a substantive law or some procedure laid down in any law did not find favour with the majority of the learned Judges of the Supreme Court it was not reasonable and, therefore, it was not 'due.' The very large and nebulous import of the word 'due' was bound to result in anomalies, for what was not 'due' on one day according to the Judges then constituting the Supreme Court became 'due,' say, 20 years later according to the new Judges who then came to occupy the Bench, for the Court had to adapt the Constitution to the needs of the society which were continually changing and growing . . . On serious reflection I find several insuperable objections to the introduction of the American doctrine of procedural due process of law into our Constitution. That doctrine can only thrive and work where the legislature is subordinate to the judiciary in the sense that the latter can sit in judgment over and review all acts of the legislature. Such a doctrine can have no application to a field where the legislature is supreme. That is why the doctrine of 'due process of law' is quite different in England where Parliament is supreme . . . Although our Constituton has imposed some limitations on the legislative authorities, yet subject to and outside such limitations our Constitution has left our Parliament and the State Legislatures supreme in their respective legislative fields. In the main, subject to the limitations I have mentioned, our Constitution has preferred the supremacy of the Legislature to that of the Judiciary. The English principle of due process of law is, therefore, more in accord with our Constitution than the American doctrine which has been evolved for serving quite a different system . . . In the next

40. Ibid., pp. 307-309.

41. Ibid., pp. 309-323.

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place, it is common knowledge that our Constitution-makers deliberately declined to adopt the uncertain and shifting American doctrine of due process of law and substituted the words 'except in due process of law'[42] that were in the original draft by the more specific expression 'except in accordance with procedure established by law.' To try to bring in the American doctrine, in spite of this fact, will be to stultify the intention of the Constitution as expressed in Article 21. In the third place, in view of the plain meaning of the language of that article as construed and explained above it is impossible to let in what have been called the principles of natural justice as adopted in the procedural due process of law by the American Supreme Court. Again, even the all-pervading little word 'due' does not find a place in Article 21 so as to qualify the procedure. It speaks of procedure and not 'due' procedure and, therefore, the 'intellectual yard-stick' of the Court is definitely ruled out. Finally, it will be incongruous to import the doctrine of due process of law without its palliative, the doctrine of police powers. It is impossible to read the last-mentioned doctrine into Article 21 . . . Article 21, in my judgment, only formulates a substantive fundamental right to life and personal liberty which in its content is not an absolute right but is a limited right having its ambit circumscribed by the risk of its being taken away by following a procedure established by law made by the appropriate legislative authority and the proximate purpose of Article 21 is not to prescribe any particular procedure . . . A procedure laid down by the legislature may offend against the Court's sense of justice and fair play and a sentence provided by the legislature may outrage the Court's notions of penology, but that is wholly irrelevant consideration. The Court may construe and interpret the Constitution and ascertain its true meaning but once that is done the Court cannot question its wisdom or policy. The Constitution is supreme. The Court must take the Constitution as it finds it, even if it does not accord with its preconceived notions of what an ideal Constitution should be. Our protection against legislative tyranny, if any, lies in ultimate analysis in a free and intelligent public opinion which must eventually assert itself . . . I am not convinced that there is any scope for the introduction into Article 21 of our Constitution of the doctrine of due process of law as regards procedure. I may or may not like it, but that is the result of our Constitution as I understand it."

It is evident from what has been shown above that, according to the majority[43] of the Judges of our Supreme Court including Justice Patanjali Sastri, the word "law" Article 21 of our Constitution has been the sense of "positive or State-made law," "not as an equivalent of law in the abstr general sense embodying the (immutable universal) principles of natural justice." ciurse, the law must be duly made and under the provisions of the Constitution. may also note in this connexion what Mu jea J. of the Supreme Court stated in 19 the course of his judgment in *The State of Bengal* v. *Anwar Ali Sarkar*:

"It cannot be disputed," he observed, "th competent legislature is entitled to alter the pro in criminal trials in such way as it considers p Article 21 of the Constitution only guarantees 'no person shall be deprived of his life or pe liberty except in accordance with the procedure blished by law.' The word 'law' in the Article a State-made law, but it must be a valid and law having regard not merely to the competen the legislature and the subject it relates to, must not also infringe any of the fundamental guaranteed under Part III of the Constitution."

In our next article we propose to among other things, with the compar merits and defects of the American expre "without due process of law" and our ex sion in Article 21 "except according to pr dure established by law." In the meanw we shall, before concluding this article, in here the meaning of the expression "pers liberty" in Article 21, as judicially determ

Liberty, it is generally held, has forms or aspects—the personal or civil "li of the individual person, 'in mind, body estate'; the political liberty of the citizen; the economic liberty of the worker, wh with hand or brain," "engaged in some g occupation or service."[45] We are concerned with the first form of liberty, namely, personal or civil liberty[46] "the liberty of a in the capacity of an individual person."

"To Blackstone," says Professor Ernest Ba "this civil liberty consisted in three articles—pe security, not only of life and health, but also of

42. As shown before, the exact words were: "without due process of law."

43. For the views of Fazl Ali J. on the question, reference may be made to *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III, April and May, 1950. Mahajan J. did not express any opinion on the question. See *ibid.*, p. 244.

44. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. 3, Pa March, 1952, p. 322.

45. See Ernest Barker, *Principles of Social and Political Th* Oxford, 1952, pp. 146-49.

46. "Private liberty," according to Professor Harold (*A Grammar of Politics*, p. 146).

47. See Ernest Barker, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-47.

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tion; personal freedom, especially of movement; and personal property, or the free use, enjoyment, and disposal of all acquisitions. Today we might prefer to say that civil liberty consists in three somewhat differently expressed articles—physical freedom from injury or threat to the life, health, and movement of the body; intellectual freedom for the expression of thought and belief; and practical freedom for the exercise of will and the exercise of choice in the general field of contractual action and relations with other persons."

And Lord Justice Denning of the Court of Appeal in England has said,[48] "By personal freedom I mean the freedom of every law-abiding citizen to think what he will, to say what he will, and to go where he will on his lawful occasions without let or hindrance from any other persons . . . It must be matched, of course, with social security, by which I mean the peace and good order of the community in which we live." Now whatever might be the views of men like Professor Ernest Barker and Lord Justice Denning on the concept of personal liberty or personal freedom—and they mean in essence the same thing—, our Supreme Court appears to have put a rather narrow interpretation on the expression "personal liberty" in Article 21 of our Constitution. Thus, according to the majority* of the Judges of the Supreme Court in *A. K. Gopalan* v. *The State of Madras*, "the concept of the right 'to move freely throughout the territory of India' referred to in Article 19(1) (d) of the Constitution is entirely different from the concept of the right 'personal liberty' referred to in Article 21, and Article 19 should not, therefore, be read as controlled by the provisions of Article 21."[49] and Mukherjea J. observed :[50]

"In ordinary language 'personal liberty' means liberty relating to or concerning the person or body of the individual; and 'personal liberty' in this sense is the antithesis of *physical restraint* or *coercion*. According to Dicey,[51] who is an acknowledged authority on the subject, 'personal liberty' means a personal right not to be subjected to imprisonment, arrest or other physical coercion in any manner that does not admit of legal justification. It is, in my opinion, this negative right of not being subjected to any form of physical restraint or coercion that constitutes the essence of personal liberty and not mere freedom to move to any part of the Indian territory.

"In this connection, it may not be irrelevant to point out that it was in accordance with the recommendation of the Drafting Committee (of the Indian Constituent Assembly) that the word 'personal' was inserted before 'liberty' in Article 15 of the (Draft) Constitution (of India) which now stands as Article 21. In the report of the Drafting Committee it is stated that the word 'liberty' should be qualified by the insertion of the word 'personal' before it; otherwise, it might be construed very widely so as to include even the freedoms already dealt with in Article 13 (of the Draft Constitution). Article 13, it should be noted, is the present Article 19. If the views of the Drafting Committee were accepted by the Constituent Assembly, the intention obviously was to exclude the contents of Article 19 from the concept of 'personal liberty' as used in Article 21 . . . If the report of the Drafting Committee is an appropriate material upon which the interpretation of the words of the Constitution could be based, it certainly . . . shows that the words used in Article 19(1) (d) of the Constitution do not mean the same thing as the expression 'personal liberty' in Article 21 does. It is well known that the word 'liberty' standing by itself has been given a very wide meaning by the Supreme Court of the United States of America. It includes not only personal freedom from physical restraint but the right to the free use of one's own property and to enter into free contractual relations. In the Indian Constitution, on the other hand, the expression 'personal liberty' has been deliberately used to restrict it to freedom from physical restraint of persons by incarceration or otherwise. Apart from the report of the Drafting Committee, that is the plain grammatical meaning of the expression as I have already explained."

Essentially similar views were expressed on the question by Kania C.J., and Patanjali Sastri and Das JJ., in the course of their judgments in *A. K. Gopalan* v. *The State of Madras*.[52] Kania C. J. added[53]:

"Article 19(1) does not purport to cover all aspects of liberty or of personal liberty. In that article only certain phases of liberty are dealt with. 'Personal liberty' would primarily mean liberty of the physical body. The rights given under Article 19(1) do not directly come under that description. They

48. See Deaning, *Freedom Under the Law*, 1949, p. 5.

49. Kania C. J., Patanjali Sastri, Mukherjea and Das, JJ. (Fazl J. dissenting). *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, pp. II and III, April and May, 1950, p. 89.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 262-63.

51. What Dicey has exactly said is as follows :

"The right to personal liberty as understood in England means in substance a person's right not to be subjected to imprisonment, arrest, or other physical coercion in any manner that does not admit legal justification." See his *Law of the Constitution*, 9th Ed., pp. 207-208.

52. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III, April and May, 1950, pp. 105-107, 190-96 and 295-306.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107.

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are rights which accompany the freedom or liberty of the person. By their very nature they are freedoms of a person assumed to be in full possession of his personal liberty. If Article 19 is considered to be the only article safeguarding personal liberty, several well-recognised rights, as for instance, the right to eat and drink, the right to work, play, swim and numerous other rights and activities and even the right to life will not be deemed protected under the Constitution. I do not think that is the intention. It seems to me improper to read Article 19 as dealing with the same subject as Article 21. Article 19 gives the rights specified therein only to the citizens of India while Article 21 is applicable to all persons . . . In my opinion, therefore, Article 19 should be read as a separate complete article."

It may be noted here that Fazl Ali J. did not agree with the interpretation which the majority of the Judges had put on the expression "personal liberty" in Article 21.[54] He stated :[55]

"The contention put forward on behalf of the petitioner (A. K. Gopalan) is that freedom of movement is the essence of personal liberty and any restraint on freedom of movement must be held to amount to abridgment or deprivation of personal liberty, as the case may be, according to the of the restraint. After very careful considera have come to the conclusion that this conte well-founded in law."

Further :[56]

"I am confirmed in my view that the conception that personal liberty and freed movement connote the same thing is the corr true conception, and the words used in Article must be construed according to this universa cepted legal conception."

Finally[57] :

"I am strongly of the view that Article guarantees the right of freedom of movement widest sense, that freedom of movement being essence of personal liberty, the right guarantee the article is really a right to personal liberty that preventive detention is a deprivation right."

Whatever one might feel about this the interpretation put upon the expression sonal liberty" by the majority of its Ju to be deemed, however, as the decision Supreme Court, and is, under Article our Constitution, "binding on all courts the territory of India."

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-57.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

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THE REVISION OF THE U. N. CHARTER

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"Determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of War, which twice in our life-time has brought untold sorrow to mankind," the people of the United Nations resolved at San Francisco in 1945 to unite their strength, to maintain international peace and security. Ten years back, at a time even when the Second World War was going on, the present International Organisation, known as the United Nations, was established—

"to save succeeding generations from the scourage of war, to re-affirm faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women, and of nations large and small and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger dom, etc."

Yet, the goal—peace and security—is as far off as the distant Mars. And acc to President Truman,[1] "the peoples United Nations" are still "haunted by the stant fear of aggression and burdened b cost of preparing against attack." With short time after the end of hostilities, midst of which the institution was born, and cracks began to develop in the Orga tion. Today we find the world divided into Power blocs engaged in a constant cold The very name 'United Nations' has co be a misnomer and a mockery, for it may appropriately be called today a 'Di

1. Leonard : *International Organisation*, p. 4.

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ations.' What was designed to be "an instru-
ent of world peace, has proved to be a forum
f world conflict."[2] It is feared, if every care
nd precaution is not taken to remove its
efects, it would also go the way of its prede-
ssor, the League of Nations. Day by day
ople are losing faith in the efficacy of this
ternational organisation, and voices are being
ised for the revision of the U.N. Charter to
ake it a better instrument for the promotion
f world peace, prosperity and security.

There are certain inherent defects, and
rtain other factors which are proving to be
e antithesis of the pacific settlement of dis-
utes or the maintenance of security. Firstly,
e Security Council is vested with the primary
sponsibility for the maintenance of peace and
curity. But it has no authority to settle a
spute, it can only make 'recommendations'
the same. It cannot even refer a legal dis-
te to the International Court of Justice.
condly, the authority and functions of the
N. are hedged by the domestic jurisdiction
use[1] of the Charter and the Veto[1] provision
r the Big Five Nations (U.S.A., U.S.S.R.,
K. China and France). Thirdly, the Charter
s, in the words of Vollet, "over-simplified in
me respects and unnecessarily complex in
hers. It is a document that defies interpreta-
n according to normal legal canons of con-
ruction." There is no provision for its autho-
tive interpretation, with the result that
ch member-State, and each organ of the
N. interprets the Charter for itself. Fourth-
United Nations, although a world forum,
international deliberative body, has no
er of legislation. It can only recommend or
ggest ways and means "to achieve inter-
onal co-operation in solving international
blems of an economic, social, cultural, or
manitarian character." Fifthly, Article 27 of
Charter refers to voting so as to secure
ecisions of the Security Council on 'proce-
ural matters' and 'on all other matters.' But
re is no clear definition of the procedural
d non-procedural matters. Moreover, in the
place, the possession of the atomic
bs has completely changed the whole

[1] Brierwich and Martin : *Charter of the United Nations* (Pre-
[2] Art. 2, para. 7 of the U. N. Charter.
[3] Art. 27, para. 3 of the U. N. Charter.

set-up of international politics and diplomacy. The seventh factor responsible for complicating the situation in the Organisaiton is the emergence of New China on the liquidation of the Nationalist K. M. T. The China problem has become chronic due to the persistent refusal of the U.S.A. and her satellites to face the reality and accept the *fait accompli* by recognizing the Communist Government as the *De Jure* Government of China and giving a rightful place to it in the U.N.O. This is in clear violation of the third principle of the Atlantic Charter which states: "They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live . . ." It is only hatred and suspicion of Communism that has blinded the U.S.A. on this moral issue. It has very much accelerated the East-West tension within the Organisation. "It appears as a clear case of forcible bolstering up, for political reasons, by the U.S.A., in whose hands she is now virtually a tool, and thus doubling the weight of the U.S.A. in the U.N. by bypassing the Charter. This arrangement, obviously devoid of all logic and justice, has dealt a mortal blow to the prestige of the Organization." Eighthly, during the last ten years various regional organizations have cropped up under several treaties among a group of nations, *e.g.*, the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, August 30, 1947; the Brussels Pact, March 17, 1948; the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, April 14, 1949; the Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the U.S.A., September 1, 1951; the Mutual Defence Assistance Pact between Pakistan and U.S.A., May 19, 1954; the Balkan Pact, August 9, 1954; the South-East Asia Defence Treaty Organization, September 8, 1954; and the M.E.D.O., etc. The States participating in most of these treaties have declared that if one of them is attacked, the other parties to the treaty concerned, will rush to her defence in accordance with the right of individual or collective self-defence recognized in Art. 51 of the U.N. Charter. But this growing trend towards nationalistic policies of regional arrangements and mutual assistance pacts, is not easily reconcilable with Art. 54 of the Charter. Woodrow Wilson had rightly remarked that "there can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understand-

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ings within the general and common family of the League of Nations." Such arrangements divert the attention from the international organization and may in time, according to Armstrong,[5] "overshadow the organization's universal character and aim." Such arrangements lead to the formation of blocs and aggravate power-politics.

All these facts make an early revision of the Charter imperative. According to Mr. John Foster Dulles, the present U.N. Charter is a pre-atomic charter and hence it was obsolete before it came into force. It was inadequate in that it had been prepared before the Atom Bomb.

Art. 108 of the Charter permits the amendment of the Charter by a 2/3 majority vote of the members of the General Assembly, and ratified by a 2/3 majority vote of the members of the United Nations, including all the five permanent members of the Security Council. But as things stand in the U.N., and taking into account the tension between the two Power blocs, a proposal for an amendment has no chance of being passed. A proposal sponsored by the U.S.A., may be passed in the General Assembly, but has no chance of being ratified, because it would be rejected by the Soviet Union by the application of the veto. While any amendment sponsored by the U.S.S.R. has no chance of being adopted in the General Assembly even, as they are not expected to command a 2/3 majority either in the General Assembly or in any conference. If, therefore, revision of the Charter is not to be blocked permanently, the amending procedure of the Charter has itself to be amended first. The extreme rigidity of the amending process should be relaxed.

The Charter would need certain drastic changes, rather complete overhauling, to bring it into accord with the altered situation arising from the split of the wartime alliance into two power-blocks engaged in a constant cold war. There are persons like Mr. Arther Moore, who are convinced that the U.N. "will go the way of the League, and that the tempo of events is now faster than after the first World War, it will end much more quickly."[6] He does not "expect the charter to be revised. What is probable is that the Organization, confused by the recurring difficulty of the Veto, will break up, and that a new organization will be formed without the Veto."[7] Well, "breaking up of an organization is a form of its revision through violence. No one can halt the march of political events or chain the great historical forces, pushing them from behind. The U.N. Charter (if not revised earlier through peaceful and constitutional methods) may be revised by them through a third World War, much the same way as the covenant of the League of Nations was revised ultimately."[8]

That in the present-day world—a world rendered physically one through progress in science and technology, but divided psychologically and ideologically—some sort of a better and improved international organization is needed with the aims and purposes of the U.N.O. I suggest the present organization be remodelled on the following lines:

(1) Subject to certain formalities the membership of such a world organization should be open to all independent States without any restriction whatsoever. The admission of a member should be made a non-veto item. This will ensure the dignity and the universal character of the organization. By alone, it can claim to be called a truly world organization. In the present U.N.O. admission of new members can be possible only on a concurrent vote of all the Big Five States. But power-politics has prevented membership from being made universal. Each group insists on admission of 'like-minded' countries and has opposed the admission of States of the opposite Camp.

(2) The Veto power of the Big Five States, in the Security Council should be abolished, to establish equality among all member-states in the Organization. The use of the word 'five great powers or Big Five' is an insult to other nations. To give these five States a privileged position makes the position of other States subservient in the Organization. This is against the principles of the U.N. Charter which is based on the basic "principle of the sovereign equality of all its members." The Veto today instead of a symbol of co-

5. H. F. Armstrong: "Coalition for Peace," *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1948, p. 1.

6. *India Quarterly*, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 134.

7. *Ibid*, p. 135.

8. U. N. Charter, Art. 2.

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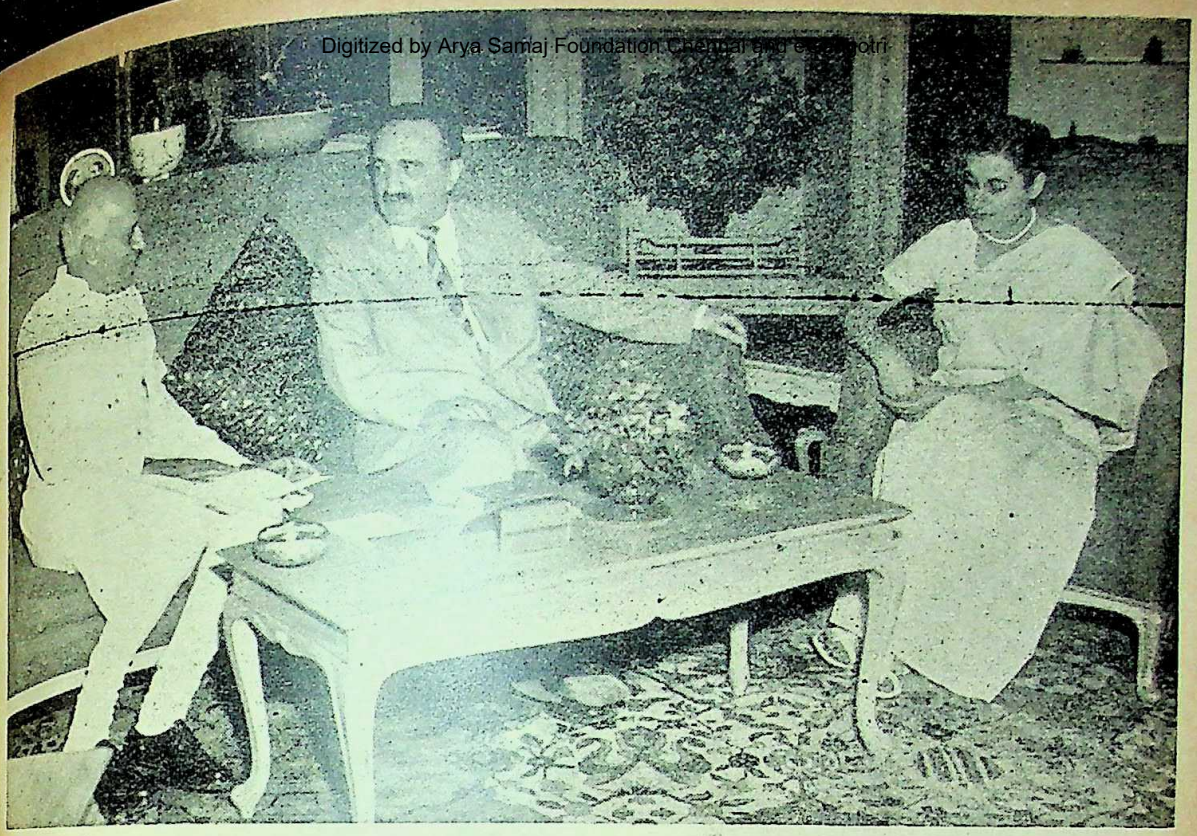
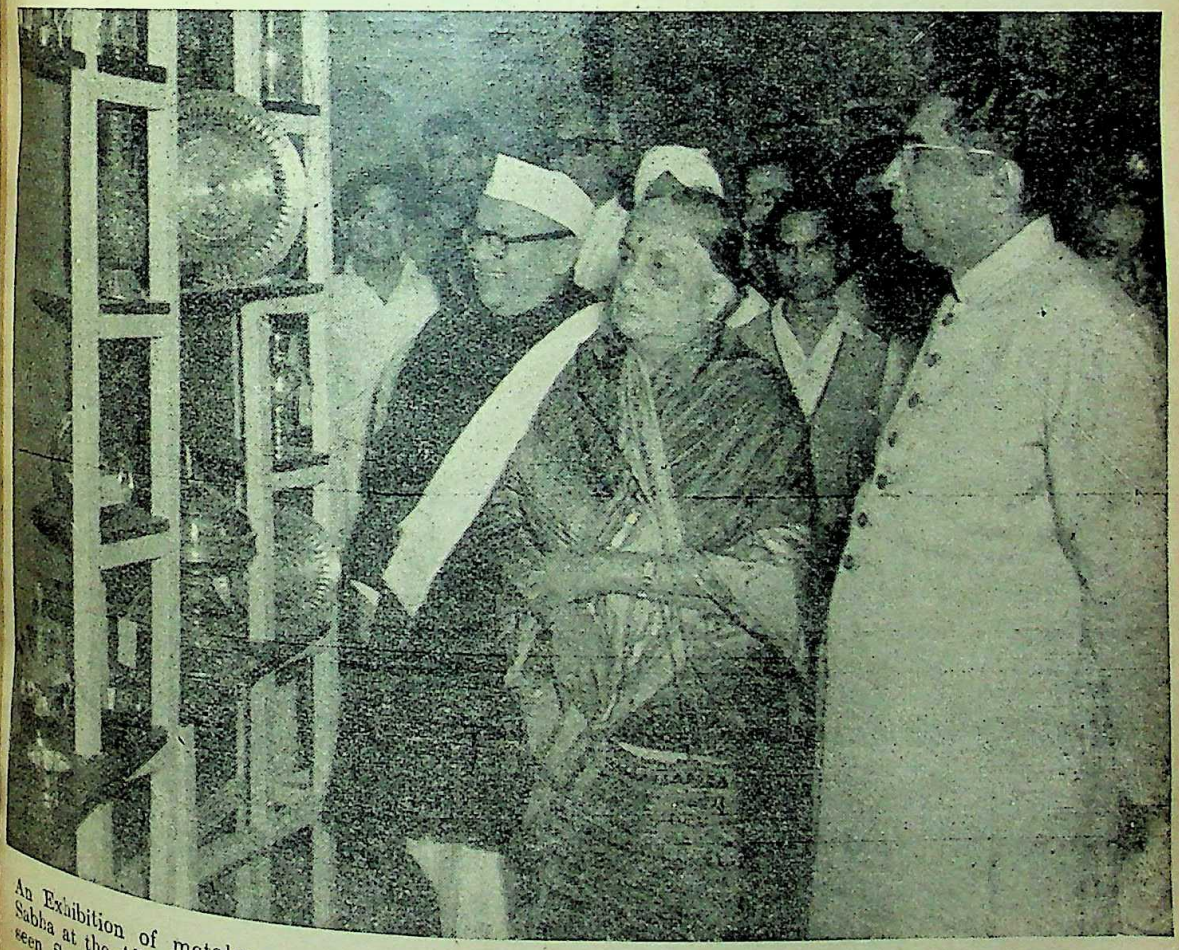


Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. A. I. Mikoyan, First Deputy Premier of U.S.S.R. and Srimati Indira Gandhi



An Exhibition of metalware was inaugurated by Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Speaker, Lok Sabha at the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society in New Delhi on March 23. With him are seen Sm. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Chairman of the Board and Sri Rajamannar, Chief Justice of Madras

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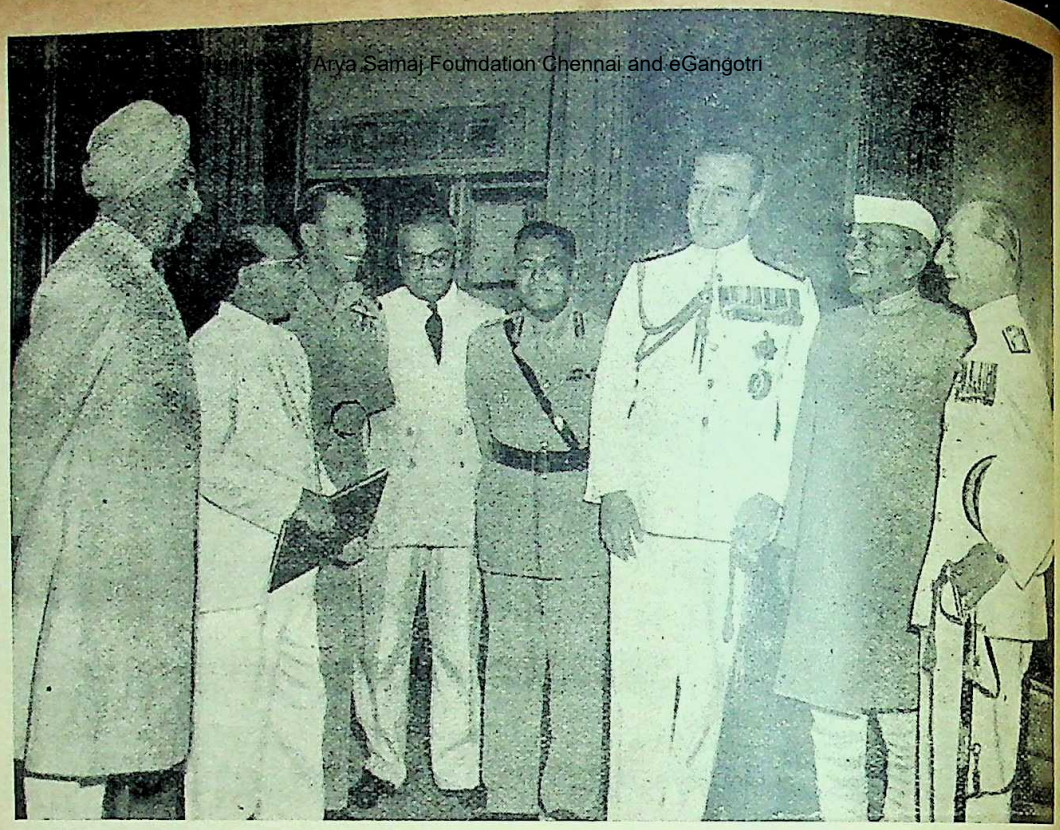
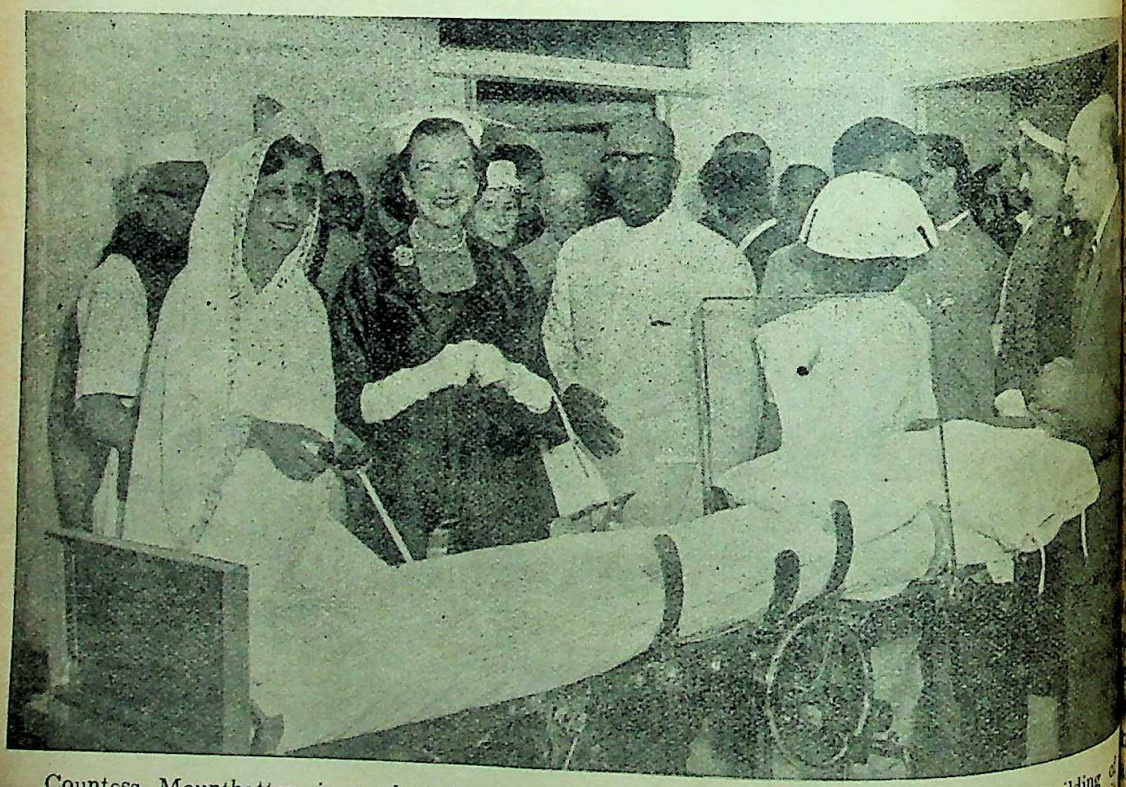


Admiral Earl Mountbatten called on the Union Defence Minister, Dr. K. N. Katju, at his office in New Delhi on March 15. There he met Sri Mahabir Tyagi, Minister of Defence Organisation, Sardar Surjit Singh Majithia, Deputy Defence Minister. Sri M. K. Vellodi, Defence Secretary and General S. M. Srinagesh, Vice Admiral S. H. Carlill and Air Marshal S. Mukherji



Countess Mountbatten is conducted round the operation theatre in the Extension Building of the Mehrauli T. B. Hospital in Delhi (March 16). With her appears Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Union Health Minister

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has proved to be a symbol of discord. Both Soviet Union and Anglo-American Powers have misused it by their thoughtless course of action. And, as M. Alvarez, in his dissenting opinion in the 'Competence of the General Assembly for the admission of a State to the U.N.,' said:

"To decide that the right of veto may be freely exercised in every case in which the Security Council may take action, would mean deciding what the will of a single great power could frustrate the will of the other members of the Council and of the General Assembly, even in matters other than the maintenance of peace and security and that would reduce the U.N.O. to impotence."[9]

3. There should be no provision of permanent membership in the Security Council. All the members of the Security Council should be elected by the General Assembly for a fixed term of 3 to 5 years. This would provide to all the member-States an equal opportunity to hold its membership without any grudge left in their hearts towards any State. Today U.N.O. has become a monopoly of the Five Big Powers. They have almost become the directors of the Organization. Other States suffer inferiority complex before them.

4. There also exists some vagueness in the different provisions of the Charter. The powers of the Security Council and the General Assembly are not very definite or clear, and as the Chief Justice of India remarked at the International Legal Conference, New Delhi, in December, 1953:

"After one read the whole Charter even casually, one is left rather with a vague impression that here is a body that by reason of certain votes being exercised in one way rather than another, might hurt international interests, viewed solely from the point of view of particular national groups. Therefore, I was trying to suggest a clear declaration of the powers which the member-nations are willing to grant to the United Nations."

5. The revised Charter should openly declare that there should be absolutely no racial discrimination. Discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex, creed, colour, caste, language or nationality will divide the world into a number of antagonistic groups. This will hamper the unity among nations and men. A smoothly, can be established only with the basic idea of universal brotherhood.

6. The laws of Extradition should be made more clear. We have experienced a number of Indian criminals taking shelter in Pakistan, which refuses to hand them over to the Government of India. If laws of Extradititon are more clear and universal; and if there is made no distinction between political and non-political crime, protection of crime by countries would automatically come to an end, and disloyal elements would be eliminated.

7. All countries which are under the U.N. Trusteeship at present should be declared as sovereign and be made the members of the U.N.O.

8. For the violation of the principles of the Charter no member should be expelled but it should be rather influenced and impressed to have faith in the Charter and observe those principles.

9. The General Assembly of the new World Organization should be bi-cameral. The Upper House—to be elected on the basis of population of each State, *i.e.*, on the basis of proportional representation—should be called the House of Humanity. The Lower House should be formed on equality basis of each member-State, having five representatives from each member-State big or small, to be known as the House of Nations. All decisions should be taken by a concurrence of both the Houses of General Assembly. Decisions on vital matters concerning peace and security must be taken by a two-third majority of the Lower House, the House of Nations. And disputes whether a matter is vitally concerned with peace and security or not, should be referred to the Chief Justice of the International Court of Justice, whose decision should be final. In case of disagreement between the two Houses, a resolution would be taken to have been passed by the General Assembly if the House of Humanity passes such a resolution again, *i.e.*, for the second time, within a period of 6 months by a three-fourth majority vote. The General Assembly should be given the power of legislation also on certain agreed matters.

10. The judges of the International Court of Justice should not be elected by the General Assembly. They should better be elected by an "Electoral College," consisting of the Chief Justices of all the member-nations, by a two-third majority by means of single transferable

9. *International Court of Justice Reports*, 1950, pp. 3-4.

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vote, from among eminent jurists of international repute. Only the International Court should have the power to interpret the U.N. Charter. The Court should be given compulsory jurisdiction. Jurisdiction may also be conferred on the court to hear appeals from judgement of Municipal courts adjudicating upon maritime captures during the war. Further, the statute of the court might be amended so as to empower it to exercise criminal jurisdicion over individuals accused of crimes against International Law.

11. Cases may be decided with the help of a jury. One representative judge from each member-nation should form the jury. If the jury is of unanimous opinion on a point of law or fact its opinion should prevail, otherwise it should remain an advisory body.

12. Disputes among nations which have not been settled through negotiations and have been referred to the U.N. should immediately without exception, be sent to the International Court of Justice, and its decisions should be final. And it should be made plain to all nations that judgements by the I.C. J. would not only be final but also binding and sanctions would be used if their implementation is violated.

13. For the enhancement of the prestige of the U.N. and for the proper execution of the decisions taken by the General Assembly of the C.I. J., it is not only desirable but also necessary to establish an international armed force. This force should consist of contributions from all the member-nations on a proportional basis. This force should be under the direct command of the Security Council, which shall be responsible for the execution of all decisions and shall stay at the headquarters of the U.N.O.

14. In order to create a sense of security among all the nations of the world and to restrain the physically big nations of the world from following the course of natural justice and the principle of 'might is right,' there should be an international control over all the Atomic and nuclear weapons as well as other dangerous weapons which can affect the life of humanity. These weapons may be used against a nation only when both the Houses of the General Assembly pass separately a resolution to this effect by at least a three-fourth majority after one month's notice.

15. Any amendment to the Charter also envisage the complete, simultaneous, universal and enforceable disarmament. The armament race must be stopped forthwith. the production of atomic weapons and weapons of mass destruction must be prohibited or controlled. Atomic energy may be used under the supervision and control of the U.N.

16. The sessions of the General Assembly should not necessarily be held in one country only. If other nations invite the sessions to be held in their countries and provide full facilities the sessions may be held in other countries also.

17. For the promotion of international peace and brotherhood, it is desirable that an international language be decided upon. member-States be requested to include this language in their curriculum of educational institutions and to provide full facilities for the expansion and popularity of such a *lingua franca* of the world. Such a decision over the international language may be taken by a three-fourth majority vote of both the Houses of General Assembly, *i.e.*, House of Humanity and the House of Nations.

18. In order to adjust the purposes and principles of the U.N. with the changing times and needs, it is essential to be agreed upon that after every seven years consideration regarding the amendments of the Charter itself should be taken up by the General Assembly and decided upon by at least a two-third majority of the total membership of the Houses and of a three-fourth majority of the members present and voting.

But in the end it may be pointed out that the effecting of amendments in the Charter or completely overhauling it would not set everything right in the Organization, as the trouble lies much deeper. It is more psychological than structural or procedural. What is, therefore, needed is not so much amendment of the Charter, as the creation of an international mind or world outlook, the creation of an appropriate atmosphere and climate which would secure international collaboration. The root of the trouble that besets the organization is a 'fear psychosis' leading to cumulative mutual distrust, suspicion, hatred and

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tween the two power-blocs into which most the member-States are divided." What is quired, therefore, is, that we should first wash hearts, should strive our utmost to remove mutual distrust, fear and hatred among the mber-nations and persuade them to believe tively in the philosophy of 'co-existence,' e and let live. Every nation should try to mmodate, have respect for, those nations who have opposing ideologies. In the words Mr. Dag Hammarskjoeld, the present retary-General of the U.N. :

"The United Nations is a symbol of faith and I ously believe that it is a realistic faith, that peace ssible and within reach, given goodwill."[10]

What is needed, is a change, not merely in the Charter but primarily in our attitude towards others.

"The United Nations is suffering from 'double-thinking' and 'political anaemia', and to cure it, a change in popular attitude and political climate is needed. The world is ridden by imperialism, colonialism and racialism; it is torn and tortured by ideological conflicts."[11]

It is only by the purification of our hearts and our faith in the 'Panch Shila' that the ideal of 'one world' and Tennyson's dream of "the parliament of men, the federation of the world" can be realised.

10. Dag Hammarskjoeld. In his address to the Indian Council of World Affairs on February 3, 1956. Published in *Amrita Basar Patrika* daily, dated 5.2.56.

11. S. A. H. Haggi : *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 4, 1954, p. 342.

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PRODUCTIVITY STUDIES FOR STEPPING UP PRODUCTION IN THE NEXT PLAN

By R. N. BOSE, I.A.S.

ased productivity and increased opportunity for are now accepted as the main objectives in our ing. Though it was early realised that the princi- blem is to secure a continuous increase in produc- by all possible means and though as early as the April, 1948, the industrial policy statement of the rnment of India stressed the need of a dynamic al policy directed towards increased productivity, s early foreseen that more than any other peril might develop from time to time, the ultimate was the chance of a slow drying up of the produc- capacity of the nation as a result of the chequered with its legacy of frustration. The question of production is therefore bound up with the suc- of the next Five-Year Plan and more so because symptoms of a go-slow mentality have been noticed the sectors of our industrial society. Not only it is ary to realise that increased production and pro- for increased opportunities for all kinds of work be the framework within which a solution of our problems may be possible but to this end it is necessary to appreciate the need of productivity for stimulating production.

productivity has often been defined technically as ratio of output to the corresponding input of But this definition of productivity is really an simplification. Productivity is not simply a measure specific contribution of labour or of capital or any other factor of productivity. It reflects the cumulative influence of the operation of a large number of separate though inter-related factors, such as, technological improvement, rate of operation, degree of efficiency achieved in different processes, availability of supplies and the flow of materials and components as well as employer-employee relations, skill and efforts of the worker and efficiency of management. But more than anything else, the problem of productivity is intimately bound up with contentment among workers and their willingness to co-operate.

The broad picture of industrial development in India after independence is one of an initial period of difficulty followed by years of continual rising production. The gross ex-factory value of output increased from 743 crores in 1947 to 1307 crores in 1951. This was also accompanied by a diversification as well as enlargement of the capital base. Another significant factor is that with almost stationary labour for increase of industrial production (1946—100) had moved from 97.2 in 1947 to 108.4 in 1948, to 105.7 in 1949, to 105 in 1950 and to 117 in 1951, in all by nearly 20 per cent. This shows that a process of unnoticed rationalisation and drive for productivity had been going on all the time. The following 2 tables reflect the industrial progress in terms of increases in production as well as in installed capacity in some of the major industries.

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INDEX OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

Year	*Index of Industrial Production* Genl. index	Coal	Cemtnt	Paper and Paper Board
1947	97.2	103.1	93.9	87.8
1948	108.4	10..2	100.7	92.4
1949	105.8	108.9	136.3	97.4
1950	105.0	110.8	169.5	102.7
1951	117.2	118.8	207.2	124.4
1952	128.9	125.4	229.3	129.7
1953	135.1	124.1	245.1	130.4

Cotton cloth	Jute	Chemicals	Steel ingots and metal	Genl. Engg.. and Elec. Engg.
96.2	96.6	102.7	97.1	92.2
110.5	100.2	158.5	97.7	136.5
99.9	84.8	194.3	104.6	167.2
93.8	76.8	229.0	112.0	203.1
104.3	80.4	260.2	388.8	265.7
117.7	87.4	112.0	112.0	233.0
125.1	79.8	515.6	116.5	258.6

Year	Production (revalued at constant prices)	Production workers	Manhours
1946	100.0	100.0	100.0
1947	110.4	107.2	104.3
1948	115.1	111.4	108.4
1949	117.6	109.8	104.0
1950	122.4	105.9	102.6

Output Per Worker	Per manhour	*Unit labour requirements* Production workers	Manhours per unit
100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
103.0	105.8	97.1	94.5
103.3	106.1	96.8	94.2
107.1	113.1	93.4	88.4
115.6	119.3	86.5	83.8

(From census of manufactures—indices of production, employment, man-hour productivity.)

Government of India naturally wanted to step up production more and provide not only financial and administrative framework in which productivity might advance further from the ingenuity of engineers and technicians in devising new innovations and techniques but wanted the imagination, judgment and willingness of the management to accept innovations. At the same time it was agreed that we cannot afford to allow our workers to carry an insufficient workload, specially at a stage when we are rapidly developing the country. Everyone must give a full day's work and should be encouraged to surpass average standards by a comfortable margin. This was the only way "to build up a great State and build up ourselves."

To this end, I.L.O. experts on productivity and systems of payment by results were invited in India in the first week of December, 1952 for a period of six months at the first instance. These experts conducted pilot productivity tests in selected units in the engineering industry in Calcutta, and the textile industry in Bombay and Ahmedabad with the object of demonstrating how productivity and earnings of works can be improved through the application of modern techniques of plant organisation and work study. The increase in productivity arising as a direct result of the team's work has been assessed at between 6 per cent to 36 per cent in the units in the textile indusry and 12.5 per cent to 116 per cent in the engineering industry.

The expert team recommended the establishment of a national productivity centre staffed at the beginning by I.L.O. experts. This had the approval of the Planning Commission and at the Standing Labour Committee held on the 28th July, 1953, the employers welcomed the idea of the Centre and expressed their willingness to share the cost. The workers while welcoming the proposal stressed that the experts should confine their activities to investigations and recommendations.

It was also pointed out that before maximum use can be made of existing equipments, adequate machine maintenance procedure must be introduced. This calls for the increased use of technically trained men in machine maintenance work. Moreover, greater flexibility in the allocation of duties between different jobs was advocated. It was also stressed that the wage structure of the industries must be studied closely on a scientific basis before satisfactory systems of payment by results can be introduced and maximum labour productivity encouraged.

It is hoped that the national productivity centre which is now an established fact will envisage a number of measures concerning improvement of productivity of industry. Its first object will be to assist in the implementation of the proposals of the coming years when industrialisation will be considerably stepped up. It will seek to further the application in India of modern techniques for raising productivity especially those which require little or no new capital investment. The central feature is the application of modern engineering and management techniques for the purpose of raising productivity and earnings by making better use of existing plant and equipment and improving working conditions and human relations.

This would thus be the main task of the productivity centre. This fuller utilisation and this new approach are designed to meet the special needs of India in which capital is bound to be for a long time in short supply in relation to the great and expanding demand for it. As has been well said:

> "Fuller utilisation of existing capacity need not necessarily be the prime consideration in policy. Where such capacity exists increase in production can usually be secured at a diminishing cost per unit. The increase in productivity per unit of resources already employed can make a vital contribution to the increase in total production so urgently needed at the present time."

While it is not necessary to anticipate the programme of action to be pursued by the National Productivity Centre, it is perhaps right to state briefly some of the known snags that stand in the way of productivity

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which are likely to engage the attention of the Centre in due course when the data collected by the Central Labour Bureau is critically analysed by it and a systematic study of the beginnings of different productivity schemes be made.

Regarding payment by results for instance it has been suggested as a result of the experience gained so far to create statutory provision, if need be, for the wage fixing machinery to apply the principle of payment by results wherever feasible. A scientific system for this purpose involves time and motion study to determine the proper workload, job evaluation and the proper setting of piece rates. It is obvious of course that this system of payment by results will have to be supplemented by a guarantee of minimum quantum of work and employment. On the other hand, there will be need to ensure that the system does not work to the detriment of the health of the workers. Piece rates should have to be worked out in such a way that they prove disincentive after the worker crosses a safe maximum output. Thus before wages are fixed service of experts may be necessary to evolve a suitable system of payment by results, if one is not already prevalent in the industry. It is necessary in this context to secure in advance a change in the attitudes of certain sections of labour to the introduction of this system. It may also be necessary to provide for bonuses to individual workers if they show proper care in the use of tools and other equipments and also for saving raw materials.

While productivity over the whole field of organised industry has gone up since 1947, the increase in productivity has not been even in all sectors. In some industries like cement and paper there has been a notable increase both in installed capacity and in production. In certain other industries there has been no rise in installed capacity athough there has been diversification of production. Though the trend in productivity is unmistakable, industries in which output seems to have increased more than 50 per cent are plywood, tea-chests, wheat flour, cement, paper and paper board and the sewing machinery industries. But in some sectors productivity has declined and so the First Five-Year Plan recommended that scientific investigation should be held regarding the complaints of declining productivity. As already pointed out the work done by the teams of productivity experts in demonstrating the possibility of greater output and the establishment of the National Productivity Centre are measures taken in this direction. Now to take a few concrete cases, the productivity in industries is influenced by a variety of technical, economic and institutional factors including the nature of production-process, the capital structure of the industry, the composition of labour force, the availability of materials, the size of markets, the skill of output, scientific research, and exchange of information. The production process at a given stage of technology is generally fixed in advance by certain technical conditions involving physical agents such as heat, pressure and electrical energy and output cannot ordinarily be changed in a major way by the effort of workers alone. In many branches it is only in such operational stages as packaging and maintenance that workers can exert a substantial influence in the quantitative output of the industry. As a result of the nature of the prouction process in some industries the amount of capital invested per worker is very high, in fact, the highest being in the manufactures of chemicals and electrical equipment where the labour force is comparatively small and over one half of the working force commonly consists of indirect labour, while unskilled labour comprises less than one-fifth of the labour force. The high productivity in chemical and electrical industries is therefore directly dependent on the maintenance of a high level of scientific research which has revolutionised the entire chemical ahd electrical industry within the short space of two or three decades.

Though many of the factors are longterm and beyond the control of the individual undertaking in the short term, even here there is great scope for improveing productivity through co-operation by management and workers. Certain basic attitudes are required on the part of the management and workers before progress can be made in raising productivity rapidly. For instance in the chemical industry there should be not only a willingness to accept change but also a capacity to initiate changes which will improve the output achieved in a given input. In short, there is need for a basic stock-taking of attitudes, methods and, technique on the part of both management and workers and for the development of a co-operative and creative approach to the problem of production in most industries.

There are two major ways in which management may raise productivity in most factories : by improving methods of organisation and operation of the existing plant and equipment, and by increasing the effectiveness of available man power resources. Greater utilisation of existing plant and equipment can be achieved by improved plant layout, better materials handling, a planned maintenance programme, effective use of standard cost accounting and standardisation and simplification. Management may achieve the most effective utilisation of available man power resources through the adoption of measures which will take into account the basic motivations of workers, minimise labour discontent and provide for a clear definition of responsibility, and a proper delegation of authority and a recognition of the importance of technical competence in supervisory functions.

Where management has created a favourable environment for increase in productivity, workers and trade unions may contribute to higher productivity in a number of ways, such as, assistance in improving the technical efficiency of the plant, suggestion for developing new methods and techniques of production, the introduction of greater flexibility in apprenticeship sys-

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tem, careful observance of safety-precautions and in general by care and attention to detail in carrying out their often exacting duties.

The training of management and workers to carry out their proper roles in increasing productivity is exceedingly important. As already indicated, careful attention is needed for on-the-job vocational training and a training of supervisors. Better training for members of the management can be achieved by improved facilities as contemplated in the Institute of Business Management and management conferences, and more easily by distribution of reading lists and management bulletins, group meetings, job rotation, committee assignments and multiple management plans.

There is growing interest in the possibilities of utilising the technique of work-study to raise productivity. The purpose of work-study is to analyse work-method in such a way as to stop any waste of materials, power, machine, time or human effort and to design work-method and procedures which will eliminate such waste. It is useful to divide work-study into two main stages, method-study and work-measurement. Method-study comprises selectihg the work to be studied; recording in adequate detail the relevant facts of the existing method; examining each element of the operation critically, and in sequence, developing the best and most economical method in the prevailing circumstances; installing the new method as agreed standard practice, and maintaining the new standard practice by proper control procedure.

Work measurement is the determination by suitable technique of the proper time to be allowed for the effective performance of a specified task, due allowance being made for fatigue. Work measurement is an invaluable tool in increasing productivity in several ways. It helps to ensure that each factory is efficiently manned. It can provide a sound basis for planning and forward loading the work of both men and machines. It is also an important tool of management control. It can provide the means of carrying out a system of labour cost control. It provides an equitable basis for incentive wage schemes. Of the various techniques of work measurement time-study is the most widely used.

A number of technical, organisational and human problems have been encountered in the application of work-study method. The fact must be faced that the results of work-measurement are, as yet at least, highly variable even when carried out by experts and in many cases involve an element of subjective evaluation. Another problem is that of determining work measurement when there has been a sufficient change in method to justify revision of existing rates. There is also some danger that work simplification based on work study may be carried so far as to defeat its own purpose of raising productivity by depriving the work of all interest or meaning for individual workers. This problem may be dealt with in part by more careful selection and placement of workers where monotonous repetitive operations are inescapable and in part through changes in work organisation, enlargement of the content or more mechanization. There is great need for the workers themselves to have more confidence in the work study programme. This will be ensured if a certain number of their own representatives, as well as management officials receive training in work study.

The launching of a work study programme is likely to create certain fears in the mind of the workers as already noted above. Will the increase of productivity through work study method result in unemployment? Will work study involve speeding up which will increase fatigue and may easily be detrimental to workers' health? Management can help to remove the fear of unemployment by assuming responsibility for absorbing as soon as possible any displaced worker by utilising the vacancies created by normal labour turnover and by expansion of capacity. The workers' fear of speeding up can be largely overcome if provision is made to have the checking by trade union representatives of the rates proposed by work-study men. (*i.e.* whether there are disincentives after a certain stage.)

Finally, certain administrative problems may be encountered in the relations between work study staff and operational staff. Sound management principles require that work study remain a functional service and that it always be subordinate to operational management. It is particularly important that work study officers respect the foreman's authority and responsibility for the men under his control.

Since the second World War in all the advanced countries an increased interest has been taken in the system of payment by results as a means of increasing productivity. A number of important problems have been encountered in applying such schemes. In the first place, friction has sometimes developed between different categories of workers as a result of the difficulty of determining accurately the work-content of the various jobs. Because of the complexity of direct production processes, it is often difficult to identity the individual worker's contribution to the total output of the plant. The introduction of process instrumentation has, however, solved this problem to some extent. Difficulties are also encountered in measuring the output of indirect production of some workers such as the maintenance-men.

Some problems are also encountered because of the frequent changes in basic rates. Many unnecessary changes can be avoided if method study of the work measurement of the job concerned has been completed in advance, if there is a provision for a trial period during which any necessary changes may be agreed upon between the management and workers' representatives before the system is finally applied, and if an understanding is reached that modification in rate should occur only for agreed reasons and only in accordance with agreed procedure.

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Quality control is important in all industries and if it is not possible to ensure frequent high inspection it is best not to attempt to put certain types of operations on a payment by results basis.

Several important human problems have also been raised as a result of the introduction of payment by results schemes. In some cases trade unions have opposed such schemes on the ground that they may tend to stimulate aggressiveness, competition, a spirit of rivalry and other individualistic quality in the workers which may, in turn, result in friction and ill-feeling in the factory. Removing any dissatisfaction or opposition that may be encountered on this ground is a problem of human relations requiring the assignment to workers and their representatives of a responsible role in the activities of the enterprise, and consultation on all major problems of mutual interest,—as has been advocated in the First Five-Year Plan and as is likely to gain added emphasis in the second Plan.

A problem sometimes arises because workers at an incentive system are earning higher wages than other workers for whom the management has not yet had the time to conduct the necessary work study. To cope with this situation "in lieu bonuses" have sometimes been proposed pending the proper installation of a payment by results scheme. In some industries again where production is the result of a team rather than individual effort, group incentive schemes may be preferable to individual schemes. The incentive value of such schemes is, however, usually greater, the smaller the groups to which they apply.

A major question in the minds of the workers is whether there is a fair distribution of the savings that accrue to the company as a result of work study and payment by results scheme. Benefits resulting from higher productivity should go to the workers in the form of higher wages or shorter hours or better working conditions. The consumers should also share a benefit in the shape of lower prices. Though no single formula can be devised to ensure an equitable and appropriate distribution of the benefits of productivity in all cases and though each case must be decided on its merit the shareholders' interest should also be kept in view. In the final analysis the success of payment by results plan is dependent on the goodwill, physical efficiency and co-operation of the workers, and the trade union representatives. All these key factors postulate an acceptance of the principle of adequate living wage. As Gandhiji said long ago:

"This adequate living wage touches the very existence of labour and its efficiency depends very largely upon the right kind of living; and the greater the efficiency, the greater the possibility of increased production and of enhanced profits." (*Harijan*, 13. 2. 37).

After this living wage is assured goodwill and co-operation will follow, if management take workers into its confidence from the outset, explaining in advance all features, of the proposed scheme and the reasons for introducing it, and making specific provision for participation by representatives of the workers in the setting up and operation of the scheme as recommended by the I.L.O. Meeting of Experts on System of Payment by Results. This has also been advocated by the Planning Commission.

If improvement in working conditions may lead to an increase in productivity, either for physical reasons (for example, a reduction in fatigue) or for psychological reasons, (for example, by leading the workers to identify more closely with the undertaking in which they work), the converse is also true. The history of social progress shows that higher productivity, in its turn, makes possible further improvement in working conditions while go-slow by workers more often lowers not only productivity but also wages by creating conditions in which "the gradual beating down of the rate of remuneration follows as a corollary of the inferiority of the product itself which makes it unsaleable at accepted prices and which compels the payment of progressively lower wage rates." The manner in which the increased wealth yielded by higher productivity is distributed varies under different circumstances, but better working conditions are certainly one of the desirable ways in which workers may share the benefits of higher productivity.

It is not to be forgotten, however, that productivity is only a means and not an end in itself, and a plan that is conceived only in terms of production may be no plan at all. Planning has got to take into consideration, not only increased production but increased consumption by ensuring more plentiful purchasing power through more employment opportunities.

No country need have a monopoly of progress and the recovery of many war-devastated countries and others which were not sufficiently developed before, go to show that our economy may also change for the better with rising productivity and that it may be possible in a socialistic pattern of society to plan a wide and equitable distribution of the fruits of our common endeavour so that our children at least may have a better life than our own.

National Productivity Centre will, therefore, serve national interests, only if social aims of supplying the needs of the people and raising their standard of living are kept in the forefront of the schemes sponsored by it, if there is a balance of social and technological "Know-How" and if the nation can get not only more goods but a good life for each citizen by converting productivity into higher wages, lower prices and greater consumption.

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ECONOMICS OF MULTI-PURPOSE RIVER VALLEY PROJECTS IN IND

By Prof. K. S. SHARMA M.A., M.COM.

Nature, the architect of architects, has been profusely generous to India. Her choicest gifts to Bharat Varsha are enviable to the people of the world. The hoary land of antiquity is girded with the silver ribbons of untamed rivers meandering their ways through the valleys of velvet created by the depressions in the snow-clad mountains. The murmuring fountains, if tamed properly, can quench the thirsty lands of our country.

Our wealth is neither in gold in the safe vault deposits of Kolar nor the bank balances of our millionaires nor the palaces of the princes and the mansions of the rich, but the bountiful land, the spider's web of rivers, the roaring falls, the thundering clouds, the sky-piercing mountains and the silent valleys. Fed by the inexhaustible snows of Indian mountains and swollen by torrential summer monsoons, our rivers represent tremendous untapped resources to bring about prosperity and plenty in the country. The bulk of the waters of these rivers go waste to the sea. For the proper exploitation of the land and the industrialisation of the country, these rivers can be harnessed to the service of the people. What we lack today is not the opportunity to work but the will and power to work. We have not yet accepted the challenge of prosperity thrown by nature in our country. Nevertheless, our National Government have given a start by means of co-ordinated economic planning.

Multipurpose river valley projects are popular in India today and there are good reasons why this should be so. The dawn of political freedom has made the need for speeding up the country's economic progress urgent. The expectation of a higher standard of living on the part of the masses must be fulfilled within a reasonable space of time. We have to banish famine, abolish poverty, modernise agriculture and set up new industries. Fortunately, we have adequate resources to achieve these objects.

We have got land enough not only to make India self-sufficient in food but also to produce a surplus for those countries which are deficient in food production. Of all the factors which have kept India's agriculture backward, irrigation comes first. Therefore, among the measures that may be adopted for increasing the area under cultivation, the first place should be given for the conservation of water. If our river systems are harnessed more land can be irrigated and brought under cultivation.

Our mineral resources are rich and varied and if cheap power is made available to exploit them a rapid industrialisation of the country can be ensured. India can generate power either from coal or water. Our coal deposits, though immense, are far commensurate with the country's potential requir Moreover, coal is needed for making steel from of which we have large deposits. The need, for husbanding the dwindling coal deposits is A better and perhaps cheaper alternative is to electric energy from the country's water resources are inexhaustible.

On taking stock of the water potentiality we find that it is immense. Experts who have elaborate surveys, would have led us to belie next to U.S.A. India has the best power in the world. Hitherto only a few have been Although we have more acreage under irrigation any other country in the world, we utilise per cent of the flow of our rivers. India more energy from water than any other Asia, yet we are putting to use no more than cent of the water power available in our rivers.

Precious water, which is required to irrigate land and work factories, runs to waste in our In the monsoon season, the rivers overflow, crops, carry away men and cattle, disrupt commu systems and cause soil erosion. At present more harm than good. Properly tamed, become a source of power and wealth. If built and their flow is regulated, their very become a great virtue. With the course of experience, the authorities gradually realised the maximum utilisation of our water resources frame comprehensive multipurpose projects.

Such multipurpose projects to check the flow of these dragon-like rivers are in the They are named as multipurpose because serve a number of purposes which in their bring a number of the following benefits:

(1) *Irrigation* : A multipurpose project envis construction of a dam across the river to impo flood supplies for irrigation. The continuous water will encourage the cultivator to use manu fertilizers on a higher scale than hitherto. His ment in manures and fertilizers will no longer him "a gamble in the monsoon." Fertility will and also the yield per acre. The famines will a thing of the past. With good crops assured year, all forms of enterprises within the region expand and prosper. The cultivable waste land brought under cultivation which will create not only wealth but stability—stability that is for investment and expansion in all the nations world.

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(2) *Power-generation*: Indian rivers have latent in them the colossal reserves of energy which can be transformed into electrical energy only when one cares to do it. When we study Russia we find that a few years ago hydro-electric power stations were quite unknown to them. But now Soviet people are building cascades of hydro-electric power stations on the Volga, the Don and various other rivers. The topography of our country is such that artificial waterfalls can be created for the generation of electricity and this point has been given its due importance in the construction of the multi-purpose river valley projects. The Bhakra-Nangal Project will be the largest producer of hydro-electric energy in comparision with any other river valley scheme.

(3) *Flood Control*: There are rivers in India which are seasonal. In the monsoon seasons they overflow their banks as a result of which the water spreads several miles on both the sides of the rivers. The flood water sweeps away men and cattle, destroys crops and damages roads and railway tracts. The rivers in India are thus giants in destruction. The construction of the dams will impound the flood water in the form of reservoirs which will be utilised in giving a perennial supply of water to the dry lands. The Damodar and Kosi Schemes have given first-rate importance to this element.

(4) *Navigation*: Apart from the objectives of irrigation, power-generation or flood control, many projects aim at navigation also. Damodar Valley Scheme Corporation is much anxious to provide this facility, while the element is completely absent in the Bhakra-Nangal Project.

Cheap and bulky commodities that cannot bear the high charges of transport could be transported easily when facilities would be available.

(5) *Afforestation*: Afforestation will receive new impetus under the multipurpose project scheme. Trees will be carefully selected on the basis of their possible economic yields. Quick-growing trees will preferably be desirable for fuel purposes. The rate of felling and replacement will be carefully worked out to avoid haphazard growth. Cattle will be kept away from the young forests and grazing will be properly regulated. Under carefully supervised forests, the subsoil water level will rise gradually and will thus increase the soil fertility. Moreover, they will prevent the fertile soil from being washed away by fast-flowing water. Green and better grazing will be made available and this will go a long way to remove the scarcity of fodder. With the assured fuel supply, cattle dung will not longer be utilised as fuel but will be used as manure.

Many projects have taken up this scheme. Damodar Valley and Bhakra-Nangal Projects have taken the lead in this respect. The Bhakra-Nangal Scheme has made provision for Rs. 2 lakhs for this purpose. Mulberry trees will be planted on the hill slopes, to prevent denudation, on the banks of canals to prevent the erosion of banks and on the roads to provide shade to the travellers.

(6) *Fish Culture*: Fish culture will also prosper side by side with other schemes. The reservoirs, covering vast areas, will be eminently suitable for fish cultivation. Rivers and canals will also provide a great scope for this industry. The deficiency of protein which has greatly undermined the health of Indians will be removed gradually. Nearly all the projects and more particularly the Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar Valley, Hirakud, Tungabhadra and Machkund Projects have adopted fish culture as a part of their schemes.

(7) *Malaria Control*: Provision has been made for controlling the breed of the malarial mosquito in reservoirs, irrigation canals and other places. As a result of this precaution many of the river valleys will become the most salubrious tracts in India.

(8) *Recreation*: The last but not the least is recreation. The reservoirs with their artificial lakes situated in hilly areas of great scenic beauty, are sure to become attractive recreational centres for the people of modern times; in a few years' time some of these sites would be potential centres of building up a remunerative tourist trade. Many of them like Bhakra, where nature seems to have laid bare her breast are sure to attract people to drink her beauty to their heart's content. Some of them will be popular because of their bracing climate and a few of them will provide facilities for camping, fishing, boating, hiking and sightseeing for the people from all parts of the country.

Therefore, the construction of these mighty dams is the Magna Carta of hope and happiness. Some years after when the schemes are completed, the landscapes of the valleys will be changed completely. Instead of the brown bare rugged hills, there will be neatly terraced hill-sides covered with vegetation and young trees. The schemes tell about the shape of things to come in India—these great rivers made to work for the people, transforming wide barren expanses of the countryside into billowing crop lands and smiling gardens laden with grain and luscious fruits, transmuting its sand dunes into gold, turning the mighty wheels of industry and cutting down human drudgery—in short, taking the people from the abyss of despair and despondency, privation and want, to a paradise of sunshine and plenty, and making the life of the common man richer, fuller and happier.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS FROM BERACHAMPA

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By PARESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A.,
Assistant Curator, Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University

THE locality of Berachampa lies in the Barasat Sub-division of 24-Parganas and its distance from Calcutta is about twenty-three miles. The place with its neighbouring village De-Ganga are not only hallowed with some romantic and pathetic annals of the past, but their extensive mounds also hid most valuable objects of art and archaeology which may excite the imagination of the students of history. The local legends colourfully associate the extensive mounds of Berachampa with the heroic and tragic end of a king named Chandraketu who stood up as a champion of the Hindus against the Islamic wave. There are other legends also which will intimately connect the place with the celebrated astrologer couple Khana and Mihir who are said to have flourished in the Gupta age.

Fig. 1. Terracotta Head of a Yakshi. Berachampa (c. 2nd cent. B.C.)

Although we are not sure whether these semi-mythical stories have any historical basis, the great archaeological importance of Berachampa is a matter beyond any doubt. The most remarkable feature is this that the place so near to Calcutta has yielded from time to time several valuable and unique antiquities which definitely unfold a forgotten chapter in the ancient history of Bengal.

In 1907, Longhurst first carried out an exploration at Berachampa in response to a petition sent by some local gentlemen including one enthusiastic lover of history named Tarak Nath Ghosh. Although, the foreign explorer noted early pottery examples as well as broad and moulded bricks (15"×11") in the area, he was not fully convinced about the real archeological importance of the site. Consequently, no other enquiry of this nature about Berachampa was made until more than a decade after when five rectangular ca were fortunately recovered from the area and their place in the Bang'ya Sahitya Parishat of C As a result of this discovery some of the

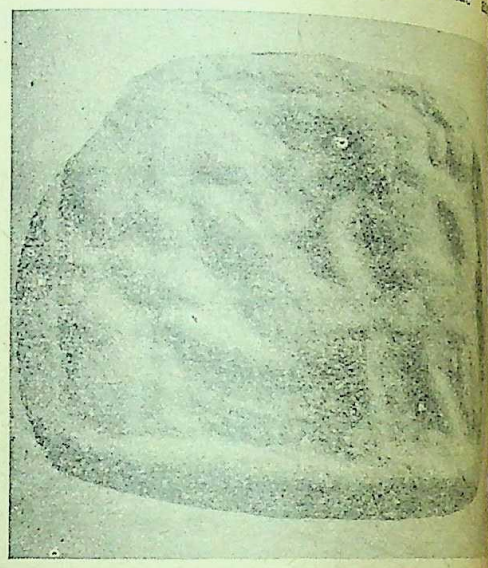

Fig. 2. Terracotta plaque with *Mithuna* m (c. 2nd cent. A.D.)

mounds of the locality came under the protection Ancient Monuments Preservation Act on N 1920, and the then superintendent of the circle arrived at the conclusion that the place w of the earliest settlements of Lower Bengal.[1]

Fig. 3. Terracotta Elephant. Berachamp (Mauryyan?)

After this, again the importance of Berachamp long neglected until several years ago when the Museum of Calcutta University conducted

1. *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, p. 109. R. D. Banerji : *Bangalar Itihas* (in Bengali), Pt. I, P

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preliminary explorations in the area with a view to making a general impression about the site. Finally, the importance of Berachampa was greatly increased only several months ago when a unique terracotta figure of Surya of the Sunga period luckily entered the gallery of the Asutosh Museum as a gift from a local gentleman. Here the Sun-God is standing in his celestial chariot drawn by four horses trampling the brute of nocturnal drakness against whom he has waged a perpetual war. The god is flanked by his two female consorts and behind his head may be seen a halo probably symbolising the solar orb. The turban and jewellery of the figures, as well as the sensitive and almost two dimensional modelling of the figures bear clear traces of the plastic art of the early Sunga period; while it is quite alluring to compare this terracotta with the almost similar depiction of the aerial journey of the Sun among the relief-compositions of Bhaja near Poona.[2]

After the discovery of the Surya figure the present writer carried out a series of explorations at Berachampa on behalf of the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University, which resulted in the discovery of a number of rare terracotta figures, pottery-fragments and coins.[3] The terracotta figurines include some remarkable examples of the art of the Maurya, the Sunga and the Kushan periods. A slightly mutilated figure of an elephant of a toy chariot (Fig. No. 3) displays a massive and vigorous modelling recalling the similar rock-cut elephant of Dhauli in Orissa which seems to be an immortal lithic creation of the Maurya period. The *Yaksha* and *Yakshi* figures of Berachampa belonging to the Sunga period (C. 2nd Cent. B.C.—C. 1st. Cent. B.C.) bear close affinity not only with the relief figures of Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodh-Gaya and Bhaja, but also with the similar terracotta sculptures of various other Indian sites like Kausambi, Patna, Tamralipta, Bangarh and others. The jewellery and ornaments of these figures, which are noted for their delicacy, beauty and abundance are typical of the general Sunga art. The fine head of a *Yakshini* (Fig. No. 1) wears a very elaborate coiffure and jewellary consisting of stringed beads, necklaces and earnings with floral motifs. Here the fashion and style of the hair-arrangement are also interesting as some of the hairs are cropped low and arranged in straight lines upon her forehead. The general style and treatment of the terracotta, which is marked with wonderful loveliness, make it comparable with some of the finest examples of northern India, particularly the so-called 'Oxford figurine' of Tamluk in Bengal. The present figure has also a great resemblance with another terracotta female head from Tamluk (Fig. No. 5) collected by the present writer a few years ago. The general treatment and perspective in both the figurines are similar,

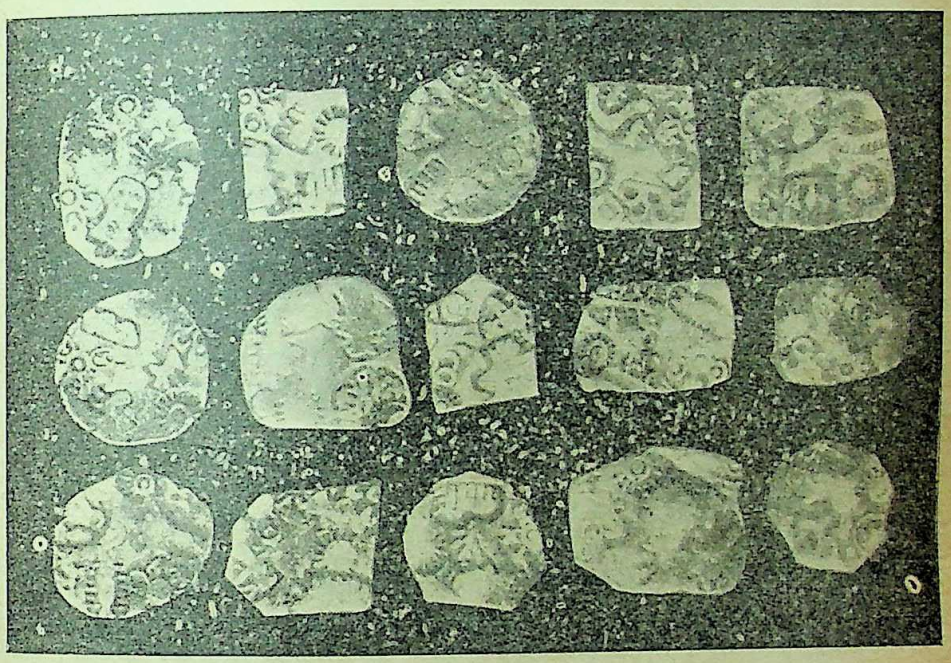

Fig. 4. The Silver Punch-marked Coins from Berachampa

which probably indicates that the Sunga art of Berachampa had a particular link with the contemporary terracotta art of ancient Tamralipta.

The most outstanding example of the present collection from Berachampa is a terracotta rectangular plaque showing the union of a couple (*mithuna*), (Fig. No. 2). Stylistically, this unique plaque may be assigned to C. 2nd. Cent. A.D. *i.e.*, in the Kushan period, while the general treatment makes it comparable with some of the plastic examples of Amaravati. as well as with another terracotta plaque with *mithuna* motif discovered during the Indian Archaeological Department's recent excavations at Tamralipti (or Tamralipta).

A mutilated terracotta moulded *Yakshi* shows an increase of depth in the relief, with a heavy girdle contributing to the fleshy character and the voluptuous trend of the figure. Stylistically, the terracotta may be placed in the 1st Cent. A.D.—2nd. Cent. A.D. Similar types of *Yakshis* were discovered before at Tamluk and Bangarh in Bengal.

A fragmentary terracotta plaque shows the front part of a quaint-looking vessel with riggings and the prow

2. Devaprasad Ghosh, Curator of the Asutosh Museum of Calcutta, first drew the attention of scholars to this remarkable parity.

3. During these brief explorations the present writer received cooperation from the local people, particularly from a gentleman of the place, named Sri Satyen Ray.

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resembling an animal with a waving festoon attached to it. The ship may be compared with the well-known ship-motif of Borobudur in Java, as well as with the sea-going vessels shown in one of the cave-paintings of Ajanta, which probably depicts a scene of the *Mahajanaka Jataka*[4]. In this connection, it may not be entirely irrelevant to point out that there is an opinion that the celebrated ancient port of the Ganges, placed by the classical writers in the coastal Bengal, is to be located in the region of the present village De Ganga just in the vicinity of Berachampa[5]. It is quite curious to note that the author of the *Periplus* (C. 1st. Cent. A.D.) mentions a type of sea-going vessels called 'Kolandia' which plied from the commercial emporium of the Ganges. As Ptolemy (C. 2nd. Cent. A.D.) places the city to the east of Tamralipta, her location amid the contiguous sites of Berachampa, Jhikra and De-Ganga[6] does not seem to be an impossible hypothesis. Being situated in Lower Bengal the region might have some connection with sea in the ancient days. The opinion in favour of this location of the Ganges in 24-Parganas gains ground by the discovery of several pottery fragments rouletted designs at this place which are supposed of Roman origin. Thus, Berachampa has become second site in Bengal after Tamluk yielding Roman type pottery. In Orissa and South-India rouletted have been discovered at Sisupalgad, Arikamedu, hundam, Brahmagiri and Chandravalli proving intimate trade-relation between India and the world in the first few centuries of the Christian era.

That the region of Berachampa flourished in the age of imperial unity under the Mauryas has been suggested by the discovery of numerous fragments of highly black-glazed pottery-vases which are generally recognised as Mauryyan.

Several pieces of stamped pottery are highly interesting, as the motifs not only consist of leaf-designs or like symbols, but also very archaic types of animal figures. A lot of fifteen silver punch-marked coins covered from the place lend further support to the idea (Fig. No. 4). The present coins recall a lot of punch-marked coins from a place in 24-Parganas in the last century[7], and they show many early symbols of which seem to be quite rare. A description of the coins is given below :

4. G. Yazdani : *Ajanta*, Vol. I, Plate xix.

5. *Banglai Bhraman* (written in Bengali) : Published by the Eastern Railway, Pt. I, p. 46. Sometimes, the port is identified with Tamralipta.

6. The name De Ganga may have some connection with Adi Ganga or the old course of the Ganges. For some important observations about the old course of the Ganges, See *District Gazetteer of 24-Parganas* : By L. S. S. O'Malley ; Calcutta, 1914, p. 8.

7. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1879, p.

Serial No.	Shape	Obverse Symbols	Reverse Smbols
1.	Square[8]	Sun, scorption, hollow cross surrounded by four round pellets, dots and arrow-heads (?) within frame.	Radiating sun, dots and traces other symbols.
2.	Square	Fish, sun, tree (with fruits), six-armed symbol and mountain.	Dots, sun, six-armed symbol etc.
3.	Square	Sun, tree, six-armed symbol with alternate fish and taurines, and Rabbit.	Sun (or star), taurine symbol etc.
4.	Square	Six-armed symbol with alternate arrow-heads (or *chhatras* *i.e.*, parasols) and taurines, Sun, elephant etc.	Traces of few symbols.
5.	Round	Fish, sun, six-armed symbol, animal, tree (palm tree)	Plain
6.	Round	Scorpion (or river), six-armed symbol, sun, rabbit on a mountain.	Fish in a tank (?), Semi-circle.
7.	Square	Sun, three circles around an axis, rabbit on a mountain, six-armed symbol.	Plain
8.	Round	Sun, tree, bull (or elephant), six-armed symbol and circle with a pellet inside.	Plain
9.	Square	Sun, tree, six-armed symbol, rabbit etc.	Two sun-symbols, dots, zigzag etc.
10.	Square	Sun, elephant, *Jayadhvaja*, six-armed symbol, bull etc.	Tree
11.	Square	Sun, *Jayadhvaja*, bull on a mountain, elephant and six-armed symbol.	Sun and slight traces of illegible symbols.
12.	Square	Two mountain-symbols of three arches, two fish in a river, sun and six-armed symbol.	Sun.
13.	Square	Six-armed symbol, sun, tree, elephant and bull	Traces of a symbol (three fish ?)
14.	Square	Sun, elephant, tree, six-armed symbol and bull	Plain.[9]
15.	Square	Sun, frog, three circles around an axis, rabbit etc.	Dots, and traces of other symbols

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As it has been already pointed out, some of the symbols as enumerated above are quite rare if not completely new on silver punch-marked coins. Thus, the hollow cross, bull on a mountain, and arrow-heads within frame are remarkable in their character and type. When Allan composed his well-known book on the *Indian* coins in the British Museum, he came to the conclusion that the hollow-cross symbol was completely absent on the silver punch-marked coins. Thus, he remarked :

"A striking feature about the symbols on the silver punch-marked coins is the complete absence of some well-known Indian symbols very common on other series of coins, such as the Swastika and simple triskeles, the so-called Ujjain symbol in its various forms, and the Nandipada so common in more or less elaborate forms elsewhere, the hollow cross common at Taxila."[10]

Economy

Now, a minute study of the silver punch-marked coins from Berachampa will naturally make us revise the conclusion of the famous numismatist regarding the association of hollow cross with the silver punch-marked coins which along with the copper-types undoubtedly constitute the earliest coinage of Bengal.

The buried treasures of Berachampa make a long way to prove that the region with a circular chain of mounds preserves most valuable relics of the past, which when scientifically unearthed will surely unfold a fascinating chapter of the forgotten history of Bengal. The red-slipped wares, the black-glazed pottery, the Maurya and Sunga terracottas, as well as the punch-marked and cast coins evidence the growth and development of a high-grade civilisation in the region of Berachampa which probably made a great contribution to the general culture and prosperity of the ancient *Prachya i.e.*, eastern India.

Fig. 5. Terracotta Yakshi, Tamluk (Ancient Tamralipta, C. 1st cent. B.C.)

8. The terms 'square' and 'round' should not be taken too literally.

9. There are various interpretations regarding the true meaning of the symbols of the punch-marked coins. No doubt, many of these symbols have a pre-historic character.

10. J. Allan's *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, Intro. p. xxiii.

———:O:———

EGYPTIAN COTTON CULTIVATION INDISPENSABLE FOR WEST BENGAL

By SARADA CHARAN CHAKRABORTY

It is nearly 20 years ago that I began cultivation of Egyptian cotton as Agricultural Officer of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills Ltd. There had been many difficulties in the beginning, as the climate and soil of the place of its origin, are very different from Bengal. With the kind help of the Calcutta University, who undertook Research work on the subject, the difficulties were removed. Since then, I have been cultivating it every year with success and have succeeded in acclimatizing it. My cultivation of cotton have been acclaimed every year by experts as follows :

(1) "An unprecedented thing in the history of India."—Bengal Mill Owners Association.

(2) "The cotton has staple length above 1-5|16" and is fit to spin 80s warp."—The Mohini Mills Ltd.

(3) "The cotton is good with staple length of 1-7|16"."—The Kesoram Cotton Mills Ltd.

(4) "I could not believe before I saw its cultivation this season 1954-55 in the Bhagirathi Silpasram, Nadia, that such superior cotton can be grown in India. Both from quality and quantity of yield it is commendable."—T. P. Chakrabarty, Mng. Agent, Sri Annapurna Cotton Mills and The Mohini Mills, Member I.C.C.C.

(5) "I had the pleasure to visit the plots under Egyptian cotton for 1955-56 in Shamnagar (24-Parganas). The plants had strong bolls, just beginning to burst. A rapid examination of Karpas in field revealed that the fibre was long, fine, silky and strong, etc." 28-11-55. Sd/- R. S. Sankaran, M.A.

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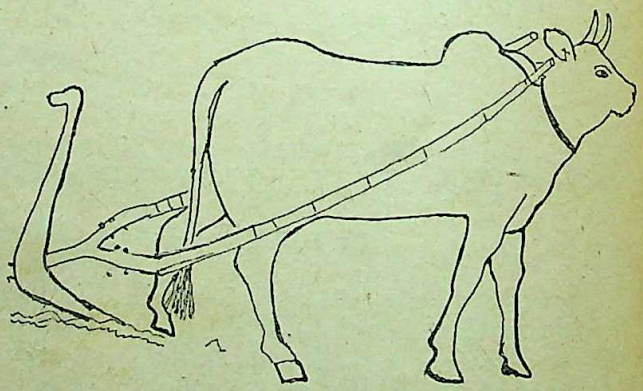
Ph.D. (London), D.L.C., Dy. Secretary, Indian Central Cotton Committee.

The price of this cotton is more than double that of the American cotton. The cost of cultivation is Rs. 300 to Rs. 500 per acre and yield of seed-cotton is 6 to 9 mds. per acre which at Rs. 70 comes to Rs. 420 to Rs. 630 and is always profitable. Owing to the gradual increase in demand for such cotton. The Cotton Mills have to depend entirely on foreign imports for such superior cotton. To stop this heavy drain of money, the Central Government has been the I.C.C. financing in full for 15 years from F... 1954, all schemes to cultivate cotton with staple of ... and above. (Letter No: F—1—14|55 II, dated ... December, 1954 re-iterated on 7-6-55 to the S... Indian Central Cotton Committee from the ... Secretary to Government of India, Ministry of ... and Agriculture, New Delhi).

Egyptian cotton showing excellent growth at the Calcutta University Agricultural Field Station at Mandori, Haringhata

Almost all the States in India as Bombay, M... Mysore, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Behar, Assam ... taken advantage of this help. Considering the importance of this cultivation I hope West Bengal ... late, which has been producing cotton with ... of 1 5|16 and above for the last few years, may ... such cotton with the above help; further, the recent ... ing of the Government Cotton cultivation scheme ... 3 years from 1950 to 1952 has proved that Am... cotton grows well in this State. So there is no ... why Egyptian cotton, acclimatized here, will not ... have similarly. Recent opinions on this cotton, ... above, are also encouraging. If the Agri... Department apprehend difficulties, they have a ... equipped Research-Institute staffed by eminent ... which they can easily utilize for smooth working ... the scheme. Even in Egypt, a heavy amount is ... spent to maintain a Research Institute to help the ... cultivation and improvement of cotton. It is ... that the Calcutta University has taken up ... cultivation for 1955-56 in their Haringhata field ... at Mandori, 6 miles on the bus route from Kan... (E. Rly.) to Haringhata (Nadia), and I ... supervise the general cultivation. Their object ...

Egyptian cotton field at Shamnagar (1955-56) Grower and others to show relative heights of cotton plants



One-bullock-driven plough
Hand-driven plough

study the Botanical, Agronomical and Economic ... of its cultivation. Cultivation for 1955-56 at Sha... (E. Rly.) 24-Parganas is being sponsored by ... Annapurna Cotton Mills under my supervision ...

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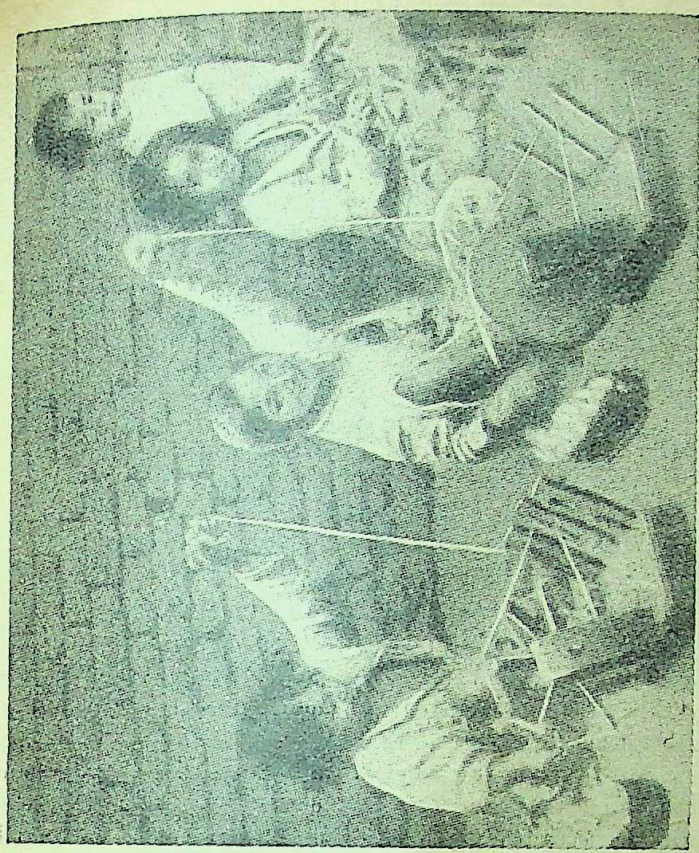
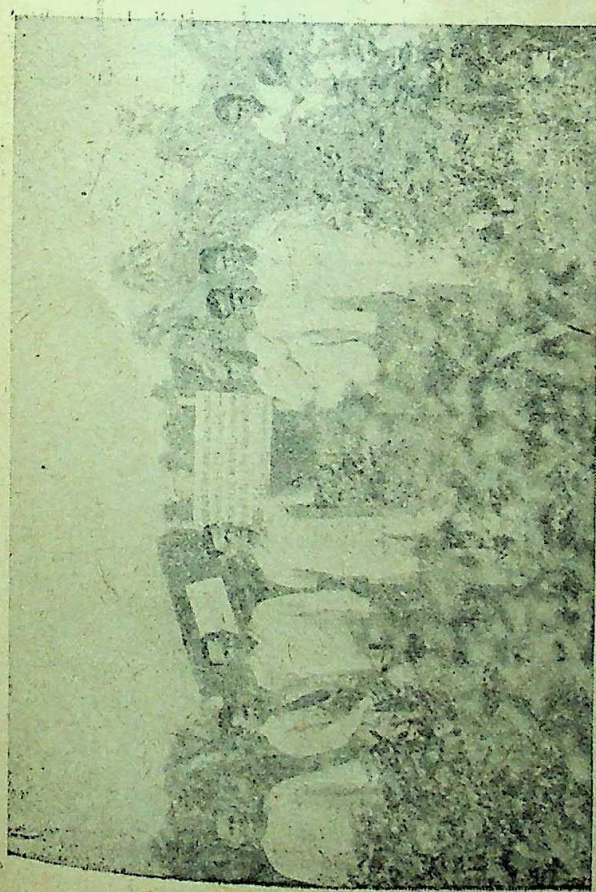


Children spinning



Egyptian cotton grown (1955-56) at Shamnagar, 24-Parganas. Sponsored by Sri T. P. Chakraborty. Member, I.C.C.C. and Managing Agent, Sri Annapurna Cotton Mills and The Mohini Mills, Ltd. Photo taken by Bose & Co., Shamnagar, on 28-11-55 during inspection by Dr. R. Sankaran, Ph.D. (Lond.), D.I.C., Dy. Secretary, I.C.C.C. *Left to right* : (1) Sri T. P. Chakrabarty, (2) Dr. H. Choudhury of the State Agricultural Department, (3) Dr. R. Sankaran, (4) Stand for a Bee Box kept in the field to increase yield, (5) Sri M. Ghosal, (6) Sri Sarada Charan Chakraborty, the grower

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only 10 minutes walk from the Railway station near the above Mills. All interested in its cultivation are invited to see them personally. The Dy. Secretary, I.C.C.C., when inspecting the cultivation at Shamnagar, requested me to cultivate at least 5 acres in 1956-57. In case, any one undertakes its cultivation, I am ready to place my long experience and supervision at his disposal. I generally undertake supervision with guarantee about quality of above 1¼" staple and yield of at least 6 per acre. Considering its great economic possibititics the Community Development Authorities may will undertake it to benefit cultivators. The advantages of its cultivation are as follows :

(1) It can be grown as mixed crop w[illegible] paddy.

(2) Its high price is bound to [illegible] cultivation profitable and improve the con[illegible] cultivators.

(3) Wide introduction of its cultiva[illegible] to a great extent stop the heavy drainage o[illegible] money spent in importing high quality cotto[illegible]

(4) This will further, if widely culti[illegible] small quantities also, make cotton easily avai[illegible] ordinary and Ambar Charkha spinning indu[illegible] as one of the means. to solve the persent [illegible] ment problem among villagers.

———:O:———

RAJIAH—THE CREATIVE ARTIST

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

THIRTY-ONE-year-old K. Rajiah, a humble Art Teacher, by profession, who hails from Siddipet Taluk in Hyderabad State is a creative artist whose significant accomplishment as a highly original painter of mythological and *genere* studies in the folk and decorative art styles entitle him to a place of honour among Indian artists, who, without ignoring tradition and technique, have produced outstanding works in the truly Indian style. He belongs to the small, successful and noteworthy group of young Hyderabad artists, the others in the distinguished group being Badri Narayan and D. Doraiswamy, whose works have deservedly won fame essentiall[illegible] cause of their gay and bright colours, fresh and [illegible] imagination, firm and flowing lines, and [illegible] Indian patterns and prototypes. It is certa[illegible] these three extraordinarily gifted artists will cr[illegible] history when their works attain maturity of co[illegible] expression.

Born in a poor family with no artistic or [illegible] background, and waging an incessant war against [illegible] of unfavourable environments, Rajiah the boy was [illegible] mined to become an artist, and so he worked h[illegible]

A Village Belle at Leisure
(water colour painting)

Village Women to a Festival
(tempera painting)

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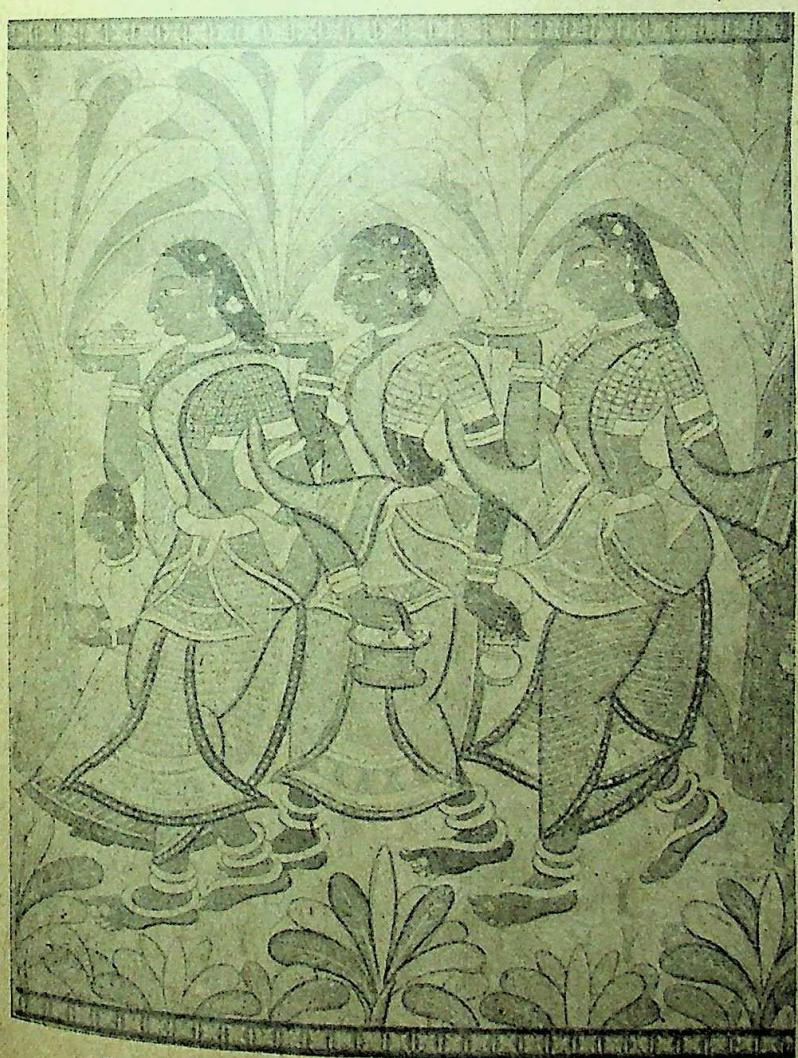
Harvesting (*water colour painting*)



Steps towards Devotion (*water colour painting*)

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won success. While a student of Fourth Form he gave up his studies and joined the Hyderabad School of Arts in 1943 where he always won the first place in the examinations. The famous artists Syed Ahmed and Sukumar Deushkar taught Rajiah to draw and colour

Potters (*water colour painting*)

with meticulous care, to value tradition and technique but not to be their slave. They encouraged him to sketch from life in the villages. The advice of these stalwarts and a careful study of the cave paintings of Ajanta have been the primal inspiration for Rajiah's art which is remarkable for its current vitality notwithstanding its traditional inspiration.

Since 1953 Rajiah has been exhibiting his realistic, imaginative, primitive, and colourful paintings in vibrant style, enlivened with deft dashes of lyrical and romantic flavour, in the leading art shows in India and abroad and winning honours in quick succession. "The young artist of Telengana" soon came to be recognised in art circles as a painter of solid achievement with a resplendent future, and his works begun to be acquired for top-ranking States and private collections all over the

Rajiah paints on mounts, plywood and card using tempera and water colours in daring contra adopting modern styles of art expression. The vital folk tradition and ing decorative idiom have influenced his art which has the reme virtues of simplicity of pleasing colour harmony, and and intimate emotional effect vigorous and aesthetically statement of form and the ing expression of the dominan render his paintings fascinating quite extraordinary. In any Art bition, his paintings compel by their rhythmic organisation and colour, ornate patterning, arming *naivete*. His glamorous of sombre colours is obvious ing and striking and is of the lofty achievements famous masters of mural art. green, yellow, blue and are used with consummate virtuosity by Rajiah, the of primary colours. He

Telengana Festival (*water colour painting*)

From the Well (*Vasantam*) (*water colour painting*)

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lidity, plastic continuity, and coherence through bold mposition. In the interpretation of mythological emes Rajiah conceives them with greatness of imagi- tion and construction, laying emphasis on strength d movement, giving the illusion that life is rich and ous. Areas of colour are definitely and unmistakably arated from one another to create brilliant pictorial ect. His convincing interpretations of common sub- cts in Indian idiom in a new, original, and progressive nique is of astonishing merit.

A Girl at Garland-making
(*water colour painting*)

It is refreshing to find that his passionate love of and increasing fascination for folk and decorative idioms have not driven him to resort to cheap, weird, and gro- tesque exaggerations of form and style, and to play havoc with the grace of line, the harmony of colour, and the balance of composition. His art is a happy yet original blending of folk art, decorative idiom, the lyricism and dramaticism of Indian painting, and modern influences in manner and method. But it is not hybrid, not imita- tive; it is essentially Indian in soul, drawing its abundant form and strength from the spontaneous reaction to the infectious immediacy of life itself which envelopes the sensitive artist in its endless variety and complexity of form, texture and colour. He has a spontaneity of ex- pressing his own emotional reactions to life which are so fundamental a part of his racial tradition.

A hardworking artist with a discerning and insati- able appetite for colour, sometimes archaic, Rajiah re- duces line and form to absolute simplification and balances his compositions with perfect ease and grace, and makes his studies compelling in vigour, vitality and charm.

K. Rajiah

The beauty of form and design and the spectacular con- trast of colours in Rajiah's paintings invest his art with rare grandeur, wonderful pictorial effect, and popular appeal. Whether he paints a bloody *Cockfight*, the favourite pastime of the village folk, or the hard life of the *Veddars*, poor stone-cutters, or a colourful *Telengana Festival*, or a *Koya Couple* belonging to the wandering primitive tribe, or village life such as *Girl at Garland making*, *Finishing the Toilet*, *Harvesting*, *Flower Maiden* and *From the Well* (*Vasantam*), or Puranic themes like *Bata ratrasayi* (Sri Krishna on the peepul leaf), *Anna Data* (Balaram and Krishna) and *Humanism* (Sri Rama fondling the helpful squirrel, and Lakshmana), Rajiah the creative artist vividly visualises them in a

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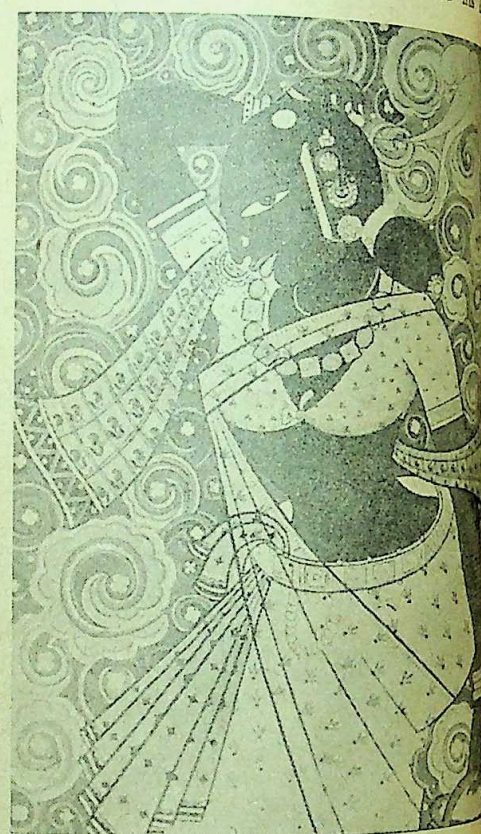
realistic-*cum*-idealistic manner and remains first to last true to typically traditional inspiration. In all these paintings the feeling for figures, tackling of space with taste and sensibility, the powerful handling of rich saturated colours, formalised but not rigid contours, and flat yet resplendent colour patterns, extort admiration. His fine pastoral study in tempera, *The Heartless Shepherd* illustrates his evocative dexterity and the delicate handling of animal motifs which renders his compositions tender and touching. His art provides both

Humanism (Sri Rama fondling the helpful sqirrel and Sri Lakshmana) (*water colour painting*)

anandam and *vinodam* to the looker-on and helps him to recognise the true, the good and the beautiful in humanity, nature and mythology. Rajiah's art recalls to mind Gaugin's saying that "in the creation of a picture the eye is not to play a more important part than feeling and reason." He has achieved a rare mastery over the language of indigenous Indian painting.

An exceptionally gifted and resolute artist who sees all the colour and light, multiple form and rich lyricism and romanticism of humanity around him and in Hindu mythology, prets them in his own inimitable way in firm lines, and warm and pleasing colours, for his tation and for imparting joy to others, and ously follows the age-old "Indianism", young one of India's few truly national painters future. Too genuine an Indian artist with the humble art-teacher who has dedicated his



Flower Maiden (*water colour painting*)

Art, has not fallen a victim to the glamour of name and does not imitate the language of the "isms" in Art. His best work is yet to be, for his creative faculty, mastery over lineal expression arrangement of form and colour, and abundant his great motherland are sure to capture newer of aesthetic expression.

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THE AMBAR CHARKHA AND OUR ECONOMY

By P. SRINIVASACHARI,
Gandhi Vichar Parishad, New Delhi

The invention of the Ambar Charkha could not have taken place at a more opportune moment than the present one when the best minds of the country and of those in authority are engaged in formulating a second Five-Year Plan. It is really a strange coincidence that while the plan lays great emphasis on heavy industries and concerted efforts are made to build our economy on solid foundation of large-scale industrial structure, the Ambar Charkha should have made its appearance, holding a great prospect for the de-centralization of the major industry of our country. Those who are well versed with the situation prevailing in the rural areas hail the invention as they find in it a great opportunity to solve the unemployment problem. The Ambar Charkha, it is claimed, will meet the requirements of yarn of handloom weavers and will go a long way to mitigate their sufferings. But some, on the other hand, are sceptic about the place of the Ambar Charkha and the role it can effectively play in the present set-up of an industrial age. Needless to dwell upon, that an invention of this kind should have brought in its wake a bitter controversy in expressing doubts about its potentialities and also on the wisdom of making use of it on as wide a scale as possible in contrast to the centralized method of production now in vogue. The fact that the controversy rages at the ministerial level and sharp differences of opinion are expressed by those in responsible positions shows that the invention of the Ambar Charkha cannot be brushed aside as of no important significance; and it has made its claims to be felt even at the highest quarters. But it should be borne in mind that while evaluating its claims we should not be guided by sentiments and that for a correct appraisal of its role in contributing to our economic progress we should take into account the actual conditions existing in our country and should not ignore or underestimate the difficult problems that demand our utmost attention.

The chief criticisms that are levelled against the Ambar Charkha are that (i) it will not be able to meet the yarn requirements of the handloom weavers, especially when the handloom industry is expected to meet the increasing demand of the public for cloth during the second Five-Year Plan and (ii) the production of yarn through the Ambar Charkha will not be economical and can be undertaken only at a greater cost to the public or will involve large subsidies from the government.

Let us briefly examine how far the criticisms mentioned above hold good and analyse the place of the Ambar Charkha in the national economy.

Yarn Requirements of the Handlooms

The number of handlooms in the country according to the figures furnished by the All-India Handloom Board (based on latest census) is 2.8 millions. There are about 2 lakh of handlooms engaged on silk and about 80,000 on wool. Leaving out about 5 lakhs of domestic looms in Assam, Manipur and Tripura, the total number of looms engaged on cotton comes to about 20 lakhs. If we take the average daily production by a handloom weaver as 6 yards, these 2 million handlooms—if they work to their full capacity (300 days in a year)—should be capable of producing at least 3,600 million yards in a year. The production of the 5 lakh domestic handlooms should come to about 900 million yards. But the actual total production by handlooms has been estimated as 1,500 million yards of cloth for the year 1954. This figure shows an improvement when compared to the figures of the previous years thanks to the various ameliorative measures taken by the Government in the interests of the handloom weavers.

The production of 1,500 million yards as against the inherent capacity of the handlooms to produce more than 3,000 million yards clearly indicates that quite a large number of looms, nearly half the number of the total number of looms existing in the country, are remaining idle. Even those looms that are active are not working to their full capacity. The Textile Enquiry Committee has estimated that only 1.2 million handlooms are effectively working. The production of 1,500 million yards by the handlooms points out clearly that even the 1.2 million looms that are active are run only for 200 days in a year. Thus one finds unemployment as well as underemployment prevailing on a large scale in the handloom industry.

The reason for this sad state of affairs cannot be traced to any one particular difficulty facing the industry, as the grave situation threatening it has not arisen all of a sudden but as a result of the cumulative effects of neglect and lack of proper policy of the Government all these years. But it cannot be gainsaid that the chief cause for the acute distress experienced by the industry is due to the utterly inadequate supply of yarn. The weaver is not provided with a regular supply of yarn of uniform quality at economic price. For instance, if all the 2.5 million handlooms are to be active, the total quantity of yarn required will be about 900 million pounds per year. But the supply of yarn available to the handlooms is far below their actual requirements. During the three years ending 1952, the free yarn available to the handlooms was 204 million, 282 million and 343 million pounds, respectively. It can be seen that the handlooms get with great difficulty only a third of their requirements of yarn. It is no wonder that a large number of looms are remaining idle and the present active looms also are not working to their full capacity.

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Dependence on Mills

The handloom industry has to depend completely on the mills for the meagre supply of yarn. It is curious that the weaver has to depend for his primary raw material upon his chief rival. By the time supply of yarn reaches him the cost of yarn is 10 to 20 per cent more than the cost to the mills. This precarious dependence on the mill industry and the high cost of yarn account largely for the present plight of the handloom industry. From the experience of the past many years it has been found that the virtual dependence on the mills for the supply of yarn has not in any way contributed to the progress of the handloom industry. As it will be evidently clear from the following table, in spite of the vast expansion in the production in the mill sector during the last thirty years the total quantity of yarn available to the handlooms has remained more or less constant.

Yarn available for consumption in India *
(In million lbs.)

Year	Production of yarn by Indian mills	Balance of yarn for sale in India after consumption by Indian mills and export
1922-23	706	335
1930-31	867	339†
1940-41	1,349	451†
1952-53	1,478	472

The production of mill yarn has increased from 700 millions to nearly 1,500 millions but there is no appreciable increase in the supply of yarn available to the handlooms commensurate with the rapid increase in the mill production. The handloom industry, unlike the mill industry is not concentrated mainly in any particular area but is spread out far and wide in the country. The best way of providing relief to the weavers is to take adequate steps that will enable them to get regular supply of yarn of good quality in their own neighbourhood instead of depending on mills in far-off places. If regular supply of yarn is assured, not only will the 1.2 million handlooms that are active for only 200 days in a year be enabled to work to their full capacity but also more than a million handlooms remaining idle can be actively engaged. If we evaluate the immense benefit arising from this measure in terms of employment it will be found that more than a million persons who are now partly employed will be fully employed and in addition to this fresh wholetime employment will be created for nearly 1.5 million persons. It should not be forgotten that the handloom industry has been existing in our country from time immemorial and today it is the largest single cottage industry in existence, and stands next only to agriculture in providing employment to our people. It is [illegible] necessary to point out that only such measures that provide employment on a large scale and also succour to this languishing industry will be effective in relieving the distress of the teeming [illegible] and also will be suitable for an underdeveloped economy like ours.

Handlooms and the Second Five-Year Plan

The Planning Commission has provisionally [illegible] down the target for the total production of cloth [illegible] 8,700 million yards by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan period. This represents an increase of about [illegible] million yards from the present level of cloth production of 6,700 million yards, of which the share of the [illegible] powerlooms and handlooms comes to 5,000 million yards, 200 million yards and 1,500 million [illegible] respectively. According to the estimate of the Planning Commission the target fixed is to be achieved [illegible] increasing the production of handlooms to 3,200 [illegible] yards, an increase of 1,700 million yards from the present output. The Karve Committee also, after giving [illegible] allowance for the increase in the national [illegible] estimated to accrue by the end of the plan period [illegible] also for the increase in population during the period [illegible] has calculated that the total demand for cloth including for exports of 1,000 million yards may come to about 8,450 million yards.

We have already seen that the handlooms [illegible] easily produce more than 3,000 million yards, if [illegible] required quantity of yarn was supplied to them.

Supply Through the Mills no Solution

It has been arrived at that the additional requirements of yarn to bring about the increase in production contemplated on a five-year phased programme will [illegible] about 400 million pounds. There is no doubt that [illegible] additional requirements of yarn can be had from [illegible] mills. If proper steps are taken the mills can be [illegible] to meet the entire requirements of the handloom [illegible] by installing new spindles. But as experience has [illegible] the increase in mill production will not of its [illegible] accord help the handloom industry to tide over [illegible] crisis and make further progress. Moreover, the [illegible] of increasing the supply of yarn through the mills [illegible] not touch even the fringe of the unemployment problem [illegible] not to speak of the dire necessity at present to [illegible] immediate gainful employment to the vast labour [illegible] that is remaining idle or only partly employed for [illegible] of sufficient work. This will be evident from the [illegible] that even after a century of progress of the textile industry and in spite of the fact that more than [illegible] crores have been invested in it and the mill industry [illegible] supplying almost the entire requirements of [illegible] three-fourths of our total consumption of [illegible] the number of hands directly employed in it is [illegible] about 71 lakhs. This is far less than the [illegible]

* Figures from the *Eastern Economist Records and Statistics*, January, 1954.

† The actual quantity of yarn available to the handlooms is much less than this figure, as provision has to be made for the consumption of yarn by the power-looms and hosiery industries.

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pendent on the handloom industry alone. Hence, from the larger point of view of the all-round economic progress of the nation, the policy of encouraging textile mills will be a negative approach in the task of wiping out unemployment.

The Ambar Charkha

It is precisely because of its capacity to provide additional supply of yarn to meet the requirements of the handloom industry and also give full-time occupation to millions in the process, the Ambar Charkha has established its claim over the mill industry and demands the utmost consideration while planning for the development of the country. It should be made clear that it is not the blind veneration of the past or attachment to any sentiment but that the pressing problems of the day compel us to understand the vital role the Ambar Charkha can play in our economy.

Suitability of Ambar Yarn

The Ambar Charkha is a four-spindle, hand-operated modern spinning wheel. It is simple in structure and mechanism and most of its parts are either locally available or can be easily made locally. The counts of yarn that can be spun on it are in the range of 12's to 40's even though higher counts can be spun depending on the types of cotton and slivers made thereform. The output of yarn on it is, on an average, 16 hanks of 20's per day of 8 hours. Intensive field tests and experiments conducted in different parts of the country have shown that the Ambar yarn is as good as the reeled mill yarn and the Charkha is capable of producing yarn of good quality acceptable to the handloom weavers.

The yarn spun on the Ambar Charkha is also suitable for producing such varieties of cloth that are popularly in great demand in our country. The bulk of the production and consumption of cloth in our country consists of coarse and medium varieties. It will be evident from the tables given below, giving the trend of production that almost our entire production of yarn is within 40's and more than 80% of our demand for cloth consists of qualities falling within this range.

Table 1*

Production of yarn in various count groups from 1950-51 to 1953-54 (in thousand lbs.)

Year April March	Upto and including 20's	Per cent of 2 to 8	Above 20s including 40's	Per cent of 4 to 8	Above 40's	Per cent of 6 to 8	Total
1950-51	643,658	54.53	415,460	35.23	119,986	10.18	1,179,104
1951-52	735,734	55.17	470,376	35.27	127,578	9.57	1,333,688
1952-53	908,730	61.53	482,585	32.68	85,456	5.78	1,476,771
1953-54	921,210	60.65	484,076	31.85	114,065	7.50	1,519,351

Table 2†

Production of cloth of different varieties from 1950-51 to 1953-54 (in thousand yards)

Year April March	Total Production	Coarse	Per cent of 3 to 2	Medium	Per cent of 5 to 2	Fine	Per cent of 7 to 2	Superfine	Per cent of 9 to 2
1950-51	3,717,502	401,446	10.8	1,644,401	44.2	1,406,418	37.8	265,237	7.1
1951-52	4,134,123	361,320	8.8	2,332,193	56.9	1,163,482	28.1	257,128	6.2
1952-53	4,757,402	644,141	11.4	2,816,410	59.1	1,183,815	24.9	213,036	4.6
1953-54	4,905,227	591,683	12.1	3,270,302	66.7	717,795	14.7	325,447	6.6

The production of superfine cloth forms only a negligible percentage of the total production. The handlooms, we should not forget, are depending mostly on imported yarn for producing fabrics of finer quality. Taking these facts into consideration it is necessary to emphasize that the yarn manufactured from the Amber Charkha ranging from 12's to 40's will greatly help in increasing the production of types of cloth by the handlooms as well readily meet the felt requirements of the people at large.

Employment Potentialities

It has already been pointed out that in order to increase the production of handlooms to 3,,200 million yards the additional quantities of yarn required will be about 400 million lbs. The increase in the supply of yarn can be brought about, according to the scheme submitted by the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board, by the introduction of 25 lakhs of Ambar Charkhas during the Second Five-Year Plan period. The production of yarn by the Ambar Charkhas to meet the rising demand of the handlooms will provide direct employment, full time, to nearly 50 lakhs of people.

Apart from 50 lakhs of spinners, the provision of regular supply of yarn, as pointed out already, will give enough work to 15 lakhs of handloom weavers and

* Figures from M. P. Gandhi, *Indian Textile Industry Annual.*
† Ibid.

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also enable the 10 lakhs of weavers who are at present remaining idle for part of the year to be active throughout the year.

We should not overlook the fact that the total number of persons directly employed by all the industrial units in the country coming under the Factories Act comes to about only 3 millions. Hence, the stupendous task of providing gainful employment to the idle labour force would be greatly eased by this single measure of undertaking the production of yarn in a de-centralised manner.

Remuneration

The spinners working on the Ambar Charkha can on an average earn about As. 12 a day. This is not a low remuneration when we consider the ruling agricultural wages and the enforced idleness of the army of unemployed persons in the country. The income of the spinners compares favourably with the per capita national income (Rs. 275), which represents not the average income of every person but is arrived at after taking into account the income of those who earn many times more than this figure. It is needless to point out that the income of the vast majority of the people is actually less than the figures of the per capital national income. The recent survey conducted by the Government brings to light the plight of the agricultural labourers, *i.e.*, those who are mere casual labourers.

Number of agricultural labourers—350 lakhs.
Scope for work per capita :
Average No. of days in a year—189 days.
Annual income—Rs. 104.
Expenditure—85 per cent on food, 6 per cent on clothing and foot-wear, remaining on miscellaneous items.
Indebtedness—45 per cent indebted, average debt for indebted family Rs. 105.

A vast number of people in rural areas are occupied only for half the period in a year. Their income also is very meagre, and, it is not surprising that nearly half of them are indebted. And whatever little they earn is hardly sufficient just to make both ends meet, and they do not have any other resources to spend on such necessary items like education, medicine, recreation, etc. The survey also points out that the nutritive value of the diet consumed by the agricultural labour families falls short of the normal requirements by about 25 per cent.

Subsidiary Occupation to Agriculture

The Ambar Charkha, by providing ready empoyment at a wage that cannot be considered as low under the existing conditions will decrease the pressure of population on land. Nearly 70 per cent of the people depend on land and a moderate estimate points out that our agricultural classes remain idle for 3 to 4 months, in a year. The need for subsidiary employment to agriculture was always felt and it needs no argument to put forth the claim of Ambar Charkha that from giving full-time employment it is also pre-emi suited to be a supplementary occupation to agri

The Ambar Charkha can be owned individu by a group of people who can ply it in their hours. The price of it today is estimated at Rs The price of a complete set with carding and dr machine besides the Charkha is estimated to be 100. It should be borne in mind that the A Charkha was invented only very recently and the that are going on now to make improvements and the arrangements to manufacture replaceable at selected central factories will bring down the considerably in due course. The Governme advancing loans and recovering the amount in instal can easily popularize the use of the Ambar Char

We have analysed, in detail, the potentialit the Ambar Charkha in creating employment opportu on a large scale. It will be seen that the A Charkha, in creating employment, can be adapted the relief of all kinds of unemployment, whe partial, temporary or long-time. It in essentially a do equipment and it can be wholly operated at hom elsewhere, singly or in groups. It does not re any specialized training or acquirement of t skill to operate the Charkha and can be easily by the poor, illiterate rural masses. The organ required is not large, or complex or expensive. T brief, it offers an immediate and practicable for the problem of unemployment that is stunti progress of our country.

Problem of Cost

There prevails a wrong notion regarding the involved in the scheme of producing the ad requirements of yarn through the Ambar Ch Often, criticism is heard that the production of y this manner will not be economical as the Ambar Ch yarn will cost more than the comparable co mill yarn. It is pointed out that the higher c Ambar yarn will adversely affect the interests handloom weavers. If yarn is to be supplied weavers at economic price, it can be undertake if the Government subsidize the production of yarn, which will involve a heavy burden consumers. It has been estimated that the am subsidy that will be required during the Second Year Plan period will come to about Rs. 80 Some consider it as a retrograde step to in consumers and the public in order to increa production of yarn through the Ambar Charkha

It is true that the cost of Ambar yarn will be than the mill yarn. According to the calculation the difference in prices of medium counts of ya to 20s) varies between 68 and 85 per cent. appear to a casual observer that it will be a economic proposition to use the cheap mill yarn

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can be made readily available. But we will be committing a grave error if we hastily judge the cheapness of a product from its selling price. For, if we base our calculations only on market price ignoring other social considerations that are vitally important for the all-round development of a country the low price of a product may ultimately prove to be only apparent or illusory.

If we take the production cost into consideration, the social cost or cost to society arising from a particular pattern of production should not be ignored. The sum total of these will only give an accurate estimate of the real cost to the consumers since it is they who ultimately bear all the indirect and invisible costs to society due to a particular structure of production. It may appear to be cheaper to produce yarn in the centralized mills, but when we turn our attention to the urgent necessity of providing employment on a vast scale and calculate the cost involved in this gigantic task, the production by the mills is not actually so cheap as the market price of the product. The prospect for additional employment in the textile mill industry, as we have observed earlier, is for all practical considerations negligible. In fact, centralized method of production involves a constant tendency to reduce the labour force as much as possible, adopting labour-saving devices. The following table will bear testimony to this.

TABLE*

Year	No. of registered factories	Fixed capital invested to manufacturing concerns (in crores)	Working capital employed (in crores)	Number of persons employed
[illegible]	6,144	195.64	482.19	17,04,230
[illegible]	7,155	300.94	730.77	16,48,443

It is a curious phenomenon to note that inspite of the increase in the number of factories and also of large increase in the amount of investment (nearly [illegible]%), the total number of persons employed had actually declined, instead of showing an appreciable improvement in the level of employment.† This clearly brings out the fact that we cannot solve our unemployment problem by having recourse to the large-scale method of production. In fine, if we base our calculations on practical grounds in terms of employment and proper utilization of the resources for the overall development of the country, it will be evident that the price of mill yarn or for that matter, the price of the products of the large-scale industries, are not cheap as the centralized method of production leaves many problems unsolved in the process. On the other hand, the higher cost of Ambar yarn will be more than amply compensated by the large volume of employment created by the use of the Charka. It has been said, that nearly 50 lakhs of persons will find employment by its use, besides the improvement that is bound to follow in the position of the 25 lakhs of weavers. The weavers need not depend on the uncertain supply of mill yarn coming from distant areas but will be able to get almost all their requirements of yarn from their own neighbourhood. The cost of transporting yarn from the place of production to the weavers will also be reduced to the minimum.

We should also bear in mind that the production of yarn in the decentralized way carries the work to the doors of the rural classes and avoids such social evils like uneven growth of cities. concentration of industries in a few places, overcrowding in towns and slums, etc. By providing employment to such a vast number of persons, additional purchasing power will be generated which will give fresh impetus for other economic activities and revival of many industries as the classes possessing new consumptive power had not thitheto enjoyed even elementary necessities of life. We should not also forget that the large volume of employment that can be created through the use of the Ambar Charkha is to meet the requirement of internal demand and unlike the mill industry, this does not depend on the demand for external markets. The employment of the handspinners will under no circumstances be affected by the fluctuating demand in the foreign countries. The capital outlay required is also very modest (Rs. 15.5 crores), when compared with the big investment necessary for the erection of new spinning mills, where the possibility of persons employment even to a fraction of 35 lakhs of persons is very remote. No amount will be spent on importing machinery form other countries. Almost all the parts of the Ambar Charkha can be manufactured from the local resources with the available local skill in the countryside. The manufacture of 25 lakhs of Ambar Charkha sets, it has been calculated, will give employment to nearly 75,000 carpenters. If we make provision in our calculation for the cost of undertakings that will create fresh avenues for employment on such a large scale as well over such a vast area as can be achieved by the de-centralization of the spinning industry it will be easily found, that even though the Ambar yarn costs more than the mill yarn the production of yarn through Ambar Charkha on a planned basis will be more economical and heneficial considering the collective welfare of the society at large.

QUESTION OF SUBSIDY

There is also a criticism that as the supply of Ambar yarn at economic price to the weavers will involve a subsidy of Rs. 15 to 20 crores a year, the consumers will be unnecessarily penalised. The cost

* Figures from the *Census of Manufactures*, 1952.

† The same conclusion is reinforced by the results of the survey of unemployment carried out by the Economics and Statistics Department of the Calcutta University. The disquieting feature revealed by the survey is that there has been a decline in employment between 1951 and 1952 in the organized private sector consisting of 2,200 firms.

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of subsidy, it is said, will throw a heavy burden on the community and strain our economy, especially when we are undertaking big development programmes under the Second Five-Year Plan.

We have explained in detail, that considering the benefits that will accrue to the millions, the cost involved in the scheme of producing yarn through the Ambar Charkha is not much. To avoid repetition, it is enough if we mention here, that there is no other alternative way of development which will be more economical and less costly than the Ambar Charkha Scheme for tackling the problem of mass unemployment and widespread poverty in the country. The expansion of spinning mills or big mills of that type is no solution for our problems. In fact, the cost involved in this kind of development to create adequate employment opportunities is many times more than the cost of subsidy.

Doles not Possible

When we are planning for the decent standard of living of the people, it should be remembered that the question of bringing life to millions of proverty-stricken people who are not able to eke out a living for want of work cannot be measured in terms of cost and gain People should be provided with work or they should be entitled to get sufficient relief when they are in distress. All our planning should be for achieving this state of prosperity as rapidly as possible. Considering the vastness of our country and the pitiably low standard of living of the teeming millions it is simply not within our capacity to undertake any measures for unemployment relief. The cost of subsidizing Ambar Charkha yarn will be found to be practically negligible if we work out the expenditure involved in such relief measures. Moreover, it is much better to provide the unemployed with work rather than to give them doles. Work instils in a man a sense of self-respect whereas the system of doles breeds indolence and mars the development of the personality of the individual. The cost of subsidy should not stand in our way unless a better method of providing jobs to the unemployed and underemployed is found.

Protection and Centralized Industries

There is a fallacy in the argument against granting subsidy to the Ambar yarn. This is due to confused thinking regarding the policy of giving help and encouragement to an industry that is considered to be vitally necessary for the progress of the nation. A survey of the economic development of the leading nations of the world will show that they were able to develop their industries only by deliberately creating necessary conditions for the proper growth and progress of the industries and sparing no efforts to protect them against foreign competition. In our own country, the big industries have attained their present position thanks to the various kinds of help they had received at the hands of the Government and protection given to them for a number of years.

Example of the Textile Mill Industry

It will be evident from the above table that all big industries owe their present position to protection given to them against foreign competition. Our leading industries like Iron and Steel, Cotton Textiles and Sugar had enjoyed protection for more than twenty years. To cite the instance of the textile mill industry, the premier industry of our country, it would be well to bear in mind that it would never have made such spectacular progress as one of the leading cloth manufacturing industries in the world, but for the unstinted support given by the people and protection granted to it for a long period. Apart from protection it had also received various kinds of help indirectly like favourable freight rates, supply of power at concessional rates, sustained research and subsidised efforts to increase the cultivation of long staple cotton etc. The people bore the brunt of the charges of these undertakings which benefited the mill industry to a great extent. It should not be forgotten that not long ago we were meeting nearly half of our requirements by imports.

Table

Year	Total imports from all countries	Output by Indian mills	Exports from India of mill piecegoods	Total consumption of mill cloth in country	Percentage Indian mill cloth in the country consumption
1922-23	1593	1725	152	3166	53.5
1953-54	4858	4878	702	4181	99.9

If the people had not patronized our mill piecegoods and protection was not given on the ground of criticism that the price of our mill cloth was higher than the imported stuff, the textile mill industry would have collapsed before the onslaught of the stiff competition of Japan and U.K. in the thirties. The cost of protection and other kinds of help given to the industry for nearly a quarter of a century would be a staggering figure. If the textile mill industry, which gives employment to a few lakhs and which is in the hands of a few mill-owners could be nurtured for long a time at a huge cost to the public, there can be no valid argument against giving subsidy to the Ambar Charkha on account of its capacity to meet the requirements of yarn of the handloom weavers and give immediate relief to as many as ten times the number of hands employed in the mill industry.

The Only Way

We have analysed, in detail, the potentialities of the Ambar Charkha and have also examined critically its place in the nation's economy. Those who put forth the view that the need of the hour is increase in production and progress can be achieved only through large-scale production betray their lack of understanding of the actual conditions existing in the country

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TABLE SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF PROTECTED INDUSTRIES*

Name of the industry	Date of protection	Date of de-protection	Unit of production	Production in pre-production/ protection year	Production in 1954	Remarks
A. Industries first protected in pre-war years						
1. Cotton Textile Industry						
a. yarn	1927	1947	Mill lbs.	807	1564	
b. piece-goods	1927	1947	Mill yds.	2259	5000	
2. Iron & Steel Industry	1924	1947	Thousand tons	131	1532	
3. Paper Industry	1925	1947	"	27	90	for Jan.-Oct., 1954
4. Sugar Industry	1931	1950	"	158	490	for Jan.-Nov., 1954
5. Match Industry	1928	1950	Thousand cases	214	490	1 case—50 gr. matches
B. Industries first protected in post-war years						
a. Metallurgical Industries:						
Alluminium	15.5.48	..	Tons	1070	4886	Fig. relate to ingots.
Ferro-silicon	10.5.48	31.12.53	"	1166	3811	relates to 1953
b. Chemical and Allied Industries:						
Soda ash	22.2.50	..	"	17918	48293	
Starch	12.4.50	..	"	1350	19562	for 1953
c. Engineering Industries:						
Bicycles	22.3.47	..	Nos.	42984	348666	
Electric Motors	12.4.48	..	"	8913	31288	
Hurricane Lanterns	25.1.47	31.12.54	Thousand Nos.	470	4604	
Sewing Machines	22.3.47	..	Nos.	6871	80299	

It is true that we can bring improvement in the living standards of the people only through industrialization. But in our haste to industrialize the country we should not forget that the expansion of spinning mills and such like big industries producing consumers goods will not take the country on a forward step. On the other hand, the development of such industries will only add to the misery of the ptople. We should not blindly copy the experience of the highly industrialized countries of the West as our problems are totally different in character and scope from theirs. The unemployment prevailing in our country is a chronic one and not a temporary phenomenon that occurs in countries where full employment had been achieved.

The industrial development that had taken place in the country during the last thirty years, however, backward it might be, should be an eye-opener to us. The growth of the large-scale industries has not effectively arrested the deterioration in the living conditions of the people. The widespread unemployment and the appalling poverty of the people remain the same in spite of the tremendous advancement in the productive capacity of these industries during these years. The pressure of population on land is still as severe as it was prior to the development of the large-scale industries and a great majority of the populatian even now depend on agriculture for a precarious living. The recent Census Report after making a thorough analysis of the change that had taken place in the occupation of the people and the livelihood of the masses during the period 1931 to 1951 says that "It is reasonably certain that non-earning dependency has not decreased but has, on the other hand, probably increased to some extent in the country as a whole during the twenty years between 1931 and 1951."† The Report points out beyond any doubt the limitations of the large-scale industries to provide adequate employment to a growing population.

In spite of the fact that nearly Rs. 2,000 crores have been invested during the period of the First Five-

* From *Records and Statistics*, Eastern Economist publications, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 27-28.

† *The Census of India*, 1951, Part I.B., p. 106. A person, who does not secure any income either in cash or in kind, is a non-earning dependent.

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Year Plan the unemployment problem has become worse in recent times . . . . To quote the *Fourth Annual Report* of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan :

> "Employment has increased with an accelerated rate of development but there has also been a simultaneous increase in unemployment. The most optimistic of additional employment directly created by the Plan over the Five-year period would be of the order of five million. But even this rate of increase in new jobs is not sufficient to absorb the normal annual addition to the labour force estimated at two million."

The seriousness of the problem is also being increasingly recognized by our Plan-framers. It is now admitted that large increase in investment in the public sector about Rs. 4,800 crores during the Second Five-Year Plan Period will not result in increasing the level of employment in commensurate with the growth in population. The early optimistic hopes of diverting the excess of population from depending on agriculture to other gainful occupations have been abandoned and we are told that it will take another 10 to 15 years to reduce the pressure of population on land.

We should evaluate the place of the Ambar Charkha in the nation's economy against this background. We are not against big industries as such. But the unpleasant truth is that we will be sadly mistaken if we place undue reliance on big industries in solving our economic problems. The pattern of our industrialization will have to be different to suit our underdeveloped economy and the rapidly increasing population. Unless we de-centralize the big industries manufacturing articles of consumption, barring a few heavy industries like, iron and steel, chemicals, engineering, etc., which are essential for the development of the country, it will not be possible at all to banish unemployment and promote the economic welfare of the people.

Among the industries producing consumers' goods, the textile industry is the predominant one which can give employment to the largest number of people. Next to food, cloth is the most important commodity to the people. There is always a ready demand for yarn and hence the demand for yarn is always co[illegible] The products of other village industries, however important or artistic they may be, are not so [illegible] desired by all classes of people in the society, as yarn is consumed by us. The de-centralization of the spinning industry alone will afford relief to the maximum number of persons.

While appraising the correct role of the Ambar Charkha in our economy, it should also be made clear that the present Charkha is not the last word on the technique of handspinning. Constant efforts should be made to increase its technical efficiency, consistent with social necessity. It has been suggested that in order to increase the productive capacity of the Charkha it should make use of electric power. While none can be averse to making improvements on the Charkha by the use of power, we should not also lose sight of the fact that such a thing is not immediately practicable as conditions exist today. Even if it were planned to electrify the entire country so that each peasant family may have an electrically-driven Charkha or other productive machine in his house, such a scheme would take many years to put into effect under the most favourable conditions. Until such vast changes take place the simple hand-driven Ambar Charkha has a place in our economy.

In fine, we can conclude, that the healthy relationship between the Ambar Charkha and the human [illegible] will give great fillip to productive activity in the countryside on a wide scale and pave the way for further economic progress of the country. We have seen that the cost involved in the scheme of the Ambar Charkha is not in the least burdensome considering the resultant benefit that will be derived by its use. It is needless to emphasize, that in our fight against unemployment and poverty which prevent the material and moral progress of our people, the Ambar Charkha should be given all encouragement and support both by the Government and the public.

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NATURE AND NURTURE

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By "DEEPAK"

The adage "Breed is stronger than pasture" by George Eliot has almost always been taken for granted. But, it has more recently, been contended that whereas the importance of heredity cannot be underestimated, the influence of environment, circumstances of one's upbringing and the atmosphere in which he breathes cannot be overlooked. Opinions differ and people look at things through different coloured glasses. The view that it is nature alone which is the sole factor responsible for the development of human personality and which pre-determines an individual's place in his life has been challanged by those who hold the view that none is by nature incapacitated to achieve anything, which his fellow beings can, provided he is placed in the same environment and circumstances.

Supporters of racial superiority have been harping on the hypothesis that nature decrees inequality among men, and control of the weak by the strong, the stupid by the wise, the timid by the courageous, and the poor by the rich. They emphasize dissimilarities in native capacity among human beings, and contend that the intellectual and moral differences of men are inborn and are not substantially modifiable by training and environment. They support their view by applying principles of genetics and biometrists' records of kinship among distinguished men and the psychologists' measurements of human intelligence, which show that only the germinal structure, not "acquired characteristics," form the source of heredity. In applying these laws to man, they maintain that the most significant differences among men are the hereditary ones, and that the variations in the achievements of men are definitely related to fixed characters in the native germ plasm and not to environment and training.

Regarding the inheritance of superior human capacity and "heredity of genius," Sir Francis Galton's investigations over sixty years ago are worth taking into consideration. He made elaborate biographical summaries to show that eminent judges, statesmen, military commanders, literary men, scientists, artists, divines, and statesmen had had a relatively large number of eminent relatives in the same fields; he believed, therefore, that the summaries established a "decided law of distribution of genius in families." He attempted to demonstrate that there was a specific inheritance of superiority and that it was only the illustrious men in a given field who gave birth to illustrious descendants and ninsmen. He concluded that the intellectual and artistic superiority in general is inherited.

Psychologists have also shown, while measuring "general intelligence," that mental differences within the normal range of normal individuals are also inherited, whereas earlier tests were usually limited to measuring specific qualities of perception, such as accuracy of vision and discrimination in taste and smell, or strength of memory, quickness of response and capacity of attention, the newer tests have been widely regarded as showing that individuals can be differentiated not only as to their specific mental traits but also as to their mental levels, so that they can be classified as of superior, average, or inferior general intelligence. The aim of these men and many of the popular writers has been to show that these differences in the mental levels of normal human beings are congenital.

Another method employed to demonstrate the inheritance of intellectual superiority has been to take some particular group of relatives and show the large number of proficient individuals among them. This method is exemplified in the popular American canvases of the distinguished posterity of a seventeenth century Connecticut couple—Richard Edwards and his talented wife, Elizabeth Tuttle. The descendants of this famous pair include two presidents of the United States and an impressive number of senators, congressmen, judges, college presidents, professors, clergymen, authors, lawyers, and physicians.

Talking about the influence of various factors on the development of human personality, parents' economic position and social status has not been overlooked. Alphonse de Condolle in France and Karl Pearson in England presented statistical tables to show that men of distinction in various fields are generally descended from parents whose superior ability is demonstrated by their economic or social position in the community or by the vocational class to which they belong. Galton indicated that somewhat excessively large number of English scientists were descended from the "noble, wealthy and gentlemanly classes." Havelock Ellis's canvas of over a thousand "British men of genius" showed that over a third came from the professional classes and only a fifth from the far more numerous groups of clerks, mechanics, farmers, and labourers. By showing correlation between the test-ratings of the children with the occupational positions of the parents, Prof. Terman shows that of 1,000 children whom his tests classify as "gifted," 31.4 per cent were descended from parents of the professional class, 50 per cent from parents of the semi-professional and business groups, 11.8 per cent from skilled labourers, 6.6 per cent from semi-skilled and slightly skilled labourers and 0.13 per cent from common labourers.

Prof. Osborn holds that

> The modern study of biology "has compelled us to realize the superior force and stability of heredity as being more enduring and potent than "environment;" and Prof. Edward M. East has declared that "no matter what value one may assign to precept and example in moulding the mind of man, his mentality is due fundamentally to his hereditary endowment, to his inborn traits."

"Biology warns us," says A. E. Wiggam, "that nearly all the happiness and nearly all the

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misery of the world are due, not to environment, but to heredity; that the differences among men are, in the main, due to differences in the germ cells from which they are born. . . The social classes which you seek to abolish by law, are ordained by nature."

Men of higher native capacities, it is maintained, are found chiefly in the socially, professionally, and economically "upper classes." The general idea is that average intelligence ascends as we ascend the economic and social scale. Wage-earners, small businessmen, farm tenants, small farmers have a generally lower mental capacity and moral stamina than professional men, big businessmen and others of the upper social strata. It has been said that the leaders of today are the only ones who can be depended upon to produce the leaders of the future.

"We have pretty good evidence," says Prof. William McDougall, "that capacity for intellectual growth is inborn, that it is hereditary, and also that it is closely correlated with social status."

It was on this assumption of biological differentiation and congenital differences that the supporters of racial superiority based their conclusions. But though there can be no denying the fact that there are certain definite mental and physical natural inequalities among men, the myth of racial superiority has, in fact, completely exploded in recent years. The antagonists of congenital superiority hold their opponents guilty of over-emphasis on birth, social status and economic position, and under-estimation of the influence of factors such as, environment, upbringing, opportunity, etc., which play a substantial part in the development of human personality.

Human Nature is Dynamic

The vital role played by environment, training and nurture in moulding human personality is now acknowledged as a truism all over the world. A study of the gradual development of child's habits and faculties proves that human nature is not rigid but easily pliable and flexible. The minds and personalities of adults too are by no means so fossilized as is generally supposed. This is substantiated by various instances of metamorphosis of hardened criminals and evil-doers into gentlemen and saints, under the impact of a sudden mental or emotional impulse or through the inspiring influence of a lofty soul.

The protagonists of the definite influence of training and environment regard as untenable, the arguments of those who over-stress the biologic or blood basis, not only for varieties in intellectual capacity among individuals but also for differences in the levels of culture among the various peoples of the world. They support their view with the newly devised "mental tests" which have been employed in comparing whites and Negroes in the United States. It has been seen that when external environmental influences were completely eliminated and various groups had received generally similar education and lived under generally similar conditions, the results showed some superiority of the Negroes over the whites in sense of rhythm in the discrimination of time intervals in music, superiority of the whites over the Negroes in geometric figures, drawing models, and fitting into holes; and an equality between the two groups the accurate repetition of numerical figures. When ordinary tests have been used to compare the whites with Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus differences in favour of the whites have generally revealed.

It is contended that no scientific case has been established in support of the claims of a supremacy of some particular racial group, such as Aryans, Teutons, Nordics, Anglo-Saxons, Celts, or

It has been held that good and bad characters are apparently not, for the most part, characteristics; and we do not know what elementary characters in the native germ plasm combination make one man better than another. psychologists and educators appear now to agree there are numerous traits which, although not by any formal tests are of fundamental importance determining the quality of human conduct or the of individuals to make social adjustments satisfy themselves and others; they further agree that such traits are to a significant degree subject to development under the influence of training and environment.

They deny any kinship among eminent men utilize more recent scientific experiments and disprove the biologic doctrine. Galton's study English judges showed that, of the one hundred judges whom he listed as ancestors of able ninety were apparently the sons of fathers of standing, and only ten had eminent fathers. Some geneticists of today express doubts as to the implications of the tables set up to demonstrate inheritance of exceptional ability. Prof. R. Pearl shows that, of the eighty-five poets given extensive mention in the Encyclopaedia Britannica three were descended from parents of distinction to be mentioned separately in the Encyclopaedia; that of the sixty-three prominently philosophers, most were the sons of obscure clergymen, shopkeepers, peasants, watch-makers, clerks, or office-holders and that only five of the eminent sophers produced any descendants of distinction. canvasses have been made of the lowly parentage great men of the past. We are reminded that Jesus son of a carpenter and Leonardo da Vinci, the mate son of a domestic servant; that Shakespeare father was a butcher and glover; Beethoven's, a firmed drunkard;" Schubert's, a peasant; Faraday's poor blacksmith; Carlyle's, a stone-mason; Lincoln's roving carpenter; Pasteur's, a tanner; Browning's clerk; and that Socrates' mother was a midwife Beethoven's, the daughter of a cook; and Schubert "an ignorant drudge." The author of one of these vases distinguished geneticist concludes that

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the great leaders of mankind come from humble parents."

As to the correlation between innate ability and occupational status, Professors E. L. Clarke and J. M. Cattell—from whose canvases of the occupational distribution of the fathers of American men of literature and science—drew no such conclusions themselves. Both challenged the extreme claims of Galton and Pearson as to the great predominance of heredity over opportunity in determining the achievements of men.

"There have been," said Clarke, "three especially important factors in the development of American men of letters: a good heredity furnishing stock capable of being developed, an education adequate to develop latent ability, and a social environment furnishing incentive to the naturally endowed and amply educated to turn their attention to literature."

The differences in ability, Prof. Cattell believed, may be properly attributed in part to natural capacity and in part to opportunity"; in the present state of our knowledge we cannot heavily weigh one factor over the other.

Further,

"The single human individual," says Prof. Herbert S. Jennings, "has not a single definite prearranged fate or tendency, but a vast number of capabilities, a vast number of keys, as it were, through which the environment may play upon him; a multitude of impulses, tendencies toward action in diverse directions."

We cannot measure innate capacity by achievements, for we cannot differentiate the effects which opportunity has had upon the achievements. The mental traits we observe in adults are often the product of an environment that obscures the nature of the inheritance. Environment influences the development of the individual from the beginning of the life of the fertilized egg.

So great has been regarded the influence of environment, training and nurture that an eminent writer once said:

"Give me a newly born, normally healthy baby, and I can make anything out of him."

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DEFICIT FINANCING AND INFLATION

By ARUN COOMAR GHOSH, F.R.E.S. (London)

The question whether a full employment economy is allergic to inflation has assumed some importance in India in view of the fact that deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 1,200 crores will have to be resorted to to finance India's Second Five-Year Plan. According to the estimate of the Planning Commission for financing the development programme of Rs. 4,800 crores in the public sector, not more than Rs. 2,400 crores can be available from normal sources (including additional taxation to the extent of Rs. 450 crores) and the expected external assistance will be in the region of Rs. 800 crores. To fill the gap deficit financing will be of the order of Rs. 1,200 crores leaving a still unfilled gap of Rs. 400 crores. The Plan involves a total investment expenditure of Rs. 7,100 crores, (Rs. 2,300 crores of investment expenditore in the private sector) an increase of over 100 per cent over the total provision in the First Plan, and the Commission expects that the investment programme will augment the national income by 25 per cent, and create 10 million additionl jobs in the next five years. The question that has been a worry to many minds is whether such a heavy dose of deficit financing will give another dose of inflation and lead to spiralling of prices.

Meaning of Deficit Financing

The Planning Commission has defined deficit financing as "the direct addition to gross national expenditure through budget deficits whether the deficits are of revenue or capital expenditure." Deficit financing takes place when there is additional creation of money or credit. When Government finances a deficit budget by borrowing from the market it is not deficit financing since the funds are transferred from the account of private individuals and businessmen to Government account, and there is no additional creation of new money. But when Government spending exceeds the total revenue estimated from different sources, such as taxes, income from the state enterprises, etc., as well as loans from the public, and the deficit is met by resort to the printing press or by borrowing from the banking system (the Central Bank creating new money to that extent) there takes place deficit financing to the extent of the net additional creation of credit. The Reserve Bank of India will create I.O.U.s. in favour of the Government of India to the extent of Rs. 1200 crores for financing the Second Five-Year Plan.

Multiplier Effect of Deficit Financing on Price Behaviour

The funds which will be available to Government by creation of credit, will be spent on development projects. Thus the expenditure will be on investment for the building up of productive assests in the country. The deficit spending of Rs. 1200 crores will add to the total income of the people, and given the propensity to consume, some portion of this additional income will be saved and deposited with the banks on the basis of which the latter will raise a further superstructure of credit. The the total creation of money will be greater than the net credit created by the Central Bank, and

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this will produce a further accelerating effect upon the rise in prices.

Because of the high consumption function of demand in an underdeveloped economy like India most of the additional money created by government, and accruing to the people in the shape of higher income will be spent on consumption goods, and unless the consumption industries are geared up to meet the increased demand, or other safeguards are taken this will lead to a spurt in the prices of consumption goods.

Case for Deficit Financing in an Underdeveloped Economy

In an advanced economy like that of Great Britain or U.S.A. production is organised on a sufficiently high keel so as to leave a sizeable surplus over consumption, and this leads to saving and capital formation. But in an underdeveloped economy like India production is in a stagnant condition, and as there is no sufficiently available surplus over consumption apart from the fact that the propensity to consume is high and capital is sky, there is the problem of replenishing and additing to the existing capital equipment of the country by formation of new capital in order to meet the increasing consumption needs of the growing population. In such circumstances deficit financing enables government to embark on a policy of development expenditure for building up productive assets of the country through forced saving in the shape of higher prices. Thus in an underdeveloped economy deficit spending by government on development projects is a necessary desideratum as the required saving is not forthcoming from the private sector, and as such it ultimately proves to be a boom, although in the short run it may cause hardship to the people due to rise in prices.

Deficit Financing and the New Philosophy of Fiscal Policy

From the time of Adam Smith it has been an article of faith with the classical economists that the ideal budget is that under which both taxes and government expenditure are restricted to the minimum as all such expenditure was considered to be wasteful and infructuous. This philosophy is now treated as an anachronism since there has been a definite shift in emphasis on public expenditure to achieve full employment which is now accepted as the goal of economic policy. Since the publication of Keynes' *General Theory* the concept of national income with its constituent elements of consumption, saving and investment has acquired a new meaning, and the total income today is equated with total spending by the community. In order to maintain community spending on consumption and investment at the high level appropriate to a full employment economy deficit spending by government has come to occupy an important place in the public fiscal policy. Whenever the community spending on consumption and investment falls short of the optimum level sufficient to maintain the effective demand for goods and services to ensure full employment of the economic resources of the government steps in to stop the deflationary increased expenditure in the public sector, and priate remission of taxes and other fiscal measures opposite happens when there is an inflationary the total community spending on consumption and ment exceeds the level of full employment spills over in the shape of higher prices and The optimum par of income at the full level is a moving par shifting with changes in standard of living, etc.

Inflationary Potentials of Deficit Finance and the Question of Time-Lag

Deficit financing will lead to a rise in prices short run due to two factors: (1) an increase overall demand for consumption goods, (2) operating cost due to wage increase. Strictly however, there will be no runaway inflation in the of price spiralling, for as soon as the investment begin to fructify production will gradually increase price fluctuations will smoothen out. Thus the lag during which prices will register a rise will on the period intervening between investment duction, and the pace of production. The time be reduced if the investment quickly yields harvest in the shape of higher production. wastage occurs in the process.

The Corrective Mechanism

To neutralise the inflationary potentials of financing, and to counteract the rise in prices following remedial measures may be adopted:

(1) The cash reserve ratios of commercial may be raised to offset the tendencies towards creation on the basis of deposits made available deficit spending.

(2) The additional purchasing power released deficit spending may be mopped up gradually by income-tax scales tapering towards the end of the period.

(3) The possibility of yield from indirect such as sales tax and excise duties should be ploited after gauging their anti-cyclical effect situation.

(4) A scheme of deferred pay on the lines pulsory saving suggested by Keynes in his book *Pay for the War* may be introduced to absorb surplus purchasing power in the hands of the

(5) A close eye should be kept on black and profiteers, and any attempt at cornering grounding of stock should be ruthlessly dealt

It should be remembered that nothing done which will affect the smooth functioning plan. With sufficient safeguards adopted it is that the phenomenon of inflation if it at all appearance will be a short-lived thing, and disappear leaving in its wake a rich harvest of production, employment and income.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"The Capital Formation in the Underdeveloped Economy"

Prof. K. Krishna Rao's comment (February, 1956) on Miss Bose's commendable article on capital formation was read with interest. He attempts to bring out the difference between the implication of capital formation in a highly developed economy and that in an underdeveloped economy. He contends that as in a highly developed economy the natural resources which are limited by quantity are fairly well-exploited (or he might argue due to the operation of the law of diminishing returns) capital can be accumulated only by way of abstention from consumption. Contrariwise, since in an underdeveloped economy there are vast idle resources and a reserve of unexploited "productive capacity" capital formation does not necessarily connote a corresponding curtailment in consumption.

What is wrong with this argument is not the logic as such but the basic premises of it. The above conclusion stems from his failure to conceive of two distinguishing characteristics of an underdeveloped economy. Firstly, an underdeveloped economy is predominantly agrarian in character. Two corollaries immediately suggest themselves; (*a*) it has a narrow inflationary gap, (*b*) elasticity of supply of commodities and services is low.

The second fundamental feature that he seems to have lost sight of is the "money function" of an underdeveloped economy. Money plays almost a dynamic role in an underdeveloped economy in that it mobilises the idle resources or as Keynes puts "sets the wheel rolling" (but this is not to say that money has no significance in a mature economy). The employment of the idle resources calls for monetary incentives. These incentives take the form of deficit financing by which the lacuna between the available resources and the actual requirements is bridged. But though qualitatively money plays a dynamic role, quantitatively it has a restricted scope. Since the inflationary gap is very small and elasticity of supply of commodities and services is low, an exorbitant rate of deficit financing generates serious inflationary pressure and brings devastating consequences in its train. Thus there is a safe limit to which deficit financing can be undertaken.

Let me illustrate this point with a simple instance. Consider a community in which the population consisting entirely of labourers is engaged in the production of consumption goods.

Let r_a be the average wage-rate and p the population. Now if we assume that all the wages paid to these labourers are spent upon the consumption goods only and that part of the income saved, then it is obvious that

r_a = total income of the community,
= total expenditure of the community,
= total cost of the consumer goods.

Hence in such a situation if consumer goods are supplied at the average cost, r_a the demand of the community would be fully satisfied.

If, however, we assume that a proportion say, $\frac{i}{q}$ of the total labour force is engaged in producing capital goods and that the average wage rate in this industry is r_b the above equality between total income and total expenditure of the community will no longer hold good. Income to the wage-earners from the capital goods industry $= \frac{p}{q} r_b$ and income from consumer goods industry $= (p - \frac{p}{q}) r_a$ = total cost of consumer goods. But since the wage-earners from capital goods industry apart from the labourers engaged in consumer goods industry, would appear on the market with their income, $\frac{p}{q} r_b$ for consumer goods, a paradoxical situation, a relatively greater amount of money chasing a relatively limited quantity of goods, would emerge. Price of the consumer goods would automatically rise to meet the increased effective demand.

Hence, it is obvious that greater is the investment expenditure, $\frac{p}{q} r_b$ through deficit financing greater would be the rise in price. An increase in the price of consumption goods would force the community to consume less. There is, however, something to be said in favour of a small rise in prices of consumption goods This may serve as an incentive to existing idle resources to produce more of such goods. Apart from this, a little rise in price-level as Hicks has pointed out, is the inevitable result of economic progress.

Prof. Rao has also asserts that as more and more idle resources are brought into employment, incomes of the population would increase to a corresponding degree. But, in fact, the effects of the construction schemes on the real income and standard of living are felt only in the long run. Suppose, a person is in possession of the broken parts of an old machine and he resolves to repair it. If he is to pay the cost of repairing, he must either fall back upon his past savings if any, or must pay out of his current income by reducing his daily consumption. His income would only be increased when he utilises the machine in producing commodities. To conclude, therefore, capital in an underdeveloped economy must be taken from the current income-stream for a two-fold reason:

(*i*) The idle productive resources can be brought into employment only with the mechanism of deficit

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financing which has a definite limit; or in other words, the rate of exploitation of the productive capacity, is relatively fixed over a period.

(ii) And real income does not increase immediately along with the exploitation. Hence, the increase in investment expenditure and the maintenance of the existing level of consumption cannot go simultaneously.

ARUN KUMAR PODDAR

Delhi College, New Delhi

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FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE BACKWARD AREAS AND DISCRIMINATORY POLICY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

BY ADITYA PRASAD SEN GUPTA, M.A.

THE countries in Asia and Africa, which in recent years have succeeded in freeing themselves from the clutches of colonial imperialism naturally expected considerable help from the United Nations for economic reconstruction. But their expectation ultimately resulted in disappointment owing to the discriminatory policy of the United Nations.

At a Press conference held recently in Bangalore different types of questions in respect of the U. N. financial assistance were put to Mr. Dag Hammarskjoeld, the United Nations' Secretary-General. It was seriously complained that the backward areas in Asia were not receiving adequate assistance from the United Nations, as a result of which their economic progress was being hindered. Mr. Dag Hammarskjoeld treated this complaint as baseless and was also of the opinion that in some cases the failures of the United Nations, though not mentionable, had been exaggerated by the Press. But the reports received so far which we have no reasons to doubt have belied what Mr. Dag Hammarskjoeld stated at the Press conference and indicate that the United Nations is not eager to offer assistance for ensuring emergence of Asia as a strong economic unit and has not even considered it essential in some cases to ascertain actual requirements.

Now-a-days we all are familiar with the works of the ECAFE which stands for the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and is an integral part of the United Nations. Its main object is to collect data in respect of the economic condition of Asia and the Far Eastern region. It has admirably done its allotted duties, though it has not been empowered either to sanction loans or to authorise investment of capital. The data collected by it in respect of Asia and the Far Eastern region give us a clear picture of the economic problems and indicate also the possible ways along which raw materials and other resources available in Asia and the Far Eastern region may be profitably used.

Inaugurating the ECAFE session in Bangalore Mr. Nehru dealt with the economic problems of the backward areas. He told the assembled representatives that there was a marked difference between the backward and industrially developed countries, which ought to be clearly understood. In his opinion as the industrially developed countries are not generally worried about the bread problem they naturally remain somewhat indifferent regarding other economic questions. But in the backward areas, on the other hand, the bread problem always assumes greatest importance. Unless this problem is solved it will be difficult for men living in the backward areas to be freed from worries and troubles.

Mr. Nehru expressed hope at the ECAFE session in Bangalore that no political strings would be attached to assistance to be given by the United Nations to the backward areas. But it is doubtful whether Mr. Nehru's hope will have any influence on the countries who control the U. N. policies. We have noticed that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has on many occasions sanctioned loans for different sets of purposes. For example, the loans sanctioned by this Bank have been used to augment capital of the government-sponsored Industrial Finance Corporation and to place the shipping industry on a firm footing. At the ECAFE session Mr. Nehru also stressed the need for imports of machineries and technical experts from abroad so that the backward areas might be developed. But the volume of such imports should be determined with reference to the actual condition of the areas and of having foreign assistance. Moreover, the question as to desirability of laying stress on industry in the backward areas which have agriculture as their mainstay ought to examine very carefully lest an unwise decision should lead to disastrous economic consequences.

It is quite likely that the assistance from the industrially developed countries to be received by the backward areas may not be proportionate to their requirements and as such determined efforts should be made to make the best use of the internal resources and to develop the spirit of mutual co-operation among the areas adjacent to each other. As the United States of America hold the lion's share of the Internatitonal Bank for Reconstruction and Development, they come to control its operations. That's why the Bank adopts more liberal attitude in those cases which involve British and U.S. interests. It is, perhaps, known to all of us that the Bank refused to sanction loans applied for by the Damodar Valley Corporation of India for the first time to finance

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irrigation projects. Similar was the treatment accorded by the Bank to two other applications for loan also submitted on behalf of India. The first application related to the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, and the second to the Industrial Finance Corporation which was in need of working capital.

We all possibly know that Egypt requested the World Bank to sanction loans for enabling her to complete the Aswan Dam. The Bank kept silent for two years. But when Egypt-East German negotiations on the issue of the Aswan Dam were in progress and Egypt concluded a pact with Czechoslovakia for purchase of arms the Bank authorities immediately sent a representative to Cairo who informed the Egyptian Government of the sanction accorded by the Bank to loans applied for. Along with the Bank authorities British and U.S. Governments also gave an assurance to this effect that they were ready to help Egypt in all possible ways. It is, therefore, clear beyond any shadows of doubt that the United Nations is following a discriminatory policy in respect of those areas where the interests of the Powers now controlling U.N. operations are not involved.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

ETHNIC SETTLEMENTS IN ANCIENT INDIA (A Study on the Pauranic lists of the peoples of Bharatavarsa. Part I—Northern India) : *By Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. General Printers and Publishers Ltd., Calcutta. January, 1955. Pp. xviii + 208 Price Rs. 10.*

The rich material of the Puranas and the astronomical works relating to the distribution of Ancient Indian tribes and races after the recognised regional divisions of our great sub-continent has been utilised in past years by a number of foreign and Indian scholars like Fleet, Pargiter, Kirfel and Dr. B. C. Law. The most thorough and systematic examination of this material so far has been done by the author of the present work. The author's aim as he tells us in his Preface (pp. xvi—xviii) has been firstly "to present a corrected and revised list of ethnic and geographical names of the different regions of India as furnished by tradition," secondly, to assess the authenticity of this tradition to its widest possible extent with the help of inscriptions and foreign evidence, thirdly and lastly, to present in the light of the above a general survey of the activities, habitats and geographical environment of the peoples and races of Ancient India with the exception of those of the South. These aims have largely been fulfilled in the present work. In the course of his first seven chapters the author gives us a general survey of the regional divisions of Ancient India, a bird's-eye view of the geographical data of the Puranas and associated works and a detailed critical account of the data relating to the Central, the Northern, the North-Western as well as the North-Eastern, the Western and the Eastern divisions respectively. Summing up his estimate of above in the concluding chapter the author observes that the geographical traditions of ancient ethnic settlements, as embodied in the Puranas and astronomical works, present us with a stage intermediate between the conventional notions of the past, and an intimate acquaintance with the far-flung and numerous tribal (*sic.*) establishments of a later age" (p. 201), that the settlements in Ancient India were "not a simple unitary process" but were "carried over several broad periods of time from the Vedic times onwards" (p. 205), and that they "certainly led to modifications of geographical environments" (p. 206).

The work bears throughout the evidence of the author's complete mastery of the extensive literary and epigraphic material and capacity for sound judgment. High praise is due to him for the great care which he has taken to establish the correct list and identifications of the geographical names. The value of his work is enhanced by the addition of two tables illustrating the regional divisions of India and six charts giving in parallel columns lists of the tribes and peoples living in those regions after the different authorities, and a good index. Altogether this work is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the related topics of the ethnology and geography of Ancient India (Southern India being purposely excluded from its scope) during the early centuries of the Christian era.

U. N. GHOSHAL

CIVIL DISTURBANCES DURING THE BRITISH RULE IN INDIA (1765-1857) : *By Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri. Introduction by Prof. S. C. Sarkar. The World Press, Ltd., 37, College Street, Calcutta-12. Pp. xxiii + 231. Price Rs. 8-8.*

The book, as the name indicates, deals with various civil disturbances in India during the rule of the John Company. By the term 'civil disturbances,' the author means mainly 'every species of rebellion and insurrection against the ruling authority started by large bodies of people or by their chiefs or by both jointly, as also the revolt of the ryots against their landed chiefs protected by British arms, and depreda-

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tions committed upon persons and property on either side.' He does not except 'purely political combinations' as also 'communal struggles' from his study. The book consists of six chapters. A political map of India as well as an Index is given in the book. Chapters I and III contain 'Historical Background' and 'Concluding Remarks' respectively. The actual narrative appears in Chapters II to V, and this covers the 'civil disturbances' in Bengal and Upper India, Madras and Southern India, Bombay and Western India and Ceylon, Burma and Malacca. The book, written in a lucid style, is a sad commentary of the early period of British rule in India. The Britishers never sought to understand the people, to respect the local leaders, and to honour things held in reverence by those whom they were destined to rule. There was much in the local system of government, to be retained and improved upon. But the Company, in the exuberance of their newly-owned power, totally neglected and overlooked it. Some people meekly submitted to the foreign yoke, but there were others who were strong enough to resist and revolt. They had, however, to submit to the stronger arms of the Britishers. The author has done well in bringing to the forefront this aspect of the early British rule in India. His narrative is well-documented. We expect with the author that this maiden attempt may stimulate further research on the subject.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

ON YOGA (I): *The Synthesis of Yoga by Sri Aurobindo. Published by Sri Aurobindo International University Centre, Pondicherry (1955). Pp. 1034. D.C. 1/16. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 15.*

This is the fourth volume of the collected works of Sri Aurobindo, being published under the auspices of Sri Aurobindo International University Centre, Pondicherry. The previous Volumes being (1) Sri Aurobindo on Himself and the Mother. (2) Savitri (and a few letters and poems). (3) The Life Divine. The Synthesis of Yoga—an well-known work of Sri Aurobindo—delineates the actual spiritual discipline and the laws of dependent causation revealed to him.

It is a fitting publication on the eve of the *Buddha Jayanti Celebrations*. For about a century various Yoga expositions have been given by master minds like Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen, *vide Brahmagitopanishat*), Swami Vivekananda (*vide Raj Yoga*, Jnan Yoga, Bhakti Yoga, Karma Yoga) and others. Sri Aurobindo's Yoga is a cult by itself, revealed in the process of his *Sadhana*. It differs from the Yoga of the Gita. It also differs from the Vedantic and Patanjali Yoga system which depend entirely on the *Purushakara*. Here is a Yoga which is an inflow of the life of the Divine from above. It is not getting away from life to the Divine, but envisages a Synthesis; it reaches the Divine and brings the fulness of what is gained into life for the transformation of humanity.

We congratulate the Publishers on this grand publication and draw the attention of Philosophers and *Sadhakas* to the study of the book and to put it into practice.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

TOWARDS INTEGRATION: *By Rohit Mehta. Published by Indian Book Shop, Banaras-1. Pp. 166. Price Rs. 3.*

Sri Rohit Mehta, General Secretary of the Theosophical Society in India, has already several interesting books to his credit. The present book is a collection of his nineteen essays and addresses. Most of the essays originally appeared in the *Indian Theosophist* as leading articles and are herein reproduced in a slightly revised form. The addresses were delivered as principal lectures at the annual conventions of the Theosophical Society and subsequently published in the *Theosophist*.

The central theme of the essays and addresses collected in this book according to the author is that the present world-crisis is rooted in fundamental psychological disintegration and results from modern technological civilisation. Man can transcend the stage of chaos and confusion only when he rises to a level of intuition. None can solve mental problems as long as he lives in the realm of mind. In the intuitive plane alone the psychological conflicts are resolved and a unifying factor of the inner life is discovered. Integration is, therefore, the best answer to the present crisis that has distraught and disintegrated the world of ours. Integrated individuals are spiritual men par excellence and are sorely needed today to save us from the impending destruction.

DIVINE DISCOURSES AND POEMS: *Minocher K. Spencer. Published by the Spiritual Healing Centre, R. S. Puram Post, Coimbatore, South India. Pp. 145. Price not mentioned.*

Sri Minocher Spencer is the distinguished author of eight more books excepting the one under review. This book is divided into two parts—the first containing 22 short discourses and the second having 24 poems. Swami Sivananda of Rishikesh in a foreward observes that this book bears the stamp of revelation and has been aptly christened 'Gita'. He is further of opinion that the discourses are illuminating and the poems are inspired.

I am, however, led to think that this book will prove interesting and instructive to almost all sections of the reading public. For instance, the seventh discourse entitled the 'mystic seven' shows how seven is considered a sacred figure in many lands and so on. It is said in this chapter that the beautiful rainbow made of seven colours, in the spinal chord there are seven yogic chakras, the eternal city of Rome is built on seven hills, the Great Bear is a constellation of seven stars, in Zoroastrianism there are seven spiritual beings, there are seven deadly sins according to medieval Christian theologians and so on. Both the discourses and poems comprising this handy volume are above the ordinary and somewhat original.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SONGS ON THE HILLS: *By Lakshminarayan Sahu, M.A. To be had of the author, Nilasahi, Cuttack-1. Price Rs. 3.*

Sri Lakshminarayan Sahu is a reputed poet and a veteran social worker. He has been taking an interest in the cultural life of the aboriginal people for more than a decade. His enthusiasm in collecting folk songs of the aborigines is also praiseworthy. The book *Songs on the Hills* contains translations of a good number of songs of Oraons, Sontals, Mundas, Hos, Kondhas and some other aboriginal people inhabiting the different parts of Orissa and Chotanagpur. Sri Sahu's translation seems to be realistic renderings of the original songs which are the spontaneous outflow of poetic souls. The reader will not find literary embellishment in the songs composed orally by these simple folk, but he will certainly feel that most of the songs are vibrating with life. The simplicity of expression, the realistic and which enlivens most of the songs, the similes

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unknown aboriginal poets will certainly be a velation to the reader. The note of sincerity which ses through these songs has given them enormous ality and it is due to this vitality that they have ood the test of time and have, orally, been transted from generation to generation.

Sri Sahu has not only collected and translated is songs of various types, but also he has, in his rning style, written introductory notes on some the festivals, such as, Maghe Durang of the Hos, rma festival of the Mundas, etc. These introducns are an additional attraction of the book under iew. On the whole the author has spared no pains make the book a representative one.

"Cradle Songs" and some other songs included the book confirm the theory of oneness of human ind and though our language and manners and stoms are totally different from those of the riginal tribes we feel a sort of mental affinity th them when we go into the inner spirit of those ngs. *Songs on the Hills* will thus be immensely lpful in getting an insight into the psychology and timent of our neglected neighbours who like rselves are the sharers of the cultural heritage of dia. Sri Sahu by collecting and translating the is songs of the aboriginal tribes is rendering valuble services in establishing cultural link between em and us. Some of the songs touch our hearts mply and stir the innermost in our consciousness ofoundly. *Songs on the Hills* has undoubtedly enrd the folk-literature of our country.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

A MODERN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND INDIA (Part II, Economic History of India): *By T. Srinivasaraghavan, M.A. (Econ. and Pol.). Macmillan and Co., Ltd., Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, and London, 1955. Price Rs. 5-8.*

The book is a comprehensive study of the history economic development in India from the Mogul to the modern times. The importance of the British period is marked by elaborate discussion. The trend agriculture, industry, trade, transport, currency, nking, national finance, labour movement, coperative movement, population, etc., in India has oroughly been dealt with in this volume. The students Indian Economics will get much benefit and refeces in these studies. At the end of each chapter short summary is given which will help the ders to grasp the outline of the subject discussed. the end a statistical appendix is also attached. The ume would have been more interesting and ough if the author had discussed the trend of ustrialisation in India and devoted a separate chapter on e recent planning policy of the government, although e Five-Year Plan is often discussed whenever it has ecessary in relation to the topics con-

B. K. SEAL

TOWARDS WORLD PEACE: *By Prof. N. G. Ranga. Published by the Indian Foreign Affairs Association, 1, Jiwanlal Buildings, Queensway, New Delhi. Pp. 168 + viii. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The author of this book is an internationalist but is no less a nationist. A former peasants' leader, a Congressman, Prof Ranga holds an important position among members of the Parliament. The book under review consists of eighteen chapters dealing with various subjects, such as, India's Foreign Policy, Redistribution of Wealth, World Peasant Problems, Rival Imperialisms, World Parliamentary Democracy, Achievements of World Democracy, One World Ideal, the Bogor Conference, etc. The author believes that 'Democracy shall never die' in spite of progress of Totalitarianism in certain countries. Some of the chapters are the speeches the author delivered, in world gatherings and in the Parliament. While supporting the one world idea, the author advocates peaceful co-existence of nations and races as a condition of world peace. Colonialism and exploitation of weaker races must cease and economic emancipation of under-developed countries must be undertaken in right earnest by progressive nations if world peace is to be attained and preserved.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

ACHARANGA SUTRA (Prathama Sruta Skandha): *Translated by Sri Hira Kumari, Vyakarana-Samkhya-Vedantatirtha. Published by Sri Jaina Svetambara Terapanthi Mahasabha, 3, Portuguese Church Street, Calcutta. Price not mentioned.*

For the first time this important work of Jaina scriptures appears in Bengali. The tenets of Jainism, a very important branch of Hinduism, are described herein. They ought to be known to all Indians because they at once reveal to us the essential unity underlying the teachings of all our spiritual leaders.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

MARKINE CHARI MASH: *By Bepin Chandra Pal. Published by Yugajatri Prakasak Ltd., 41-A, Buldeopara Road, Calcutta—6. Pp. 109. Price Rs. 2.*

As one of the very early leaders of Indian nationalism the name of Bepin Chandra Pal has found a place in our history. Besides being an orator in English, as well as in Bengali he was a powerful writer in both these languages. The present book on travels in U.S.A. is written in Bengali and was published in *Bangabani* in 1329 B.S., *i.e.*, 33 years back. Mr. Pal was invited by the National Temperance Society of New York in 1900 to deliver a course of lectures and he was in U.S.A. for four months only. He had also occasions to address meetings held under the auspices of the Unitarian Church. It was here that he came in touch for the first time with Mrs. Ole Buel, who was a great patron of Swami Vivekananda in America and Sister Nivedita (Miss Noble). During his short stay he had the unique opportunity of addressing on Hindu Religion and Philosophy at the Congress of Religions held at Boston.

In these pages will be found a pen-picture of the then American intelligentsia—particularly women with whom the author came into contact. He is all praise for American women, who were very kind towards him. The book is all the more interesting because it gives a portrait of American life 56 years back. Mr. Pal was very much impressed by the freedom-loving people of America. The publishers are to be congratulated for bringing out this and other writings of this great journalist, author and philosopher and making them available at a reasonable price. We wish this interesting publication a wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

PANCHAMRITA: *By Balashauri Reddy. Hindi Prachar Sabhd, Hyderabad, Deccan. Pp. 228. Price Rs. 4.*

Five classics of the Telugu literature: *Andhra Mahabharata* by Poet Tikanna, (1220-1290), *Andhra Mahabhagawat* by Bhakta Potanna, (1405-1470),

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Manucharitra by Allasani Paddenna, (16th century), *Vemanna Padyamulu* by Vemanna (1412-1480), and *Vijay Vilas* by Poet Chemkur Venkata (17th century), have been translated into Hindi by the author with unusual acumen. His illustrating introduction and glossary of Telugu words with their Hindi equivalents are very useful to the Hindi reader. The publishers have, indeed, rendered great service to the Indian litteratures by thus presenting one of the principal Southern literatures in the national language. One would await further similar presentations with eagerness.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) SHIKSHA PATRI: *By Swami Sahajanand. Price As. 6.*

(2) KAVI GANG KAHE, SUN SHAH AKBAR: *By Kantilal Shridharani. Price As. 3.*

Above books are published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

Swami Sahajanand, the founder of the Swami Narayan cult, has composed in Sanskrit verse several pieces of advice for his followers in order to enable them to lead moral and righteous lives. They have been translated into Gujarati, and a very learned Introduction by K. G. Mashruvala, the follower of Gandhiji and a follower of the Swami Narayan prataya, as well as a thinker and able writer, the principles enunciated in the *Shikshapatri* nand's creed has humanised the lives of many devotees who come from the artisan and class. Kavi Gang's poems in Hindi, supposed been recited before Emperor Akbar, are of reputation. To have made them available cheap price is very creditable to the Society.

(1) KABIRSAHEB: *By Manilal T. Price As. 6.*

(2) SANT MULDAS: *By Morarji C. Price As. 6.*

(3) SHANKARACHARYA: *By Patel. Price As. 10.*

(4) MAHAYOGI SHRI ARVIND: *daram. Price As. 4.*

Above books are published by the Soc the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ah 1950.

These four biographies of well-known saints and philosophers are so well-written such a small compass and easy language are sure to find a place in the hands, if not Library, of everyone interested in Gujarati and in the lives of saints and doers of humanity.

K. M.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Benjamin Franklin

Philosopher For Human Rights

Henry Butler Allen, Executive Vice-President the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, writes in *The Aryan Path* :

During 1956, hundreds of Societies and Institutions more than forty countries will unite to honour the memory of Benjamin Franklin on the 250th anniversary his birth.

It is interesting to study why so much of the civilized world is eager to pay tribute to a man born two and a half centuries ago. Some measure of his status reflected in the fact that young and old. of diverse religious faiths, of widely differing economic and social backgrounds, and from many nations, are aware his contributions to civilization. Here is a man born and bred in eighteenth-century America, whose philosophy has appealed to generations of people in many lands, and whose penetrating observations and recommendations on science, economics, social welfare and international relations are still valid after more than two hundred years.

The great Mirabeau. in his famous Eulogy before the French National Assembly in 1790, perhaps explained best why so many people always venerate the memory of Benjamin Franklin. He said:

"Would it not become us gentlemen . . . to bear a part in this homage, rendered, in the face of the world, to the rights of man and to the philosopher who most contributed to extend their sway over the whole earth."

Benjamin Franklin's lifelong crusade for Human Rights was his greatest glory. To him, every man and every woman, regardless, of class, caste, colour, creed or race, was entitled to stand straight and tall in dignity—not have to bow before an accident of birth. He wrote to Joseph Huey on June 6th, 1753 : "Mankind are all of one family," and again to David Hartley in 1789, when close to the end of life, in the wisdom of his years:

"God grant that not only the love of Liberty but a thorough knowledge of the Rights of Man may pervade all the nations of the Earth so that a Philosopher may set his foot anywhere and say 'This is my Country'."

Many men have written and spoken of the great benefits of equal human rights as the only way to world peace.

Franklin not only stated his Philosophy—he lived himself. He once wrote : "A good example is the best sermon," and then proceeded to make himself that example.

Born in an age of imperialism, religious intolerance and privilege for only the few, Franklin fought all his life for Freedom of Speech and of the Press ; for Freedom of Religion, Education and Opportunity for all men and women of any class whatsoever. He dared imprisonment for the right to speak and write his beliefs. He helped to build churches of all faiths and even a House "expressly for the use of any preacher of any religious persuasion who might desire to say something to the people . . . so that even if the Mufti of Constantinople were to send a missionary to preach Mohammedism to us, he would find a pulpit at his service."

He was President of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, and he finally signed the American Declaration of Independence because he saw no other way to gain complete freedom for his people.

To Franklin, the great goal of Science and Statesmanship alike was to benefit mankind. "He snatched the lightning from the skies and the sceptre from the tyrants," Turgot said—and explained. in that one line, the dominating philosophy of Benjamin Franklin's life. A brief review of some of the things he did is the best way to know the man.

Born on January 17th, 1706, in Boston, Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin was the youngest son in a family of fourteen children. With but two years of formal schooling, he went to work in his father's candle-making shop at the age of ten and was apprenticed to his brother, James Franklin, at the age of twelve. Seeking larger opportunities, he came to Philadelphia at the age of seventeen, arriving with capital consisting of a Dutch dollar and a shilling.

He exemplified the homely virtues of thrift, honesty and industry so well that he was able to retire from business with a competence at the age of forty-two. and taught the maxims of his "Poor Richard's Almanacks" so well that they became household words throughout the land. The introduction to the last "Almanack" was printed in broadsides and posted on walls in England, and translated and distributed by the French clergy among their parishioners. It has been translated into fifteen languages, and reprinted at least four hundred times. A pertinent quotation follows:

"Friends," says he, "the taxes are, indeed very heavy, and, if those laid on by the government were the only ones we had to pay, we might more easily discharge them; but we have many others, and much more grievous to some of us. We are taxed twice as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly; and from these taxes the commissioners cannot ease or deliver us, by allowing an abatement."

Aiming at "moral perfection," he made a list of the useful virtues, which turned out to be thirteen—Temperance, Silence, Order, Resolution, Frugality, Industry, Sincerity, Justice, Moderation, Cleanliness, Tranquillity, Chastity and Humility. To each of these, in turn, he gave a week's strict attention, marking down in a book the measure of daily success achieved in the practice of each. Thus he went through "a course complete in thirteen weeks, and four courses a year."

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INDIAN PERIODICALS
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He wrote that he was surprised to find himself so much fuller of faults than he had imagined; but, persisting for some years, he had the satisfaction of seeing them diminish. To propagate these simple doctrines and practices, Franklin designed (1732) to write a book on "The Art of Virtue," and to unite all men of good will in a society for the practice of it.

At the age of twenty-one he organized "The Junto," a club of twelve members, for mutual self-improvement. It existed for forty years, and it was said in that period that "the chief measures of Pennsylvania received usually their first formation in this club."

Self-educated, Franklin became one of the most learned men of his time. He acquired his extensive learning through books, his unusual powers of observation, discussion and correspondence. He taught himself three foreign languages. As a boy he developed his literary style by an intensive study of the writings of Addison in *The Spectator*.

Franklin was the leader in many movements for the benefit of his community. He initiated projects for establishing a city police, and for the paving and better cleaning and lighting of city streets. He was largely instrumental in establishing a circulating library in Philadelphia, the first in America, 1731; in founding in 1745 the American Philosophical Society, incorporated, 1780; a city hospital, 1751; and an Academy for the Education of Youth, opened in 1751 (the origin of the University of Pennsylvania). During his active citizenship in Philadelphia, it was said that it was practically impossible to carry on a drive for funds for a worthy project without soliciting his aid, so accustomed were the people to his leadership in such matters.

He conducted experiments in electricity (1745-1752), making discoveries that "have secured his undisputed rank amongst the most eminent of natural philosophers." He established the identity of lightning and electricity. He was interested in all fields of science, including aeronautics, agriculture, astronomy, botany, chemistry, electricity, geology, hydrostatics, hygiene, mathematics, medicine, meteorology, navigation, oceanography, optics, orthography, paleontology and physics. In many of these fields, he made important investigations and discoveries. He carried on an active correspondence with the leading scientists of Europe and America, and was a member of twenty-six of the great societies and academies of the arts and sciences of his day.

Franklin invented the lightning-rod, bifocal glasses, the first American wood-burning stove, the first draft for a fireplace to prevent smoking, a musical instrument which he called the "Armonica," a letter-copying press, a laundry mangle and other contrivances; but never owned a patent. When offered a monopoly on his stove by the Governor of Pennsylvania he asserted his belief that "as we enjoy great advantages from the inventions of others, we should be glad of an opportunity to serve others by an invention of ours, and this we should do freely and generously."

In 1764, there having been two insurrections of the frontier inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania in December of the previous year, in which twenty friendly Indians living under the protection of the government had been murdered, Franklin, to strengthen the hands of the weak government by rendering the proceedings of the rioters odious, wrote his "Narrative of the late Massacre in Lancaster County of a number of Indians, friends of this Province." In it he appealed to the people to "maintain the honour of the government and protect peaceable citizens, even though they be Indians." Afterwards, when armed rioters started for Philadelphia with the avowed intention of murdering 140 converts who had been brought by the governm safety to that city, Franklin, at the request of C Penn, formed a military association of nea citizens to resist these rioters, the so-called Pax who, on reaching Germantown and learning measures taken for the defence of the city, from further action.

Franklin was a thorough pragmatist. Once, shipwrecked on a rocky British coast, he wrote wife that some men in his position would have to erect a shrine to a divinity on the coast, but was his nature that he felt more like erecti lighthouse. In the course of his vast investigations, he was always on the lookout for that would be of practical value to his fellow men made American farms more productive by introd mineral fertilizers into America. He also introduc America rhubarb, turnips, Scotch kale, Barbary and yellow willow for basket making. He ad enclosing fields with hedges to conserve wood wrote "Observations on Mayz, or Indian Corn promoted silkworm culture in America.

Franklin rarely solicited public office, but was public-spirited to avoid such honours. In 1729 he ported the popular demand for paper money. He clerk of the Pennsyvania Assembly (1736-51 member for Philadelphia (1751-64), deputy post at Philadelphia (1737-53) and, jointly with W Hunter, deputy postmaster general for the c (1753-74). This was one of the few offices he solicited. In the latter capacity he made wide inspection to nearly every colony, and not only

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frequency and efficiency of the mail deliveries, but the post office a financial success as well. In 1775, became the first American Postmaster General, upon pointment by the Continental Congress.

For a number of years prior to the Revolutionary war, he was the agent of Pennsylvania and other colonies before the Court of Great Britain, and became the bold defender of the rights of America in general. It is said that the light he threw upon colonial affairs in his memorable examination in the House of Commons relative to the repeal of the American Stamp Tax, probably more than all other causes combined, determined Parliament to repeal the bill.

His last words to the British government at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War included the following statement: "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

In signing the Declaration of Independence, he delivered his famous quip: "Yes, we must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately."

Franklin was a delegate of the Assembly of Pennsylvania to the Second Continental Congress and served on ten important committees. He served on the committee appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence. He was President of the Convention which drafted a Constitution for the State of Pennsylvania in the same year, 1776. Later in the year he was appointed one of the three Commissioners to the Court of France to secure the aid and co-operation of that country. He was then seventy years old, and in accepting the appointment made his memorable remark: "I am but a dying end and you may have me for what you will." Before leaving for France, he collected all the money he could, amounting to between 3,000 and 4,000 pounds and loaned it to the Congress, thus encouraging others to lend their money in support of the cause.

Franklin remained in France for eight years. Of his service as a diplomat, an eminent French historian has said:

"His virtues and his renown negotiated for him; and before the second year of his mission had expired, one conceived it possible to refuse fleets and an army to the compatriots of Franklin."

Although he was in his seventies and a frequent sufferer from gout and "the stone," in addition to his diplomatic duties he was kept busily engaged in purchasing supplies and munitions of war and shipping them to America; in acting as the Judge of Admiralty; in commissioning and equipping privateers (such as John Paul Jones) to operate against British commerce; in negotiating loans and honouring the numerous drafts drawn on him by the Congress; in attending to the needs of American prisoners in Great Britain, and in many other ways.

Upon returning to America, he was chosen President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania and served in that capacity for three years. He wrote to Franklin that the public, having devoured his flesh, wanted to pick his bones.

Franklin was active in promoting the foundation at Lancaster of a college for the education of young men, now known as the Franklin and Marshall College, and it is said that in 1787, notwithstanding his physical infirmity, he travelled to Lancaster to lay the cornerstone of its principal building.

In the same year he took an active part in establishing "The Society for Political Enquiries," which had as its object mutual improvement in the knowledge of

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CALCUTTA CHEMICAL

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government and the advancement of political science. He was elected its first president.

Franklin was a delegate from Pennsylvania to the Convention to frame the Constitution of the United States and, despite his age and infirmity, attended regularly. Though some of the principles he advocated were defeated in the Convention, he urged the adoption of the Constitution as the best instrument that could be devised at the time, and his great influence was a potent factor in securing its adoption.

One of Franklin's last public activities was in helping to organize the first society formed for the abolition of slavery, and, as its President, writing and signing the first remonstrance against slavery addressed to the American Congress.

Franklin died in Philadelphia on April 17th, 1790, aged eighty-four years and three months. In his will he gave a hundred pounds to the schools of Boston, his native city; and gave a thousand pounds to the city of Philadelphia and a like amount to the city of Boston as trust funds—the income to be let out upon interest to young married artificers under the age of twenty-five years.

It is one of the great tributes to Benjamin Franklin's practical mind that the funds he left in his will are still doing good for mankind after 166 years. So wisely had he planned it that the moneys he bequeathed have grown greatly in size and service.

The Franklin Technical Institute in Boston, founded in part from the funds in Franklin's will, is one of the pioneer schools for giving technical training to young men who cannot afford college. More than 75,000 young people have been enabled, through this one Institute, to take part in the technological improvements for mankind.

The Franklin Institute in Philadelphia also benefited from the thoughtful provisions of Benjamin Franklin. Founded in 1824, it established not only a service for young craftsmen, but also helped to pioneer in the practical education for young women—one of Franklin's great objective even at a time when women were not given education equal to men.

Through the years, the Franklin Institute has served to continue the ideals and objectives of the Philosopher for equal human rights. More than 300,000 visitors, half of them boys and girls, learn something each year of the wonders of science in its great Museum and Planetarium. Its research laboratories and associated research foundations have contributed, as Franklin wished, to the service of all mankind.

Here was established one of the world's first weather bureaus, based upon Franklin's studies of storms and winds. The standardization of bolt and screw threads was developed here so that peoples of all nations might benefit more easily by the interchange of technical equipment. The problems of steam-boiler explosions, pollution and the wider use of asphalt have all had constructive projects.

Here, too, were developed the aids for the blind that have brought greater comfort to those so afflicted. The first motion pictures—which have given so much happiness to so many millions of people—were exhibited at the Franklin Institute.

Thus the influence of a truly great Philosopher continues to bring benefits to men and women through the years.

It is said that all human progress springs from the creative ideas of great minds. Benjamin Franklin made enormous contributions to the development of science for the benefit of mankind—but history will, today, pay him even larger tribute for his teachings of the equality of all Human Rights.

For humanity's greatest goal is Peace. And Benjamin Franklin taught, never could come from any source except full and international respect for the Rights of every Man. No finer tribute could be paid to him during this Anniversary than to emphasize again his deathless Philosophy.

Students in British Universities

Bruce Burton writes in *The Indian Review*:

"You can lead a boy to college, but you cannot make him think," so the old adage runs. The recognition of this important truth by the university authorities contributes greatly to a harmonious relationship between teaching staff and students at British universities. . . . British University . . . both teaches and research, but is primarily a teaching body, and in teaching it believes that the essential is less that the pupil should be trained to know than that he should be trained to judge." These are the words of one of the most celebrated figures ever to participate in British University life—Sir David L. Ker.

To be trained to judge, to learn how to learn, to be encouraged to use one's initiative, these are regarded as essential ingredients of our university education. Every student at my own university of Oxford has to produce for his tutor at least one original essay a week. On the other hand, attendance at lectures is not compulsory (though it is definitely encouraged). This means that some lectures are poorly attended. The Glasgow University Professor of Medicine, on one occasion when his lecture was attended by one student, sent an attendant to bring in the skeleton, in order that he could begin his address with "Gentlemen . . ." The life of the British student is not all work. Pliny remarked, "*Studia hillaritate promovent*." "Cheerfulness is the key to success in studies." So all over the world know that!

Recreational Activities

In all British universities there is a Students' Union responsible not only for general student welfare, but for organising facilities for recreational activity. In India, the officers of these Unions are elected by the students themselves. There is keen competition between universities in all sports, but especially between Oxford and Cambridge, and their century-old rowing rivalry in the annual Boat Race is well known. There are, of course, other members of relaxation besides sport, and at Oxford I remember, there were countless societies and

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functioning regularly throughout the term, for the poet, the philosopher, the writer, the musician, the artist, the bridge or jazz enthusiast, and many others.

There are political and religious groups which cater for all views, the political societies mainly confining their activities to the propagatitn of the policies and ideas of the National Political parties they support.

Indian Student Makes History

Probably the most famous institution in Oxftrd is the Oxford Union Society. As in Indian universities, debating is popular among Britain's students and like its Cambridge counterpart, the Oxford Union functions primarily as a debating society. As each of the Oxford's thirty colleges has its own student welfare body, membership of the Union is a purely voluntary affair for the ten thousand men students. None of the thousand women students are permitted to join, but they are invited to 'view 'House' from the gallery of the debating chamber. Occasionally a lady undergraduate is invited to participate in one of the debates. Nearly a year ago I heard a fine speech by an Indian undergraduate, Miss Sardini Mehta (Lady Margaret Hall), who was the first woman ever to address the Oxford Union. The president at that time was Raghavan Iyer, her finance, and the third Indian to become President of the Oxford Union. However, although at Oxford women are rarely allowed to participate in the Union debates, as in all other British universities they contribute greatly to student social life in other spheres.

International Forum

In most other British universities, the proportion of women students is larger, education for women having naturally developed since the last war. Indeed, there have been a number of silent revolutions in British universities since the war. 'Oxbridge' is no longer the playground for the son of the idle rich. The majority of students at the two older universities are assisted by some kind of scholarship or grant, and the proportion is probably greater in the other universities. Educational democracy has come to stay.

An increasing amount of Britain's total student population is from overseas, perhaps 20—25 per cent of Oxford's students are visitors, particularly from the Commonwealth and the U.S.A. Indian students play an active and often prominent part in university sport and there have been many distinguished Indian Blues.

One of the greatest needs of this generation is for 'intellectual ivory towers' where young people of nations can meet and discuss quietly together for a while and then, refreshed by this intellectual pause, go forth wiser as a result of the interchange of ideas.

—

A Scheme, Plot and Plan

J. C. Kumarappa, observes in the *Gram Udyog Patrika*-:

The draft of the Second Five-Year Plan is before the public. One has to read it carefully to grasp the full implications put forward therein.

Ours being a poor agricultural country we were looking forward to see the interests of the farmers placed at the centre of things. All other considerations should buttress their uplift and be subordinate to that one consideration. Then alone it could be styled a "Plan." We find that the whole document is coloured by the needs of big, centralised, large-scale industry and the requirements of the rest of the nation are calculated to further the wellbeing of such an economic organization. Such a layout would well be termed a "scheme" or a "plot". Hence we may say that there is more scheming and plotting to expand exports, to raise foreign exchange and industrialise the country.

The little that is put forward as Community Project Schemes or Community Development Programme or National Extension Service are in the form of pacifiers. When the baby demands milk, the rubber nipple, with a bone disc stopper, is placed between its lips to suck. The baby sucks and sucks and gets no nourishment. The country loudly calls for rural reconstruction. It is presented in a few selected areas with these expensive welfare schemes that produce next to nothing. These should be fundamentally linked up with increase in the productive capacity of the villagers by being coupled with agriculture and agro and village industries. Such is not now the case. There should be a wide-spread network of rural development, manned by well-trained village level workers, backed by a high-powered Government body, headed, perhaps, by the Planning Minister. Only then we can expect anything more than mere propaganda to hatch out of these politically impregnated schemes. Tinkering with rural development will, in time, exhaust the patience of the people.

As we have already indicated in the past, the country should be reorganised along riverine valleys so that canals can carry the snow waters of Himalayas to the Cape through parched fields. What we need is that our economic requirements of the farmers should outweigh any political set-up of a party government or their patrons and bosses. Politics should now be satisfied with its subordinate place as a handmaiden of economics. Accordingly our Cabinet portfolios have to be recast to allow of the rebuilding of the nation on predetermined rational lines.

We trust these considerations will be brought to bear on the discussions of draft plan and in the end it will be recast to enable us to go forward with the development of a state devoted to the needs of the people.

—

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Hebrew University

The official opening of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus on April 1, 1925, was an outstanding event in Jewish cultural life. A distinguished company assembled to pay homage to the Jewish people and its efforts for national reconstruction; Lord Belfour, the veteran statesman and author of the historic Declaration, urging the Jewish National Home in Palestine; Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Nahum Sokolow, then the heads of the Zionist Organisation; Sri Herbert Samuel, the First British High Commissioner; Achad Haam and Chaim Nahman Bialik, Chief Rabbi Kook and Chief Rabbi Hertz of Great Britain; Dr. J. L. Magnes, representing the Provisional Board of Governors of the University, and many other illustrious persons.

The University's first Board of Governors was presided over by Dr. Weizmann and among its members was Prof. Albert Einstein, who later became its Honorary Chairman. Prof. Einstein was also President of the then existing Academic Council, consisting of distinguished Jewish scholars throughout the world.

The work started with only three research institutes: for chemistry, Jewish studies and microbiology, to which soon more branches were added. Expansion followed quickly and steadily, in spite of many vicissitudes. More buildings were added to the site, and the number of teachers and students substantially increased. By 1948 the University consisted of a Faculty of Humanities and a Faculty of Science, a Pre-Faculty of Medicine, Schools of Agriculture and Education, the Jewish National and University Library, and the University Press.

Then came the tragic set-back when during the War of Independence, Mount Scopus became inaccessible. New premises were hired provisionally in Terra Sancta College in the centre of New Jerusalem, and the various faculties and administration were housed in other available quarters, all in 50 buildings. But the immense growth of the Hebrew University made a permanent solution to the problem of accommodation absolutely imperative. It was therefore decided to erect new premises on the western outskirts of the town.

Since the formal dedication of the site on June 2, 1954, construction of the new campus has been proceeding apace, and the first building, Canada Hall (a lecture hall for Botany), a gift of Canadian friends, was inaugurated as early as May, 1955. The adjacent six laboratories are also nearing completion, and the entire Botany Department will be able to occupy the new premises. Moreover, four student hostels are in the course of construction. The hostels are intended to ease the acute shortage of students accommodation in Jerusalem. By 1957, other buildings to arise on the campus will be the Abraham Mazer Memorial Building (Institute of Jewish Studies), the George and Florence Wise Auditorium, and premises for the Law Faculty (also a gift of Canadian friends of the University) and other buildings.

It is expected that the new campus will take six to seven years to complete, and the work of the University will be transferred to it in stages. estimated cost is $30,000,000. It is, however, understood that the new site is not intended to but to complement the premises on Mt. Scopus use of the latter is still being demanded by the University.

The financial situation of the Hebrew has, at all periods of its existence, been a diff Nothwithstanding the increased funds received Israel Government and its close connection assistance given by, the Jewish Agency, the share of the budget must still be sought abroad Development Budget for the next three years been fixed at IL. 7,500.000 of which Governm been requested to contribute, as a loan, an IL. 2,900,000. and the Jewish Agency, which butes IL. 500,000 to the current budget, has been to extend her aid also to the Development Bud further to make a grant of IL. 1.000,000 for the 1955-56 to the current budget. The Jewish contribution so far has been made in recogni the University's unique role as the cultural the Jewish people.

The office of President of the Hebrew Univer the last two years has been occupied by Prof. Be Mazar, an eminent archaeologist and scholar subject is the History of the Biblical Period Historical Geography of Palestine. He has important archaeological expeditions in Israel and author of numerous work.

The teaching staff of 520 includes a number eminent in their fields. Of great assistance are the of guest professors and lecturers of note who Israel under various exchange programmes and A number of Hebrew University teachers invited as guest professors to universities abroad.

There are six Faculties: Humanities, Medicine (the University-Hadassah Medical Law, Agriculture and Social Sciences (the Kaplan School of Economics and Social Sciences). of them have been established or expanded recently, as for instance: the Medical School Faculty of Law in 1949; the School of Agricult expanded in 1952 into a full-fledged faculty; the School of Education was established under the auspices of the University and the Minis Education and Culture for training teachers, 1953 the Faculty of Social Sciences was set up, Schools of Dentistry and of Pharmacy inaug Of all the branches of learning, the Institute of Studies is the one which gives the University its distinctive character, because it includes the of Judaism in all its aspects.

The Hebrew University students come from 47 countries and number 3,263. The majority, including 53 Arab and Druse students, have their secondary school education in Israel. Up beginning of 1955 the University awarded 2,500 its graduates fill responsible posts in the Gov National Institutions and other public bodies, and

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...y positions in scientific research institutes and as ...achers at colleges, secondary schools and at the ...niversity itself.

The Hebrew University, whilst concerned with the ...neral aim of extending knowledge, has made a vital ...ntribution to the development of the Jewish National ...ome and Israel. This it has done through its ...searches in the medical, chemical, industrial and ...ricultural fields. Agriculture has benefited from the ...searches in many ways. Underground water has been ...ade available for irrigation, thanks to indications for ...illing sites given by its geologists. Irrigation has ...rmitted a transition from dry farming to intensive ...ltivation over large areas, thus increasing yields. ...e University's bacteriologists and parasitologists ...ve to control malaria. The control of plant diseases ...d of epidemics, of field mice and locusts is the special province of its entomologists. Industry in Israel has been aided by the research of the University's geologists and chemists in particular. The former have discovered in Israel essential raw material like phosphates, cement, peat and absorptive clays, while the latter have worked out processes for the commercial utilisation of various local minerals and chemicals. Particular importance attaches to studies in the chemistry of bromides and other Dead Sea minerals. In the fields of public health service intensive studies are made in endemic and epidemic diseases. Diseases investigated include cancer, sandfly, fever, typhus, dysentery, etc. In connection with recent epidemic of poliomyelitis researches are in progress on the relative degrees of immunity of different sections among Israel's population.—*News from Israel*, January 15, 1956.

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Youth Volunteers
Across The Face of India

Hans Peter Muller is Secretary of the Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps. With the aid of Unesco, he recently spent three months in India to promote the development of international voluntary work camps and to help link local groups with similar organizations in other countries. He presents the reader with the results of his observations in India and his views thereupon in the *The Unesco Courier*, No. 6, 1955, as follows :

The traveller arriving for the first time in Bombay is struck by an impression of lavish luxury side by side with the poorest kind of slums. And he will probably ask himself how many of the people in the well-to-do neighbourhoods know or care about the uprooted masses living nearby. For my part, I thought of the week-end work camps organized in the Paris suburbs by the Service Civil International, and of the many American Friends Service Committee camps in the poorer quarters of New Work and Chicago.

But it was not long before I learned that in Bombay, as in other big cities, there are groups of people who do know and who do care. They are doing something about it, too, and on a much larger scale than any work camps in Europe or in the United States. They belong to Rashtra Seva Dal, and their work squads—known as Sane Guruji Seva Patak—go into the slums, in teams some 10 to 30 strong, to launch clean-up campaigns and initiate people into the fundamentals of health, sanitation and child care. Followers of Gandhi, they use drama and music to get their points across and their shows draw thoosands on public squares.

But Rashtra Seva Dal's main task is the improvement of conditions in rural areas where 80% of India's population live. I got my first glimpse of this work at Hadaspar, not far from Poona, where 3,000 volunteers (550 of them women), were "bunding" on a co-operative farm formed by small land-holders whose plots are too minute to be worked individually.

Bunding, I learned, means digging the earth and heaping it into long dikes to protect the crops from the sun and wind. The volunteers in the camp came from all walks of life—students, farmers engineers, architects, doctors, teachers, craftsmen and shop-keepers.

Not many Indian work camps, however, are as large as this. Usually, they consist of 20 to 30 selected volunteers, as in the case of Taranagar, near Hyderabad. There, I joined a group of students working with the villagers to lay the foundations of a library and to rebuild the local teacher's living quarters. When the students first came to Taranagar, three years ago, the villagers asked them to repair a ruined temple, inhabited by a huge cobra. The students and the peasants cleared the underbrush from the temple, killed the snake and converted the ruined building into a community centre.

Since then, every year, Hyderabad students spend their vacations carrying out projects suggested by the villagers. A school has been opened and a teacher found for it, a market built and a major road repaired. Hyderabad's Health Department helped to spray mud huts with DDT and to distribute anti-malaria pills. Soakage - pits, compost heaps and smokeless cholas (stoves) were built. A co-operative was opened in 1954, and this year, Taranagar plans to build an adult education centre.

It is a long trek from Hyderabad to the Service International camp at Matras in the State of Bihar which had suffered terribly during the floods of August. Many villages were still isolated from the outside world and when I left the railway station at Dharbanga, I had to wade over paddy fields for nearly three quarters of an hour, with water up to my knees and a heavy suitcase on my shoulders, heartily wishing I had carried a rucksack instead.

At Matras, a village of 1,100 inhabitants, the project consisted of rebuilding the school which had been washed away, and also of constructing a "Govardham" or earth platform to shelter the villagers and their cattle in the event of another flood. The villagers were giving one day a week of voluntary labour to work with the international team consisting of two Indians, a Pakistani, a Swiss, a French and a German girl.

After hauling baskets of earth all the morning we had our lunch of chapaties (India's wheat pancake bread), vegetables, curry and curds in a bamboo hut covered with mats and plastered with mud and cow-dung. During the meal, dozens of villagers on their way to a nearby temple, stopped in and said "hello". They all glanced at our plates and probably were pleased to note that the international cuisine was very different from their own.

Ingrid, the camp housemother, who is a trained nurse, knew many of these people. Their wives used to come to look at her kitchen with its stove burning waste wood instead of cow-dung. Any new "kitchen appliance" always drew a crowd. Besides, it was Ingrid who kept the team's first-aid kit and, as the days went by, she had to institute visiting hours at her dispensary so as not to be "invaded" at all hours. The international team had become a demonstration in fundamental education.

As we finished our meal, we were startled by an unusual uproar outside the hut. The mud platform at the back was swarming with teen-agers in shirts and shorts. More than two hundred of them had come with their teacher to help.

Soon the schoolboys were digging lumps of earth with whatever they could find and, forming a human chain, passing the big chunks up to the platform. At the end of the afternoon the results of their work were very visible—they had not lost a minute—and we returned to Dharbanga, walking and wading all the way again.

This example is a good illustration of the possibilities of small work camp groups in India. They can induce thousands of young people to work on community service projects—in a country where manual labour is still regarded in many circles as degrading.

In India, a tradition going back to the Vedas once made it a duty for every individual to perform certain services to his community : "Gyandan"—the gift of knowltdge; "Dhandan"—the gift of wealth; "Shramdan"—the gift of labour. ..very physically man had to make this gift of labour at least once in his lifetime.

Gandhi, who coined the phrase "work is worship", revived these ancient traditions, and, more recently, Vinoba Bhave initiated a new movement—the "Bhoodan" or land gift—which may set off an economic revolution.

Many who have studied these movements believe that Shramdan and Bhoodan herald a renaissance that will not halt at India's borders, but will spread to South-East Asia. In any event, Shramdan and Bhoodan have become magic words in India.

When on leaving Matras I took the train

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Darbhanga, one of my fellow passengers stared at me and said to his neighbour in Hindi: "He's one of the Ramdan-wallahs. I saw him working with the others." A hush came over the carriage, but it was soon broken by questions about the work, the volunteers and the camp. Several youngsters announced that they would go to Matras with their friends to work. A little later, I changed trains, but my new fellow travellers were equally interested, and two men told me: "We want to devote a year to this work."

Last December, the Kosi Area Bharat Seva Samaj (a voluntary service association) wired India's Ministry of Irrigation and Power in Delhi that local citizens had decided to begin work on eight miles of the eastern Kosi embankment.

This telegram may mark the beginning of a new phase of local participation in India's development programme. The Kosi Valley Project is a multi-purpose one on the lines of Tennessee Valley Authority. It will not only control floods on the wild Kosi river racing from its source in Nepal to the Ganges valley, but also furnish irrigation water and electric power.

In India, where power machinery is often not available, the speed with which large-scale projects are completed depends on public co-operation. And this is where work camps have an important part to play. If the millions who live in the valleys of the Kosi and the Ganges can be awakened and encouraged to co-operate, they will do the job of a thousand bull-dozers and they will know that they are working for themselves.

The Kosi project was worked out by the Indian Planning Commission in co-operation with the Napalese Government. Thus, Indian voluntary work camps will have their first chance of action on an international scale.

In India itself, the scope of their work is ever increasing. Last year, the Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps estimated the total number of camps in India to be nearly 450. In 1955, the number of camps will be at least 1,000 with a total of some 50,000 volunteers. To staff these camps, a training centre for leaders was started near Delhi early in 1955, while other leader-training courses have been organized in Hyderabad and Bangalore.

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Asia as Presented in Western Schoolbooks

Obstacles to western understanding of the east—important because they are often at the bottom of points of disagreement and tension—may well be the result, if only partially, of the very curious ideas about Asia that the average western schoolboy gets from his school textbooks.

This is brought out in a survey made by educators in eighteen countries at the suggestion of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Ogranization which concludes that the image of Asia as presented to school children is badly out of focus in many countries.

As one report puts it, Asian history when seen through Western-coloured glasses too often is "superficial, episodic, fragmentary and distorted."

The survey, covered extensively in the March issue of the *Unesco Courier*, adds up to a near-indictment of the teaching of Asian history in many countries. Typical of most of the reports are the conclusions reached in a survey made by the Belgian Federation of History Teachers:

"From the majority of textbooks in use, it is apparent that, despite their authors' evident attempts at objectivity: (1) little space is devoted to Asian countries in these books; (2) Asian history is seen almost exclusively from the European standpoint; (3) these peoples remain little known, since their dealings with other countries teach us nothing about them, (4) our view of Asia remains fragmentary and biased, and (5) though 'modern' Europe may be familiar to us, Asia is not.".

Here are some other criticism lebelled, not by Unesco but by the countries themselves:

Italy: "Certain authors limit Indian history to the period of British rule. In some books, Chinese history begins in 1895 with the Sino-Japanese peace treaty of Shimonoseki, as if the life of the Chinese people had been of little interest until that time."

Germany: "In general, books are silent about cultures other than those of the north of India and China. In the books examined, the whole of the South-East Asian region is almost entirely neglected."

Sweden: "Nowhere is an account given of the part Mohammedanism has played in the foundation of states both in the past and present. Most pupils leave school without having clear ideas of the literature, art and world of ideas of Per-ia, India, Indonesia and China."

United Kingdom (a limited survey of England and Wales): "In books which cover ancient history, there is frequent omission of the early periods of Asiatic history. There are common references, for example, to Darius and Alexander, to Marco Polo and later voyagers, and then no further references until Western impact upon what are presented as decadent or disorderly states of later times is noted."

Prior to Unesco's international survey, a study was made ten years ago of the teaching of Asian history in the United States. Among its conclusions were:

—Backwardness in industrial development is too often left to mean backwardness in every aspect of development.

—The great personages of Asian history are virtually ignored. Asia's place in contemporary affairs is insufficient attention.

A new report submitted to Unesco early this, however, notes "encouraging" improvements. The office of Education comments: "Changes come and pressures for the status quo are strong yet action and change can be detected."

But no one has a monopoly on the one presentation of history, as the *Unesco Courier* in an article which shows how, throughout the nations have seen themselves as the hub of history "the centre of the map.". The ancient Chinese example, called themselves the Middle Kingdom and thty believed that the Temple of Heaven at Peking the exact centre of the earth's surface.

The medieval Hindu thought that, in the lands to his east and west, souls were doomed to born as barbarous Mlecchas and to live unhallowed until they earned the right to be born in India.

But his Moslem contemporaries divided the into seven temperature zones. Writing in Syria they explained that, in the hot south, men grew and remained backward while, in the far north (meaning Europe, that is), their skins were pallid and minds sluggish.

Even modern maps are distorted by old ideas the Mercator world map, as the *Unesco Courier* out, not only is Europe in the upper centre it is also represented as much larger than other south of the fortieth parallel.

Controversies kept alive by history textbooks recalled in an article by D. W. Brogan. "An American schoolboy told of the burning of tht White House, not of the burning of the parliament building Upper Canada in what is now Toronto, was likely at cross purposes with a Canadian who had received different version of the war of 1812," he writes. English schoolboy would be under another disadvantage —he would not know of either."

"At school in Scotland," comments Mr. Brogan "I was taught a great deal about the wickedness King Edward I of England. But he died in 1307 such teaching did not seriously distort the although it may have wasted school time. It was different when German schoolboys were told more once of the burning of the castle of Heidelberg by French, and French schoolboys of the burning of castle of Saint-Cloud by the Germans."

However, warns Mr. Brogan, care must be taken clearing up these controversies to avoid a least-common-denominator-history that is hardly teaching." He pleads the case of new legends merely the elimination of the old ones. "Let the hear about Florence Nightingale, the North American about Bolivar or even the Russian pioneers in Siberia.

Th textbooks that some well-meaning would like to produce have one great weakness charges: they would be unreadable. The beginning wisdom will be when we take to our hearts the of other people, not when we write off heroism, Mr. Brogan.—*Unesco*, March 7, 1956.

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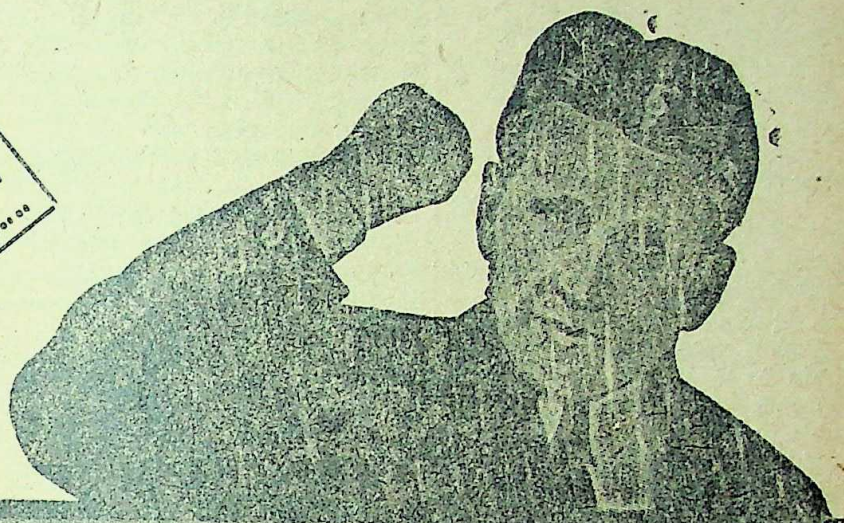

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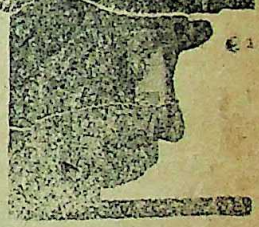

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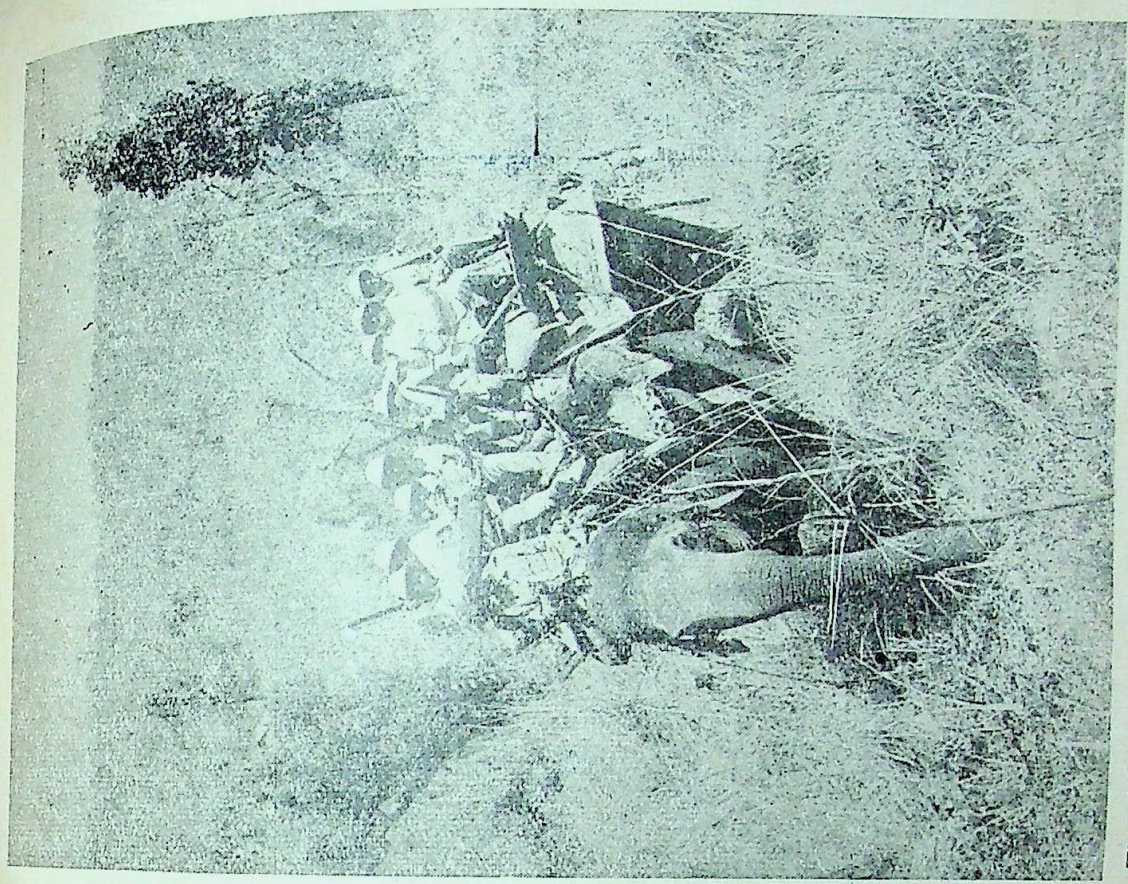

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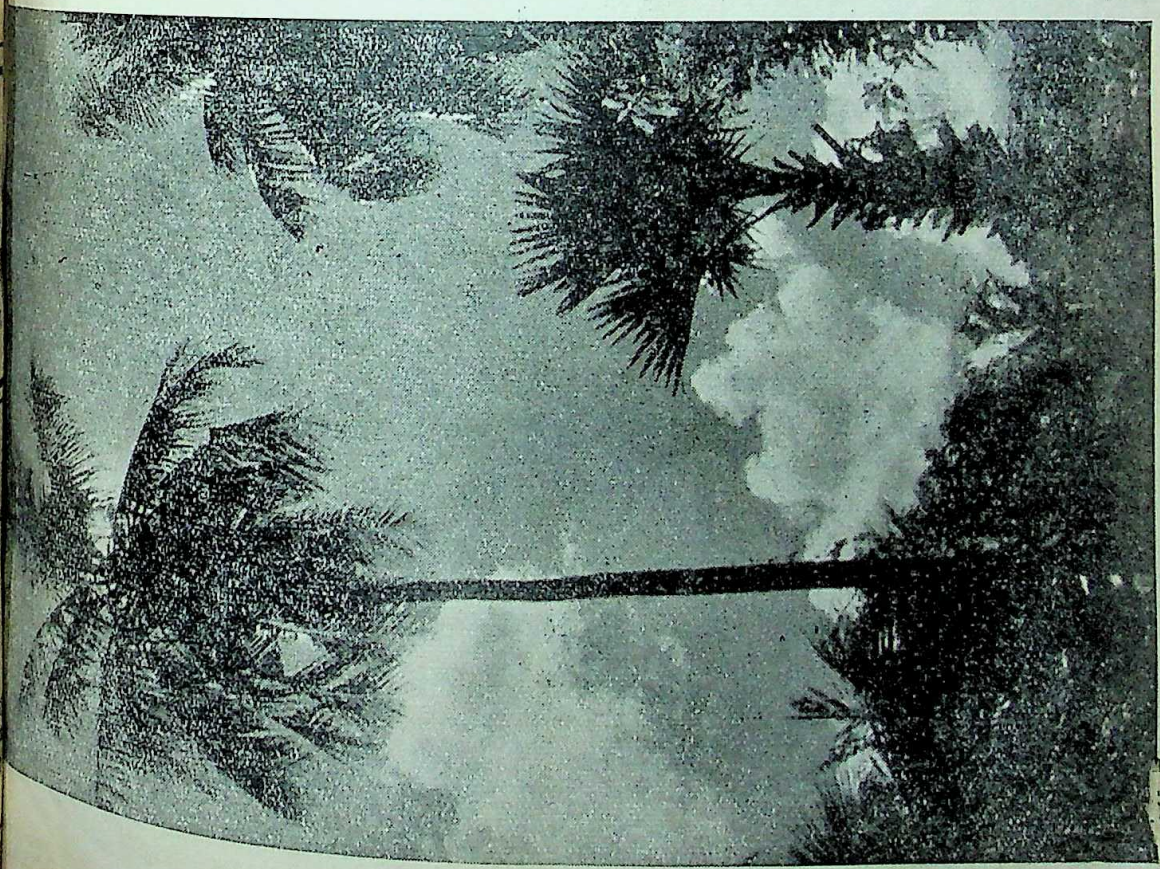

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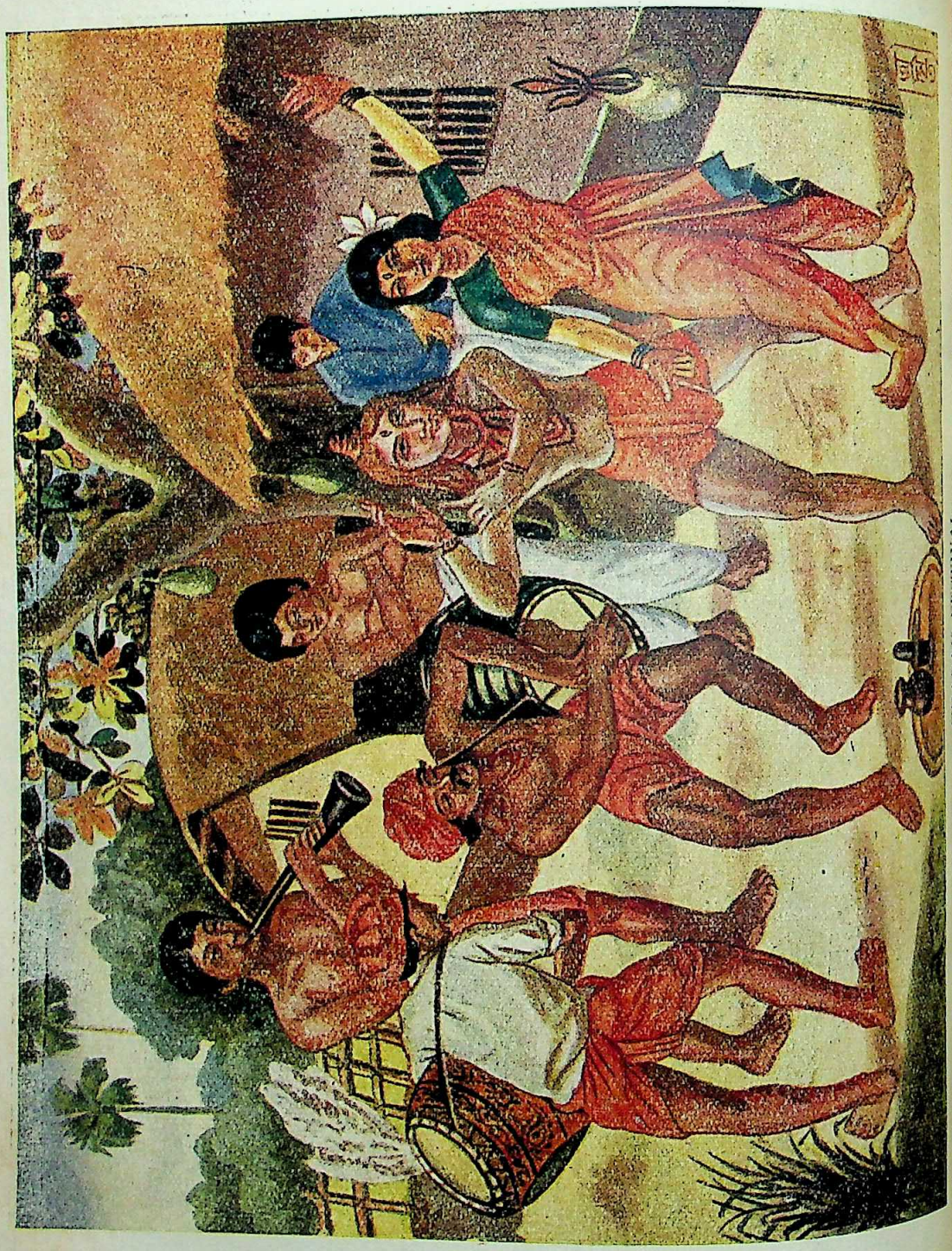

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THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY 1956

Vol. LXXXXIX, No. 5 WHOLE No. 593

NOTES

Political Forebodings

The next elections are not even a year off. The and the Congress defeats in local and Central bye-elections, that have taken place recently all over the country, added to the election results in district board and municipal constituencies, have caused a great deal of uneasiness to the Central and State Governments and the Congress High Command.

Pandit Pant has realised that under the present bureaucratic procedure our tin-gods of the administration have become not only more arbitrary and irresponsible, where the public is concerned, but have become as corrupt—or even more so—as in the glorious *Nokarshahi* days of the *steel-frame*. Even Pandit Nehru has woken up to the fact that the service rules are obsolete and confusing. As a result both the Home Minister and the Prime Minister are out to bring in reforms, one in the service itself, and from the recruitment stage, and the other in the service rules.

But the days of miracles are past—although we admit that it is a minor miracle that Pandit Nehru should have taken notice of his fellows at home—and we have to wait and see what these eforms are like. With the somewhat and extremely mediocre composition of the Lok Sabha it is not likely that much will come out of that assemblage of Rip Van Winkles. The Congress members will say "Ayes" to everything mooted by the Congress Government, be it good, bad or indifferent, and the opposition will howl "No," to all official propositions.

But the fact remains that the administration is now highly inefficient and corrupt to the core. And the long-suffering public might take the only way to express their disapproval to the present set-up, as they did in East Pakistan, to undoing of the Pakistani Moslem League Government.

The administration has become actively oppressive in many areas, due to the total neglect of public considerations by high officials. There is no way to obtain redress unless one has influence with the Party. For it is Party rule that is obtaining all over the country today, from the Centre outwards. In Pandit Nehru's own Cabinet there is rampant parochialism, there is communalism of the most atrocious type in one ministry and efficiency is a matter of jokes. Under these circumstances the reforms under view are most likely to remain on paper, or if at all exercised it would be so in the breach.

Corruption in the Police is attaining a new high in most places, the railways are back to their blackest form. Even the Posts and Telegraphs department, which was the one shining example of efficiency and integrity in the days of British administration has followed suit to the rest of the communications section. Regarding the efficiency the following news-item speaks volumes:

"There has been some delay during [illegible]red [illegible]es in the

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few days in the delivery of mail in Calcutta. This, it is stated, is due to the fact that as a result of the high temperature some of the mail vans have gone out of order.

It has also not been possible, because of the heat, to supply some of the post offices with sufficient stamps."

It should be noted that the temperatures reached during the days in question were nothing beyond what is seasonable.

The main trouble today is the immunity of the inefficient, the corrupt and the arrogantly oppressive elements in the services. The public has no means to redress, except by going right through the courts, up to the Supreme Court, at enormous expense of time, energy and money. The guilty officer is immune in every way because if the aggrieved obtains a favourable jujdgement, it is the government that pays. It is the same in the case of corruption. The loot goes to the corrupt official, damages—if any—that are paid to the looted, have to be borne by the government.

Service rules have to be amended, and if necessary the Constitution also has to be amended. The Constitution, as it stands today, is a safeguard for every evil-doer without being in any way a bulwark for the honest and the poor. Like the proverbial mass of good-intentions, gathered at random, it is heading the nation towards a hell of corruption and inefficiency. It is about time we realised that it was not at all an efficient job, and that it needs substantial amendments and additions in order to protect the good people from the machinations of the evil-doers. Particularly, is there necessity to provide condign punishment for those who use the powers of their office to oppress or mulct the helpless common man.

The Congress, that is Pandit Nehru's Congress, is astir at the prospects of the coming election as we learn from the following news:

"New Delhi, April 16.—The discussions at the Congress Central Election Committee's meeting here today are reported to have proceeded on the assumption that the General Election will be held according to schedule early in 1957."

We dare say the same lot of mediocrities, nonentities and notorieties would be elected. The Congress itself now is a festering pool of corruption, so what hopes of any reforms [illegible]re unless it starts there?

Administrative Services

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Union Home Minister, made an important announcement in the Lok Sabha on April 12 about the reorganisation, organisation and the future of the Administrative Services in India. He disclosed that the Union Government proposed to set up a Committee to go into all aspects concerning the Administrative Services and the [illegible] cadres of technical and non-technical posts would be created in future. He also announced the Government's intention to constitute an Emergency Recruitment Board composed of the Chairman of the Union Public Service Commission or his nominee, another member of the UPSC, a senior official and another [illegible] to recruit suitable candidates to fill up vacancies in the States and the Centre. Pandit Pant further stated that with a view to effectively deal with the evil of corruption in the Services a Vigilance Division had been set up in the Union Home Ministry and Vigilance officers had been posted in every ministry.

Pandit Pant said that the services had been organised by an alien Government for purposes other than national reconstruction and it was therefore quite remarkable that they had shown such an excellent capacity to adapt themselves to the changed circumstances. There were many points of shortcomings. There was not the proper realisation on the part of everyone that the services existed for the people and not the people for the services. Members of the public were not always treated with the courtesy they deserved. There was bad economy in many places. In olden days service conditions, emoluments, etc. had been determined with an eye to attracting overseas officers. All these things needed [illegible], Pandit Pant said.

Moreover, the Minister added, the services were now facing many new duties which they had not to perform in earlier days. This had given rise to the problem of the reorganisation of the services. The Enquiry Committee would consider these questions and apprise the Government of its recommendations.

Referring to the question of general recruitment to the services Pandit Pant said: "I do not feel quite sure if the system of written or oral examinations is essential to such an extent that one should necessarily qualify in it

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should be a part of the system of recruitment, but all marks should be added up in order to see whether a candidate is fit. Failure in the *viva voce* examination, while one is otherwise qualified, should not come in the way of his entry into the Public Services, because one cannot be too sure about the judgment formed by him (the examiner) about another man's capacity, personality, genius or merits in the course of a few minutes. So it is worth considering whether this change should not be made."

Government Service Rules

Pandit Nehru recently drew attention to the need for changing the Government Service Rules. Presiding over the second annual general meeting of the Indian Institute of Public Administration in New Delhi on April 7, Shri Nehru said that the Government Service Rules had become outdated and required to be revised.

The *Statesman* reports: "He had an occasion, he said, to look at the service rules and was astonished how the Government of India continued to live so long. Apart from complexity of the rules and their amendments, what was worse was that rules framed 20, 40 and even 50 years ago continued to be in force. The rules were not only pre-independence but pre-everything and he could not conceive that they could be applicable today.

"Even in countries like England, Mr. Nehru said, rules had been changed from time to time, but those in force in this country had become static. The whole background of independence required a 'new change' in this matter. If the administrative machinery did not fall in line with the objective of a Social-pattern of society, it would have to be changed."

Referring to Pandit Nehru's remarks on the need for changing the Government Service Rules the *Statesman* writes that obviously they should have been revised "but it is also pertinent to ask why they have not been changed. Gorwala wrote in 1951: 'In the last decade hardly ever have the years passed without some report becoming available at the Centre or in the provinces on the subject of administrative reorganization and reform.' Since then there have been yet more reports and committees presided over by Indian and foreign experts; the field, it would seem, has been well ploughed and a larger harvest might have been expected."

The newspaper points to the absence of a systematic policy on recruitment and retirement ages, to the complicated nature of the leave rules and to "an excessive tendency to take on 'temporary' officials" often affecting the morale of the administration, and says that other rules were also equally open to criticism.

The newspaper refers to the remarks of Paul Appleby who had written in 1953 that "the rules of business, Secretariat instructions and office manuals seem . . . too didactic and confining, too detailed and unimaginative . . . They seem to assume, and to encourage, that literal-mindedness which damps the spirit, imagination and judgment which are important to good administration. Their basic pattern undoubtedly originated in colonial administration."

"Practice, however, has for many years tended to render the effects worse," the *Statesman* notes. "The complications and delay which at times dog an officer who is transferred or newly joins, or goes over to another department, and which prevent him for many months from drawing any salary are well known. Temporary appointments are too often used to fend off the jurisdiction of the Public Service Commissions and result in officials working for years together, and even retiring without confirmation and pension benefits. Leave facilities, although existent, may be denied, in fact, until accumulated leave 'rots away'."

U.P. Congress Faces Crisis

The Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee meeting in Lucknow on April 28 and 29 would be of great significance, writes the special correspondent of the weekly *People*. According to the correspondent the meeting would discuss many important issues touching on the organisational affairs of the committee and would also discuss on measures for its revitalisation.

The type of subjects which were going to be discussed might be guessed from the resolutions tabled by Shri Mohanlal Gautam, former Minister for Local Self-Government. One resolution tabled by Shri Gautam required the disbanding of the *ad hoc* committees in the

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districts which in many instances had been appointed by the PCC in complete disregard to the wishes of the majority members only to boost up sectional interests. The resolution demanded the replacement of such *ad hoc* committees by the elected ones.

Another resolution said that election funds should be collected from as extensive source as possible and that "any member of the U.P. Parliamentary Board who collects money for elections from individuals should issue a receipt for the same and keep full account of the funds so collected."

Referring to affairs of the U.P. Congress the *People* writes in an editorial article that the serious weaknesses of the State Congress had already been evident to the discerning public even during the last General Elections when the Congress had been able to secure only 48 per cent of the total votes polled. But this fact had not appeared so marked because of the large number of seats obtained by the Congress which was possible only because of the popularity of Pandit Nehru, the able organisation by Pandit Pant, and the strife ruling the Opposition. "It is a painful fact, but nevertheless worthy of attention," writes the *People*, "that since then the popularity of the Congress in this State has not increased."

The *People* traces the weakness of the State Congress to three factors: Repeated defeats in the Assembly bye-elections, internecine strife among the top Congress leadership and the "widespread desire of Congressmen controlling the local committees to maintain their hold over them at all costs." Another recent development was the "tendency of certain elements in the organisation to collect money from big businessmen for fighting elections."

The newspaper appeals to the State Congress leaders to abandon mutual hostility and to concentrate on the spirit of work and sacrifice. "Now is the time when the great leaders like Pandit Nehru and Pandit Pant should seriously give more attention to the affairs in this State and help its leaders to put their house in order to meet the challenge," the *People* concludes.

We would quote here the following item from the reports of the last Congress:

"The sixty-first session of the Congress meets at a time when the organisation is facing a powerful challenge to its capacity for statesmanship. The situation created by the S. Report and its sequel calls for tact as well firmness on the part of the Government. And Congress as the Party in power has to see how it has developed the well-knit cohesion needed sustain the controversial policies, the acceptance of which by the people can be the only guarantee of any democratic Government authority. Mr. Dhebar in his Presidential address applied himself with sincerity and mindedness to an appraisal of the problems the public reactions to the S.R.C. Report the Government's decisions thereon had lighted, and to the ideology behind the S. Five-Year Plan as a solvent for the emotional fixations that were at the root of the problem.

Resources for the Second Plan

The Second Five-Year Plan has been framed on a larger scale than the first one, the undertaking to expend a much heavier sum. Plan has again been revised with an additional expenditure of Rs. 400 crores and the total outlay in the public sector will amount to Rs. 5,200 crores. Main reserves of resources been tentatively defined and what concerns not so much the enumeration of the heads resources, but the actual realisation from sources. Already under the original estimate outlay for Rs. 4,800, there was a gap in resources to the extent of Rs. 400 crores; now under revised estimate the gap goes up to Rs. 800 The Government is faced with the problem how to raise the financial resources Plan, and reassessment is being made resources aspect of the Plan. Several prominent foreign experts on public finance have been gaged by the Government to give an independent opinion on the tax structure of the try and also to suggest ways for increasing the revenue resources of the Government coming years. Of these experts, Dr. N. Kaldor of the Cambridge University, has a number of suggestions. In his opinion rate of income-tax should not exceed cent; there should be the reimposition of tal gains tax, higher death duties supplemented by a gifts tax, an annual tax on wealth. Dr. Kaldor is reported to have suggested the Government should raise an additional of Rs. 40 crores by additional taxation.

Since deficit financing will be an inevitable

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way of raising finance for the Second Plan, additional taxation must follow it in order to prevent inflation. Additional taxation to mop up additional purchasing power of the people in the face of deficit financing is a necessary adjunct of deficit financing. During the debate on the Finance Bill, the Finance Miiister indicated that his department was considering the feasibility of some newer types of taxations, as for example, an annual tax on wealth and a tax on expenditure. He also hinted that there was still further scope for indirect taxation. In this connection he referred to the findings of the Taxation Enquiry Commission that indirect taxation accounted for some 3.6 per cent of the total expenditure. But this contention is not true for the people as a whole. The incidence of indirect taxation is greater in urban areas than in rural areas and it increases with the total expenditure. The Commission pointed out that the incidence of indirect taxation on an expenditure of less than Rs. 50 per month in rural areas does not exceed 2.2 per cent of the expenditure. For expenditure above Rs. 300 per month in urban areas, the incidence of indirect taxation stood at 8.3 per cent of the expenditure. The Finance Minister therefore thinks that the incidence of indirect taxes at present prevailing does not seem to be oppressive. It may, however, be pointed out that statistics always do not prove everything and the incidence of indirect taxation may be statistically moderate, but indirect taxation in India has generally the tendency to give an upward swing to the price level of the commodities so taxed and the result is that the cost of living invariably goes up. The indirect result is that indirect taxation imposes additional burdens on the life of the community, partly by imposts and partly by higher cost of living.

The Finance Minister's problem is to eat the cake and have it too. While financing by created money after a certain period generates inflationary tendencies, indirect taxation of essential commodities further aggravates the situation as has been the case recently with the new budget. The budget for the year 1956-57 has brought about a sharp increase in the cost of living index. This is of course due to the speculative activities of the dealers, but such speculation is to a large extent encouraged by the effect of the taxation measures under the new budget. Indirect taxation of essential commodities and financing by created money seem to be incompatiable, at least in the Indian context, in so far as they create inflation by withholding supplies against increasing purchasing power of the community. The position has been further worsened by the shortfall in the supply of staple foodgrains like wheat and rice. It was only the last year when it was announced that India had produced surplus foodstuffs and that the target laid down by the first Five-Year Plan was already exceeded. Following this, the Government of India granted permission for the export of 2 lakh tons of rice and nearly 60,000 tons were exported by the end of 1955. Evidently, this was an inadvertent step, and the export of rice from a country which was in short supply of the commodity for the last 16 years was a hasty measure. It is a pity that the authorities seem to have forgotten that notwithstanding the spectacular progress in river valley projects, India is still a victim of the vagaries of nature in the production of her agricultural crops and during the last season there was widespread crop failures, in some parts on account of drought and in others on account of floods. While making inventory estimates of production such losses in production, which have become a normal feature of our economy, are totally ignored.

We ourselves have advocated higher taxation to neutralise the evil effects of deficit financing. But we always view with dismay the taxation of commodities that are essential to the community. By essential commodities we mean food materials and taxation of such materials always have adverse effect on the cost of living. That the incidence of indirect taxation is low in this country cannot be a ground for taxing food materials. Indirect taxation may be directed towards commodities other than food materials and we think that the Finance Minister has committed an error of judgement in imposing levies on foodstuffs. The result has been what is inevitable—inflationary speculation.

The estate duty in India leaves much scope for enhancement of its rates. The introduction of slab system has been an unwise step and it reduces the incidence considerably. In the United Kingdom, step system has been adopted. In the case of income-tax, slab system may be equitable; but in the case of estate duty, step system brings about the desired result. In the matter of imposition of estate duty in this

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country, the Finance Minister has showed much leniency which is not explicable. The rates of estate duty in India are much lower in comparison with those of other neighbouring countries like Pakistan and Ceylon. The maximum limit of 40 per cent of levy on an estate the value of which exceeds Rs. 40 lakhs is much too low. In Britain the maximum limit works out to nearly 90 per cent and that is on an estate the value of which exceeds Rs. 26 lakhs. We fail to understand why the Finanec Minister is so much reticent about the low incidence of estate duty in this country. He has said much about indirect taxation and widening the net so as to catch even the poorest in India, but why does he not say anything about enhancing the rate of estate duty? We think that the rate of income-tax may be lowered to 50 per cent, but the rate of estate duty should be considerably raised and higher levies will enlarge Government's revenue resources.

There is a great diffrence between the effect of estate duty and income-tax. Estate duty does not destroy potential capital and it is the final settlement of income-tax after death. Estate duty does not affect a man's spending power, while income-tax does. Further, the scope of estate duty might also be enlarged by the introduction of legacy duty. In India the State undertakes to prevent the excessive concentration of wealth in the hands of private persons, and to achieve that end, both estate duty and legacy duty are essential. The Finance Minister always quotes the Taxation Enquiry Commission's report whenever it suits his purpose and ignores it whenever it does not support his contention. In this country there is no integrated tax structure, and as a result Union levies are further enhanced in their incidence by States' excise duties and sales tax. Tax evasion is still widespread and to prevent such evasions, taxation of total wealth might be introduced. For the second Five-Year Plan, greater reliance has to be given on taxation and deficit financing.

Small Savings

The savings of the middle and lower strata, economically speaking, have also a good deal of significance in the Second Five-Year Plan. In this connection the resolution at Shaheednagar, as given below, is to be noted:

"Shaheednagar, February 10. Mr. S. K. Patil (Bombay) moved the official resolution the call for small savings.

"The resolution called upon the nation general and Congressmen in particular to help the campaign for small savings. It indicated that fresh taxation and large-scale borrowing the Central and State Governments would be necessary in order to find outlay for allocations proposed under the Second Five-Year Plan.

"Mr. Patil said that in the past loans Government purposes were subscribed by insurance companies and others. The rich people were being liquidated and somebody had to take place. The money had now to come from the people.

"Mr. Patil said that the total outlay estimated under the Second Plan was the minimum. We had to find resources for financing the Rs. 4 crores Plan. Of this, taking into account the gap of Rs. 400 crores in the Plan, they should make an effort to collect about Rs. 1,000 crores through small savings. The Congressmen would have to devote themselves to this great task of reconstruction.

"Mr. Patil said that at present the small savings were to the tune of Rs. 50 crores which was nearly one and a half per cent of the national income. This was much small as compared with the small savings in the Western nations.

"Mr. Patil said that the process of capital formation in the New India would have to be on different lines. Instead of a handful of people who helped in the past for the capital formation millions would now have to come forward with their savings of Re. 1 or Rs. 5. He instanced Germany where, he said, some time back when the economy of the country was lagging a call was given to the German people for two crores manhours. The call had a big response from the people and the economy of the country was resuscitated. Similarly, they would have to take steps to finance their own plans.

"Mr. Patil said that the Small Savings Department was at persent a neglected department of the Union Finance Ministry. It would have to be treated as an important subject of the Ministry."

Foreign Aid During the First Plan

The figures recently published by the Government of India about the external assis-

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received by India during the first Plan indicate that India has received so far external assistance to the extent of nearly Rs. 300 crores. The USA has been the largest single contributor to this amount. Excluding the Wheat Loan granted to India in 1951, the total United States assistance authorised to India to date under the Indo-US Aid Programme amounts to Rs. 142 crores ($298 million). If we take into account the Wheat Loan and the assistance rendered by the Ford Foundation, then the total US assistance will rise to the order of Rs. 238 crores (nearly $500 million). India has also received assistance from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, on a loan basis, and from the Commonwealth member countries of the Colombo Plan, namely, Australia, Canada and New Zealand on a grant basis. The aggregate amount of loans sanctioned by the International Bank amounts to nearly Rs. 60 crores ($125 million). Of these over Rs. 20 crores ($42 million) were utilised before the first Five-Year Plan was started. Of the balance amount of $83 million, $58 million have been sanctioned to the private sector. During the period of the first Plan, the public sector has received only an amount to a little over Rs. 12 crores ($25 million). The loans sanctioned include the Railway Loan, the Agricultural Machinery Loan, the two D.V.C. loans, the loan for the expansion of IISCO, the loan for the Trombay Power scheme (TATA) and the loan for the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation.

Of the total external assistance authorised to the extent of Rs. 300 crores during the first Plan, utilisation up to the end of 1955-56 is to the extent of Rs. 204 crores. The main reason for this delay in utilising these resources is the inevitable time lag involved between the authorisation of assistance or sanction of a loan and its utilisation on agreed projects by procurement of stores, equipment, etc. The result is that an amount of Rs. 94 crores of external resources authorised during the first Plan will be available for utilisation during the second Plan period.

The Indo-US Aid Programme started in 1949 under the Point Four Technical Assistance Agreement was followed by the General Agreement of 1952. This agreement provides for undertaking of joint projects laying emphasis on agricultural development. The understanding was that the USA would pay for goods and equipment imported from abroad and a corresponding contribution would be made by India for taking care of the rupee expenditure within the country. The agreement laid stress on joint projects in the fields of Community Development Projects, sinking of tubewells, River Valley Development, fertilizer and steel for agricultural purposes. These were the main activities up to 1953-54 for which external assistance from the USA was utilised.

From 1953-54 the US financial assistance was provided on a separate basis and it was described as Development Assistance. A separate allocation was made for Technical Assistance—, that is, for payment of charges on account of experts from overseas, training facilities abroad for candidates nominated by the Government of India, and for provision of equipment and stores for demonstration, research and training. This extension of the scope of the US aid was utilised in the field of transport and industrial development, including supply of locomotives and railway wagons for the Railway Plan; steel for industrial uses and financing of such major projects as the Rihand Power Project.

The pattern of development assistance underwent a further change in the year 1954-55. A new feature was introduced to the effect that nearly 75 per cent of the Development Assistance was to be on the loan basis. For the first time it was agreed that about 50 per cent of the Development Assistance would have to be taken in the shape of surplus agricultural commodities. Of the 1954-55 allocation, the Government of India took a loan of $45 million which was to be repaid over a period of 40 years. The payment of the principal and interest may be in dollars or rupees, the rate of interest being 3 per cent or 4 per cent respectively, with waiver of interest for the first 2 or 3 years. The Government of India has decided to pay in rupees. This pattern in assistance has been continued for the loan granted in 1955-56. Of the total allocation of $50 million for the year 1955-56, the loan component consists of $37.5 million. The terms of repayment and interest are the same as for the previous year. For this period, India has been asked to take surplus agricultural commodities for $20 million out of the total allocation.

Assistance from the United Kingdom has been given mainly for the supply of research

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and demonstration equipment for the technical institutes. By the end of 1955-56, equipment worth Rs. 33 lakhs would be received. Assistance has also been received from Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Canadian assistance has been directed towards the rehabilitation programme of railways in the form of locomotives and boilers and for the development of power, both through the supply of raw materials and of equipment manufactured in Canada. The total aid authorised by the Government of Canada as capital assistance to India for the first Five-Year Plan amounts to nearly Rs. 36 crores or $75 million. Australian aid for the first Five-Year Plan comes to approximately Rs. 10 crores and the aid from New Zealand amounts to Rs. 33 lakhs. The New Zealand assistance is being utilised for dairy development schemes. In 1955-56, the New Zealand Government agreed to make available an additional sum of Rs. 53 lakhs to be utilised for additional dairy development schemes.

The Ford Foundation has provided assistance to the extent of $11 million. The major part of this assistance has been for training men and women for rural development work. India has received aid from Norway in 1953-54 for an amount of Rs. 67 lakhs. Apart from these capital assistance from individual countries, India has been granted a large amount for technical assistance from the United Nations and its specialised agencies. Under the entire range of external assistance, India has so far secured the services of 734 experts and training facilities for 1,360 Indian nationals.

The New Industrial Policy

The declaration of a new Industrial Policy which was long awaited with much interest has evoked little interest. Of course nothing spectacular was expected within acknowledged framework of mixed economy. Since the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948, many changes have taken place, notably among them being the Industrial Development and Regulation Act of 1951, as amended in 1953; the inauguration of the First Five-Year Plan and the amendment of the Indian Constitution. All these point towards expansion of State activities in the field of industrial development and the passing of the Indian Constitution necessitated some changes in the said Industrial Policy in so far as the Directive Principles of State Policy enjoin upon the Government to follow a pattern a socialistic economy in this country. The 1948 Resolution on Ind Policy was based on mixed economy and scope of the State activities was limited to least interference in the domain of pr enterprise. The Avadi Congress Resolution accepted socialism as the goal of economic lopment in India received further confirm in the Amritsar session of th Congress. The facto position was that imperceptibly, though cognisedly, there was expansion in the State vities in the sphere of industrial development the consequential result was the reduction sphere of the private sector by implications legislation. The Indian Parliament has accepted the socialist pattern of society as objective of social and economic policy. In to realize this objective of a socialist patter society, the State deems it essential to accel the rate of economic growth and to speed industrialization and in particular to dev heavy industries and machine-making indus to expand the public sector and to build large and growing co-operative sector. These vide the economic foundations for increa opportunities for gainful employment and im ing living standards and working conditions the mass of the people. Equally, it is urgent reduce the disparities in income and wealth exist today and to check private monopolies the concentration of economic power in diff fields in the hands of a few individuals. The Policy accordingly lays down that the State progressively assume a predominant and responsibility for setting up new industrial takings and for developing transport fac The State will also undertake trading increasing scale. At the same time as an for national development in the context country's developing economy, the private will have the opportunity to develop and ex The principle of co-operation will be wherever possible and a steadily increasing portion of the activities of the private developed along co-operative lines.

The new Policy has classified the ind into three categories—State Sector, Mixed and Private Sector. In the State or public are included industries the future developm which will be the exclusive responsibility State. The second category will consist of tries which will be progressively State-owned in which the State will therefore generally the initiative in establishing new undert

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t in which private enterprise will also be ex-
cted to supplement the effort of the State. The
ird category which remains undefined will
clude all the remaining industries, and their
ture development will in general be left to the
iative and enterprise of the private sector.

All new industries in the public sector will
set up only by the State. But where their
blishment in the private sector has already
en approved, such industries will allowed to be
eloped by the private enterprise. This does
t preclude the expansion of the existing pri-
ely owned units, or the possibility of the State
uring the co-operation of private enterprise in
establishment of new units when the national
rests so require. Railways and air transport,
s and ammunition and atomic energy will,
ever, be developed as the monopolies of the
ian Government. Whenever co-operation with
ate enterprise is necessary, the State will en-
e, either through majority participation in the
ital or otherwise, that it has the requisite
ers to guide the policy and control the opera-
s of the undertakings.

Industries in the mixed category will be
nt responsibility of the State and the private
erprise. In order to accelerate the pace of
ture development, the State will increasingly
blish new undertakings in these industries. At
same time the private enterprise will also
e the opportunity to develop in this field,
er on its own or with State participation.
e remaining industries will fall in the third
gory, and it is expected that their development
be undertaken ordinarily through the initia-
and enterprise of the private sector, though
ll be open to the State to start any industry
in this category. It will be the policy of
State to facilitate and encourage the develop-
t of these industries in the private sector in
dance with the programme formulated in
ccessive Five-Year Plans, by ensuring the
lopment of transport, power and other ser-
and by appropriate fiscal and other mea-
The State will continue to foster institu-
to provide financial aid to these industries,
ecial assistance will be given to enterprises
ized on co-operative lines for industrial and
ultural purposes. In suitable cases, the State
grant financial assistance to the industries
private sector. Such assistance, particu-
when the amount involved is substantial,
will preferably be in the form of participation in equity capital, though it may also be in the form of debenture capital.

Under the new Industrial Policy, there have been a few notable departures from the old one. The most important of the new features is the absence of any guarantee against nationalisation which was a condition in the Policy Resolution of 1948. Further, the scope of the State initiative has been made wide enough so far so that the State can enter into industrial enterprises falling under private sector. In the 1948 Resolution, only a few industries were left exclusively in the public sector. But in the new Policy, seventeen key industries are included in the public sector and for their development the State will be exclusively responsible. Even in the case of industries falling in the Schedule B, that is, the mixed sphere, twelve industries will be progressively State-owned. The remainder will be left to the private sector, but even in these cases, the State may participate. The division of industries into separate categories does not imply that they have been placed in watertight compartments. There will not only be an area of overlapping but also a great deal of dovetailing between industries in the private and public sectors. It will be open to the State to start any industry not included in the public or the private sector when the needs of planning so require or there are other important considerations for that. In the case of industries which are the exclusive responsibility of the State (excepting railways, air transport, arms and ammunition and atomic energy), private co-operation may be sought.

The overall position is that the Industrial Policy is based on mixed economy with bias towards socialism. The word socialism is to be understood in the Indian context, meaning that the State will control and guide the economic life of the nation with the co-operation of all classes of the people. Ours is a corporate State and there is no scope for class struggle or annihilation. The new Policy puts emphasis on the State control even over private enterprise. The new Policy declares no qualitative change in the economic ideals of the State, it simply makes some quantitative adjustments of the de facto developments. It widens the scope of the public sector, but at the same time allows the private sector to exist. The private sector will function as the trustee of the public sector and not as an inde-

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pendent agency. Industrial undertakings in the private sector have necessarily to fit into a framework of the social and economic policy of the State and will be subject to control and regulation in terms of the Industries Development and Regulation Act and other relevant legislation. The State however recognizes that it would in general be desirable to allow such undertakings to develop with as much freedom as possible, consistent with the targets and objectives of the national plan. When there exist in the same industry both publicly and privately owned units, it would continue to be the policy of the State to give fair and non-discriminatory treatment to both of them. India's is an endeavour to build democracy from below, as distinguished from those of Russia and China that endeavour to build economy from above. India's economic revolution is no less spectacular than those of Russia and China. The only difference is that what the latter obtained by bloodshed and civil war, India obtained by persuasion and legislation. India's revolution escapes attention, because it does not glow with the flowing bloodshed.

Five Years of Bhoodan

The inaugural issue of the *Bhoodan*, a weekly journal in English published from Poona by the All-India Sarva Seva Sangh as the official organ of the Bhoodan movement, contains an editorial article summing up the experience of the Bhoodan movement in India during the last five years. In March, 1951, when Vinobaji, a lone, frail Satyagrahi had started on foot from Wardha for Hyderabad to see things for himself in the disturbed and unhappy Telengana, nobody—including Vinobaji himself—could foresee that it was going to be the beginning of a new revolutionary movement in India—the land-gift (*Bhoodan*) movement. The movement—from its modest beginning in the Pochampalli village, where one Ramchandra Reddi responded to the call of Vinobaji with an offer of one hundred acres of land as a free gift for distribution among the landless—had grown into an all-India one in course of these years. By the beginning of April, 1956, 43 lakh acres of land were collected, 370,355 acres distributed, the total land of 1,037 villages were obtained (*Gram Dan*). Besides, hundreds of young men and women came forward to get themselves enlisted as volunteers for the cause of Bhoodan. The target, as fixed by V was to collect five crore acres of land end of 1957. The total collection so ever was much below the target.

The *Bhoodan* writes: "Like all ments the Bhoodan revolution has had and downs. Its progress has not bee even. In some States it may be said caught root in the soil, and it has spectacular results; but in some other still no more than a beautiful idea by a great disciple of Mahatma Gan the towns, it can hardly be said affected the people deeply. They are talking of the waning popularity of Bh

Personality Cult in India

"Sri Krishna" writes in the *Chronicle* that in Delhi, capital city "the personality cult has been develop a regular science. There is, however, difference between the Russian variety cult and the Indian variety of the Russia, it was the worship of the leader, Stalin. In India, it is the worship chair and not of the occupier of the

The writer calls the cult as "M Navazi." It included the "most respec of being seen with a Minister. There in Delhi, Sri Krishna writes, "who schedule of rates for the photographer they were seen with a Minister. Othe furnished houses, particularly in the where Ministers are invited to give a their overtaxed nerves . . ."

The Ministers also got undue publ the newspapers. In fact, Ministers had a lead story and columns were regularly ted to describe even the most routine a Minister.

The writer quotes a letter purp have been issued by the President of the mittee formed to celebrate the 48th of Shri Jagjivan Ram, Minister of nication, inviting friends to contribute Rs. 48,000-purse to be presented to the ter on his birthday. At the same time that no committee had been formed felicitations to the former Works Minis N. V. Gadgil, former Labour Minis V. V. Giri and former Rehabilitation Babu Mohonlal Saxena.

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Merger of Vindhya Pradesh and U.P.

The Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly passed by voice vote a resolution on April 11 proposing the merger of Vindhya Pradesh with the Uttar Pradesh or in the alternative merger of "those areas of Vindhya Pradesh like Baghelkhand which were adjacent to Uttar Pradesh," the *Hitavada* reports.

This enthusiasm for merger was apparently not shared by the leaders of Vindhya Pradesh some of whom have come out unequivocally against the proposal of any sort of merger or division. Shri Shivanand, Speaker of the Vindya Pradesh Legislative Assembly, sharply criticised the proposal for the merger of V.P. with the U.P. In a speech before the first proposed Madhya Pradesh Homoepathic Conference convened at Jabalpur, he said that the merger proposal was the handiwork of certain vested interests.

The *Hitavada* report adds: "Shri Shivanand further observed that it was most deplorable that even the Chief Minister of a neighbouring State (apparently alluding to Dr. Sampurnanand) aligned himself with these elements without paying any heed to the wishes of the people of Vindhya Pradesh who had unequivocally expressed themselves in favour of merger with the new Madhya Pradesh."

Future of Nagpur

The *Hitavada* in its leader on April 15 discusses the problem of finding a capital for the new State Maharashtra which would soon come into being. It writes that if Bombay city was eventually included in the State of Maharashtra then Bombay would naturally become the capital of the new State. But in that case also the claim of Nagpur to be a part-time capital could not be disregarded in view of the provisions of the Nagpur Agreement which stipulated that Nagpur would be the capital for four months if Bombay was the capital of Maharashtra. "That Agreement," the newspaper adds, "cannot be written off as something not worth remembering. The Agreement is the basic minimum recognition of the importance of Nagpur in the future set-up."

If, however, it came to pass that Bombay was eventually left out of Maharashtra, the newspaper would like Nagpur to be made the capital of Maharashtra instead of Poona. "There are overwhelming reasons for pressing this clam. Nagpur has the layout of a capital, buildings, communications, a well developed Secretariat and is further in the centre of an industrial area. The dollar-earning area of Maharashtra will be Nagpur as the manganese of Nagpur and Bhandara are sold in American markets. It is the head of a network of railways which have heavy responsibilities to discharge in regard to the marketing of the steel products of Bhilai."

The newspaper notes that though Bombay might be considered to possess equal or perhaps more advantages as Nagpur "definitely Poona does not have even these advantages." Further, Poona was already highly developed with the Khadakvasla Academy, the Penicillin Factory, the headquarters of the Southern Command and the office of the Meteorological Department. There would thus be no point in "over-developing one area at the expense of another." Except on the grounds of history, Poona did not have greater claims than Nagpur. But historical consideration could not be the deciding factor in such matters. If that was so Ujjain instead of New Delhi should have been made the capital of India.

The *Hitavada* concludes: "Large numbers of families have built their hopes on Nagpur being the capital of a State. Nagpur has been the capital for nearly a hundred years, while Poona has not had that distinction. Even our Poona friends, we are sure, would see the wisdom of developing all centres in Maharashtra. The development of Nagpur will be to the advantage of Maharashtra. It is not as if Maharashtra would be developing a city which is outside its area. Nagpur is part of Maharashtra and if Nagpur becomes a big capital, it will not be to the detriment of Maharashtra. These are basic facts which have to be recognised and we trust that Vidarbha leaders would take a firm stand on this issue."

The Problem of Bombay City

Bombay still remains a Gordian Knot for the Union Government. The last report in the Lok Sabha proceedings was as follows:

"New Delhi, April 24.—Reports of Mr. Deshmukh's threatened resignation and the arrest of Maharashtrian demonstrators outside the House

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inevitably focussed the Lok Sabha's attention today on the disputed future of Bombay City.

"Against this backdrop, the chief spokesmen of the opposing points of view—Mr. N. V. Gadgil and Mr. S. K. Patil—clashed over Bombay's future, fulfilling the expectation of unusually crowded public galleries.

"In spite of the wide scope provided by the motion to refer the States Reorganization Bill to a joint committee, few other issues found prominence. Almost every speaker expressed views on Bombay the majority supporting Maharashtra's claims to the city.

"Despite the contentious atmosphere, the speeches did not reveal the bitterness and frustration of December's debate on the S.R.C. Report. One of the pro-Maharashtrian speakers, Mr. B. H. Khardekar (Ind), began a personal attack on Mr. S. K. Patil but was checked by Mr. Feroze Gandhi (C), who had earlier supported Maharashtra's claims to Bombay with equal, if not better-humoured, force.

"One of the few leading members who devoted attention to another issue was Mr. N. C. Chatterjee (Hindu Mahasabha). He described the proposal to unite West Bengal and Bihar as a deliberate attempt to prevent the transfer of Bengali-speaking border areas from Bihar to West Bengal.

"While supporting Maharashtra's claims to Bombay City, he said the issue should not be allowed to create a crisis in the Central Cabinet. It would be a 'national disaster' if Mr. Deshmukh left the Cabinet in view of his 'pivotal position' in regard to the second Plan.

"The many ties—geographic, cultural and economic—linking Maharashtra and Bombay City were stressed by the many supporters of Maharashtra's claims, who among them represented every party in the House.

"Mr. Gadgil, in a markedly reasonably worded speech, advanced the main argument. This was that Mr. Nehru, Pandit Pant and other leaders had recognized Maharashtra's claims to Bombay City and it was not just to keep them separate because of the admitted misbehaviour of some in the Bombay disturbances.

"He admitted that there was some force in the view that the Government should not give the impression of yielding to pressure, but he appealed to the Prime Minister to give an assurance that Bombay City would ultimately go to Maharashtra."

Ayurvedic Physician Honoured

Kaviraj Probhakar Chatterji, an emi[nent] Ayurvedic physician of Calcutta has [been] awarded a prize of Rs. 200 by the [West] Government Ayurvedic and Tibbi Academy [for] his famous book entitled *Ayurvedic Treat[ment] of Cancer*. He is the first Bengali Kaviraj [to] receive the prize.

Air Route to Goa

The Government of India has at last [made] up its mind regarding the air-route into [Goa] as the following notification shows:

"New Delhi, April 7.—The Govern[ment] of India today issued an order prohibiting [all] aircraft from flying into or over Indian ter[ri]tory (including territorial waters) within [...] miles of the border of any of the Portu[guese] possessions in India except under certain con[di]ditions, reports *PTI*.

"The conditions are that every aircraft making such a flight will, immediately [after] entering India, fly to and land at Bom[bay] (Santa Cruz) or Ahmedabad airport and [that] it will not take off again without obtaining [a] clearance certificate from an officer authorized by the Government of India. The ban will [be] operative for two years. It is understood [that] this step is intended to prevent Portuguese [and] other foreign aircraft using Indian territory [for] free entry into and exit from Goa and the other Portuguese possessions.

"The Government's order is contained [in] a notification issued by the Communications Ministry and published in today's *Gazette of India Extraordinary*. Our special representative in Delhi learns that this order arises [from] recent unauthorized flights of aircraft from [...] to Goa over Indian territory."

Refugees from Pakistan

In view of the impending high level [talks] at Dacca, regarding refugee influx from [East] Pakistan, the following news-item, giving [...] Mehr Chand Khanna's opinion regarding Pakistan's attitude, is worthy of note:

New Delhi, April 2.—Although he spoke at length about the rehabilitation measures both in the eastern and western regions, in Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna's reply to the rehabilitation debate in the Lok Sabha today his two statements concerned Pakistan.

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He plainly stated that he did not wish to ise "high hopes" about the outcome of his rthcoming talks with the Pakistani Foreign inister on the increasing influx from East akistan.

During his last visit to Karachi the Re-bilitation Minister said in a forthright 80-inute speech, he had found the atmosphere old and uninviting."

Mr. Khanna described as "untenable and ntastic" Pakistan's accusation that in respect evacuee property India had taken unilateral tion and had resorted to expropriation of the acuees.

He blamed Pakistan for refusing to agree Government-to-Government settlement of evacuee property issue and for continuing operation of the evacuee property law, abro-d in India last year.

Giving a detailed account of negotiations the issue between India and Pakistan, Mr. nna said that the reason for Pakistan "feel-g shy" of a Government-to-Government lement was obviously the large difference in value of urban immovable properties left refugees in Pakistan and those left in India. estimated this difference to be nearly Rs. 400 ores in India's favour although he pointed out at India was willing to leave the evaluation the properties to a mutually accepted inter-nal tribunal.

In view of the fact that West Pakistan had en "almost denuded of the Hindu and Sikh pulation," Mr. Khanna said it was surpris-that Pakistan should continue to operate vacuee property law even now "unless it ds to squeeze out even the few remaining ths in Sind and to expropriate their pro-ty."

He devoted a major portion of his speech to problem of refugees in the eastern region portrayed the differences between the pro-m in the western region and that in the stern.

Unlike the western region, the problem in eastern region was not only fluid and in-ite but there was no "vacuum" in respect nd and property which the refugees could On the contrary, even Muslims who had to Pakistan, were returning and were being bilitated. This was a matter to be proud of. Although the problem had been made worse by the continuing influx, he added, the Government's achievement in the field of rehabilitation was substantial. Nearly 250,000 families had been rehabilitated on land and another 160,000 families in other rural occupations. Employment was provided to 200,000 families and houses to 350,000 families.

Nehru on Kashmir

We give the following report from the *Statesman, in extenso* as it is worthy of record:

"April 13.—Addressing a public meeting here today, Mr. Nehru disclosed that he had suggested to the Pakistani leaders to hold discussions to settle the Kashmir issue by demarcating the borders of the State on the basis of the present cease-fire line.

Mr. Nehru also referred to the Praja Parishad trouble in Jammu, the Jan Sangh and the States Reorganization Commission's report. He made it clear that until Pakistan withdrew its forces from Kashmir in accordance with the U.N.C.I.P. resolution, there could be no talk of a plebiscite.

The Prime Minister stated that thousands of people were migrating to India from East Pakistan every month. India did not wish to see the same thing happening in Kashmir. India had learnt a lesson that any wrong step might lead them to big dangers.

Strongly criticizing the Praja Parishad and the Jan Sangh, Mr. Nehru said that they had seen how much harm communal organizations could do to the country. He was of the view that the history of Kashmir during the last seven or eight years would have been much different if the Praja Parishad had not adopted wrong tactics.

Kashmir was important to them in many ways, it was a model of their basic policy. They had never agreed that there were two nations in India even at the time of partition. He declared that in India the number of Muslims was more than the entire population in West Pakistan, but of course in the two Pakistans, the Muslim population was more than in India. In Kashmir, he said, the Hindus and Muslims lived together as brothers and even at the time of the tribal raids they stood up as one man to defend their land.

Mr. Nehru compared the Jan Sangh slogans of Hindu Rashtra with the Muslim League's slogan of "Islamic Republic." Some

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of the activities of the Jan Sangh and the Praja Parishad, he added, amounted to "treason." The edifice which they had been able to build in Kashmir was being destroyed by the communal activities of the Praja Parishad with the help of the Jan Sangh. He strongly criticized the activities of the Praja Parishad in Jammu at the time of municipal elections when stones were hurled on the Kashmir Prime Minister.

Explaining why some Jan Sangh people were not allowed to enter Jammu, Mr. Nehru said that there was a permit system in Kashmir and the Government could not allow all sorts of people to enter the State in the interest of security. They did not want to create such conditions in any other part of the country as those prevailing in East Pakistan.

Referring to the proposed hydrogen bomb tests by the U.S.A. near the Marshall Islands, the Prime Minister said that India was against such tests and wanted all such tests to be stopped.

As regards the forthcoming Teheran conference of the Baghdad Pact Council, Mr. Nehru said that India had already stated that the Pact had destroyed the peace of the Arab world and created dissension among them.

P.T.I. adds: Mr. Nehru did not disclose what the reply of the Pakistani leaders to his proposal on Kashmir was but said: "After some days there was a sudden outburst of fury and emotion in Pakistan and Pakistani newspapers began to talk of the sword and *jehad* against India."

Referring to plebiscite, Mr. Nehru said that U.S. military aid to Pakistan and Pakistan's membership of the military pacts like S.E.A.D.O. and Baghdad Pacts had destroyed the entire basis and foundations of plebiscite.

"It will not be a sign of intelligence if I am expected to pursue old things about plebiscite that were decided upon nine years ago without taking into consideration the far-reaching developments that had taken place since then in Pakistan."

The Prime Minister said that he was beginning to realize in his mind that the large-scale exodus of Hindus from East Bengal to India had become inter-related with the Kashmir question.

Mr. Nehru declared that he had no shadow of a doubt that India had followed right policy on Kashmir—a policy of d and restraint and a policy that would do to the people of Kashmir, to the peo India, and to the people of Pakistan.

The Prime Minister was loudly when he declared: "We shall not accep step which seeks to create in the slightest ner any upheaval in Kashmir."

Mr. Nehru said: "I told the Pak leaders clearly: I think that you have mitted a lot of excesses and *zoolum* in Ka You have no right to sit on a part of Ka that is under you. But since my desire is this that there should be no clash and uph I am willing to accept that the question of part of Kashmir which is under you shou settled by demarcating the border on the of the present cease-fire line. We had no to take it by fighting."

During the last three or four years Government had changed many times in P stan. Nobody could say for how long one p cular Government would last in Pakistan there had been no stability about it. It therefore, necessary to be very vigilant India should be entangled into any kind war not as a result of deliberate attem Pakistan but by a mere chance.

The Prime Minister traced the backg of the Kashmir problem and said that very important that the people should re ber the basic facts.

The question of plebiscite was depe on the clear stipulation that the entire P stan Army should first withdraw from the ritory of Kashmir. Pakistan had failed to this important stipulation during these last years, when the face of Kashmir had changed. "If now something is done which sets all that had been achieved in Kashm will be a dangerous thing, dangerous for K mir, dangerous for India and dangerous Pakistan."

"It will be dangerous because any new heaval is bound to bring in its train a cala on both India and Pakistan, a calamity that two countries witnessed and suffered in In such an eventuality there would be str of refugees pouring into India, and re going to Pakistan. This would spell the

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of Kashmir and create great bitterness between India and Pakistan. Instead of the problem being solved and the two countries coming closer together, this would create a dangerous situation between them and make them further apart."

Mr. Nehru said that India wished to avoid this dangerous situation because she wanted to preserve the welfare of the Kashmir people and maintain good relations between India and Pakistan. Referring to his talks with the Pakistan leaders a year ago, Mr. Nehru said: "More than a year ago I told the Pakistani leaders very clearly that they should ponder over the basic facts of the Kashmir problem. I told them: 'I am willing to talk to you for as long as you like. We want to find some path by which you and I work together and find a solution to our problems. But when for more than seven years we did not succeed in finding a solution to the small problem of your armies leaving the soil of Kashmir before the holding of a plebiscite, do you hope that this problem will be solved now'?"

Now many new things had happened. The most special thing was the U.S. military aid to Pakistan. The entire face of the problem had been changed by it. "I agree that it is not the intention of the U.S.A. that U.S. military aid to Pakistan should be used against India. But the fact is that this aid increases the strength of Pakistan to attack India."

"We said very clearly that this aid had changed the entire face of the Kashmir problem, because even if the Pakistani armies left Kashmir and entrenched themselves 20 or 30 miles away from the border, their increased strength would give them greater striking power to attack us from there. We had therefore to think and solve this problem in a different way as it had been made very complicated by this military aid and military pacts."

Mr. Nehru again referred to his talks with the Pakistani leaders and said: "I told the Pakistani leaders: 'it is my desire, as certainly it is your desire, that we should solve this problem. But all these new things had happened which we cannot close our eyes. I am not prepared to take any step which in my opinion will bring ruin to Kashmir, create an upheaval there and cause all kinds of upsets. We want Pakistan and India to work together. But any kind of upheaval would make that an impossibility. So seeing all these things, there is no use in dragging the problem further. We have to accept these new things and try to solve the problem. It is not that I wish to close the door for further talks on the question. But it will not be a sign of intelligence to expect me to do the old things of nine years ago (regarding plebiscite) without taking into consideration the new developments that had taken place since then'."

Mr. Nehru added: "I told all this to the Pakistani leaders but they did not accept it."

He described the decision which the S.E.A.D.O. Powers took about Kashmir at their recent meeting in Karachi as "not proper" and said that although it did not go very far, it was a wrong thing to express an opinion about Kashmir. These S.E.A.D.O. Powers might not have expressed their opinion about Kashmir openly but even a gesture from them was significant as it was a gesture from strong military powers like America and Britain. This gesture was enough for Pakistani leaders and the Pakistani Press to say all kinds of things. India had protested against this S.E.A.D.O. reference at the time. Mr. Nehru said that he had made this and other things clear in his recent speech on Kashmir in the Lok Sabha as he wanted no one to be under any delusion about them. "My speech in the Lok Sabha created a commotion in Pakistan. There were demonstrations of anger against me and the charge was levelled that I was telling a falsehood and going back on my promises. Some people and some newspapers in America and Britain also indulged in criticism of this kind. But hardly anyone of them perhaps cared to understand the basic facts relating to the Kashmir problem. It was necessary, therefore, that these basic things should be kept before the world again. I want to know which one of the basic facts that I recounted in the Lok Sabha about the Kashmir question is wrong. By merely shouting and creating noise the facts could not be ignored or suppressed."

Referring to the exodus from East Bengal, Mr. Nehru said that a big burden had been thrown on India by this large-scale influx of Hindus from East Bengal. Till now about 3,800,000 refugees had come to India. This clearly showed how dangerous results could be

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reached by following wrong politics.

"In my mind this question of the influx of refugees from East Bengal into India is inter-related to the Kashmir question. Although outwardly these two questions are different, to my mind they are inter-linked."

Mr. Nehru asked the people not to get agitated over the Kashmir issue. "I want that you and I should not do those things which are being done by Pakistan. We should not raise the voice of threats or indulge in saying improper things."

The Prime Minister said that he would appeal to the people of India, especially the citizens of Delhi, to hold their voice in check in regard to what was happening in Pakistan. "I do not want our people to indulge in voicing threats, showing fists or brandishing swords. We have to follow the path of decency as no problem can be solved by the language of threats."

Mr. Nehru added amidst cheers: "I want our newspapers and people to understand that our case in regard to Kashmir is quite strong. So relying on this inherent strength of ours, let us not call each other names or criticize each other because ultimately we have to solve this problem and because Pakistan will ever remain our neighbour. "We have no quarrel with the common people of Pakistan I do not make any complaint against the ordinary people of Pakistan. It is none of their fault if they think of certain problems in a particular way because everyday Pakistani newspapers publish wrong things. The common people of Pakistan do not get the right facts. We have to remember always that between the common people of Pakistan and India there is not much difference. Seven or eight years ago we were in one country."

The real difficulty, Mr. Nehru said, was that the leaders of Pakistan were of a different category altogether. While even in Pakistan, the common people had struggled for the freedom of undivided India, the Pakistan leaders had not led this revolutionary life. The common people of Pakistan were moulded through this fire of revolution. But the leaders of Pakistan were not moulded by this revolution. "I do not wish to say anything against the Pakistani leaders or criticize them, but nobody can call them revolutionaries."

The Teheran Conference

Pakistan had tried its best to align all members of the Baghdad Pact with herself accusing India over the Kashmir *impasse*. latest news show the Britain and the U. refused to accept Pakistan's stand. We ap the news report below, as it came at the of the conference:

"Teheran, April 19.—The Baghdad Council stated today at the end of their day meeting that 'urgent steps' must be to strengthen the pact which links Bri Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and Turkey in Middle defence.

"The Council in its communique emphasized the need for early settlement of Palestine and Kashmir disputes.

"The Council agreed to meet again Karachi next January.

"A British spokesman said, the Council not discussed the merits of the Kashmir issue mere reference to Kashmir became inevita because of reference to Palestine, he explai

"It is pointed out that the Baghdad Co has suggested no plebiscite or direct negotia as S.E.A.D.O. did by implication wh referred to the U.N. resolutions on Kashmir

"The final communique had been de because of renewed efforts by Pakistan to inc a reference to the Kashmir dispute, P.T.I. ported earlier. It is understood that at morning's secret session Turkey backed Pakistani delegation but support was lacking Iran, whilst Britain was lukewarm in its a Iraq was said to be undecided.

"Outside the conference also there had intense lobbying by Pakistan to enlist sup for her in the Kashmir case. The Prime Mini Mr. Mohommad Ali, met the Iranian Pre Mr. Hossein Ala, yesterday and urged that should support Pakistan in the dispute with Iran is a member of the U.N. Security Co

"The Pakistani delegation had also having talks with other delegations."

Ceylon Elections

The outcome of the national electio Ceylon, which were held ostensibly to get people's verdict on the question of m Ceylonese the only official language of country, bears some resemblance to that of last elections in Eastern Pakistan—both in

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rout of the ruling party and the reaction of the Western Powers. A *New York Times* despatch from Ceylon said: "There is no question that Sir John's defeat will be internationally accepted as a heavy blow to the West."

The nature of the outcome would naturally suggest that, so far as the electorate in Ceylon was concerned, the elections were not significant only for the language issue but touched many other points of equal, if not of more, importance. Final figures showed that the Mahajana Eksath Peramura (People's United Front), composed of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the Nava Lanka Sama Samaj Party and the Sinhala Basha Peramura, had secured 51 of the elective seats of the House of Representatives (six more seats in the House are to be filled up by nomination by the Governor-General on the advice of the Prime Minister). The M.E.P. had contested 60 seats.

The United National Party which had all long been in power since the achievement of independence was reduced to the fourth position in the House with only eight seats. The U.N.P. had lost 46 seats in the elections. Eleven Ministers had sought re-election on the U.N.P. ticket. Of them only two—the Prime Minister Sir John Kotelawala and the Education Minister Mr. M. D. Banda—could get themselves elected.

The Trotskyite Nava Lanka Sama Samaj Party, which had nine seats in the dissolved Parliament, emerged as the second largest party in the new Parliament winning 14 of 21 seats for which it had set up its candidates.

The Federal Party, influential in the Tamil-speaking Northern and Eastern provinces of Ceylon, gained ten seats as against two it had had. The Party favoured the introduction of a Swiss-model constitution with autonomy for Tamil areas.

Independents suffered a heavy loss in the elections. As against eleven independents in the last Parliament there were now seven (actually six since Mr. R. G. Senanayake had been elected as an independent by two constituencies requiring him to give up one seat which a by-election would have to be contested) independent members in the new Parliament. Thirty of the sixty-one independent contestants had lost their security deposits. The strength of the other parties were: Communists 3, Tamil Congress 1, Tamil Resistance Front 1.

The leader of the Mahajana Eksath Peramura (M.E.P.) which had swamped the polls in Ceylon much to the surprise of everybody, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, was sworn in as the Prime Minister of Ceylon on April 12 replacing Sir John Kotelawala. Mr. Bandaranaike's Cabinet consisted of 12 members who were also sworn in on that day. The new ministry had one woman member—Mrs. Vimala Wijewardene—for the first time in Ceylon's history. A week later Mr. R. G. Senanayake, who had been a minister under Sir John Kotelawala but had fought the election as an independent to defeat the former Minister of Agriculture and Food, Mr. J. B. Jayawardene, joined the new Cabinet as Minister of Commerce and Trade.

In an interview with the representative of *U. S. News and World Report*, the new Prime Minister, Mr. Solomon Bandaranaike, said that British forces now in Ceylon would have to go. He added that Ceylon would become a Republic but final decision on the question of the membership of the Commonwealth was yet to be made. He said that he agreed in general with the foreign policies of Pandit Nehru though, as he said "sometimes he (Mr. Nehru) has a tendency to lose sight of the intrinsic essential dynamism of Communism."

He added that Ceylon would shortly exchange diplomatic missions with China, the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries.

Asian's Entry into Kenya Banned

The new immigration policy announced by the British Government in Kenya on April 17 virtually banned all immigration into the colony except from Britain. The announcement, made before the European dominated Kenya Legislative Council, said that henceforth Kenya would look to Great Britain as the "primary source of immigrants of the kind the colony needs." In case, the country needs could not be met in Britain only then would the Kenya Government turn to other lands for immigrants.

Asian residents in Kenya interpreted the new policy as designed primarily to curtail completely immigration of Asians into Kenya. They saw in it Government's total surrender

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to the Europeans' demand for a total elimination of Asian immigration.

The new announcement banning Asian immigration, coming as it did after a series of restrictions put on the Asians by the Kenya Government over the past years, "is but a formal seal set on a policy of making Kenya the preserve of the white man," writes the *Hitavada* on April 21. The newspaper further notes that the Europeans' determination to keep the Asians out of the colony was generated mainly by the fear that they (Asians) would bring with them liberal ideas in the matter of racial equality and the right of self-government which would be too dangerous for the continued domination by the Europeans.

"Whereas the future of Kenya depends on the development of harmonious relations between the various racial groups in that colony, racialism has now begun to rear its ugly head and this bodes ill for the progress and prosperity of Kenya," the *Hitavada* concludes.

We agree fully with the *Hitavada*. We would suggest that this matter be brought up in the Commonwealth Relations Committee, with a request to balance matters, failing which restrictions must be put on the British exploitation of Asian countries, particularly those in the Commonwealth.

Cominform Dissolved

The Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties—commonly known as the Cominform—came into being in late 1947 at a conference of nine European Communist Parties held at Warsaw, capital of Poland. The participating parties belonged to the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, France and Italy. The Information Bureau, in which each of the participating parties had two representatives had been entrusted with the task of organizing "interchange of experience among the parties, and, if need be, to co-ordinate their activities on the basis of mutual agreement." The headquarters of the Information Bureau as well as of its organ *For a Lasting Peace For a People's Democracy* had been established in Belgrade—capital city of Yugoslavia.

The Information Bureau suffered a major shock when during the middle of 1948 Yugoslavia, one of the founding members, [illegible] the organisation. Consequent upon this [illegible] tion the headquarters of the Bureau and [illegible] organ was transferred to Bucharest, capital [illegible] Rumania.

The activities of the Cominform came [illegible] for sharp criticism in Communist, [illegible] Communist and neutral quarters as well. [illegible] Communist criticism of the Cominform was [illegible] its very nature indirect. The Yugoslav Co[illegible] munist Party was the first to put up a [illegible] opposition to the policies proposed by [illegible] Cominform. For that "crime" Yugoslav P[illegible] was expelled from the organisation and [illegible] Yugoslav Party, Government and the lea[illegible] were abused in the vilest terms in the [illegible] organ of the Cominform. Those Comm[illegible] leaders of Eastern Europe who dared to fo[illegible] a milder course even while toeing the line [illegible] mercilessly liquidated through judicial mur[illegible] as "Titoites" and American agents. Though [illegible] term "judicial murder" might sound a bit [illegible] harsh it was still the most correct descripti[illegible] of the decapitation of the most veteran Co[illegible] munist leaders of Eastern Europe. The [illegible] people who had been killed after having "[illegible] fessed" that they had been spies were [illegible] being restored to honour in the countries [illegible] Eastern Europe by the very people who [illegible] sent them to the gallows.

The Cominform had published an [illegible] criticism of the policies of the Japanese Co[illegible] munist Party which the latter had refused [illegible] accept at first. On second thoughts, how[illegible] the leadership of the Japanese Party acc[illegible] the Cominform criticism and changed their [illegible] thereby inviting a disaster on the pa[illegible] Having realized the folly of accepting [illegible] Cominform directions the Japanese P[illegible] abandoned that line soon afterwards [illegible] accepted a new policy closely resembling [illegible] original position.

In Asia, only two Communist parti[illegible] those of China and Japan—escaped the ri[illegible] of following the Cominform line and the[illegible] they gained greater strength in the nati[illegible] liberation movements.

The anti-Communist criticism of [illegible] Cominform activities though they somet[illegible] contained valuable substance, as a rule, [illegible] more or less a routine business devoid of [illegible] significance.

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The most significant and most weighty criticism of the Cominform was made by the neutral political leaders. The justice of much of that criticism found expression in the announcement of the dissolution of the Cominform itself, where the reasons for its dissolution were given.

The dissolution of the Cominform was made known on April 17 in a joint announcement by the Central Committees of the eight Communist parties forming the Cominform. Palmiro Togliatti, Secretary-General of the Italian Communist Party, disclosed that the decision on the dissolution had been taken in Moscow in February at the time of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party but the actual announcement had been deferred to now for some reasons. In Moscow, the news was broken to the Western press reporters by Anastas Mikoyan, the Soviet Foreign Deputy Premier.

The Announcement on the Dissolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' parties said that the emergence of a series of changes in the international life had rendered the continued existence of the Cominform incongruous. Those changes were: "The growth of socialism from within the bounds of a single country and the fact that it has become a world system; the formation of a vast 'zone of peace' comprising both the socialist and the non-socialist peace-loving countries of Europe and Asia; the growth and consolidation of many Communist Parties in the capitalist, dependent and colonial countries and their increased activity in the struggle against the danger and reaction in the struggle for the vital interests of the working people and the national independence of their countries; and, finally, the now particularly urgent tasks connected with overcoming the disunity in the working-class movement and safeguarding the unity of the working class in the interests of a successful struggle for peace and socialism."

The dissolution of the Cominform was welcomed in all quarters. *Reuter* reports that diplomatic sources in London labelled the dissolution of the Cominform as a bold opening move in the top level Anglo-Soviet talks. It said: "The move had been forecast in some quarters here (London) for months past as a bid for final and complete reconciliation with the Yugoslav Communist Party which it expelled in 1948.

"Dissolution of the Cominform will also please neutral opinion in Asia. India's Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, was reported to have pressed for the move during his visit to the Soviet Union last summer."

The *Economic Weekly* (Bombay) interprets the dissolution as another blow to Stalinism. "Strict control and supervision of the Communist Parties and movements in foreign countries by Moscow was an integral part of Stalinism," writes the magazine. "By dissolving the Cominform, Stalin's successors imply that such 'centralised control' from Moscow is no longer necessary. This does not mean that Moscow has abandoned its faith in World Communism. It implies that Stalin's successors are inclined to the view that the existence of different types of economy in the different countries is no obstacle to the ultimate goal of world communism," it concludes.

Spanish Morocco gets Independence

Spain recognised the independence of Spanish Morocco on April 7. France had already done so earlier. Thus Morocco once again became unified and independent.

The Spanish declaration came after three days of negotiation in Madrid between the representatives of General Franco, head of the Spanish State, and of Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, the Sultan of Morocco.

The first indication of Spain's willingness to accord independence to the Moroccans was given on March 12 this year when Allab el-Fassi, head of the Istiqlal Party, the leading Moroccan nationalist movement, arrived in Madrid for political discussions with the Spanish Government.

The Moroccan Empire had been divided into three zones: Spanish Morocco, French Morocco and Tangier. Spanish and French zones of Morocco have become reunified into an empire under Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef. Tangier is now a permanently neutralized and demilitarized area administered by a committee made up of France, Spain, Britain, Italy, the United States, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and Portugal.

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The official declaration was given as follows :

"Madrid, April 7.—A unified and finally independent Morocco was created today with a joint Spanish-Moroccan declaration here which ended Spain's 44-year-old protectorate in North Africa.

"The declaration was made after three days of negotiation between delegations representing General Franco, head of the Spanish State, and Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, the Sultan of Morocco.

"Signed this morning, the declaration consists of four clauses with a protocol of an additional six clauses providing for the period of transition needed for the handing over of administration.

"After stating that the Protectorate Agreement for Morocco signed in Madrid in November 1912 is no longer suited to the circumstances, it says that 'the Spanish Government recognizes the independence of Morocco proclaimed by his imperial Majesty Sultan Mohammed the Fifth and its full sovereignty with all the attributes pertaining thereto, including its own diplomatic service and army.'

"Spain binds herself to respect the territorial unity of the Moroccan empire and to lend the Sultan mutually agreed help, especially in questions of foreign relations and defence. The rights and liberty of Spaniards in Morocco and Moroccans in Spain are reciprocally guaranteed.

"The protocol governing the transition period to administrative independence starts off by specifying that 'the legislative power is exercised by the Sultan as Government.'

"The protocol also provides for Spanish assistance in the organization of a Moroccan army and cancels immediately the need for papers or administrative formalities for the movement of people between the Spanish and French zones of Morocco.

"The final clause specifies that the Spanish Government will continue to exercise the protection abroad of Moroccans originating from the Spanish zone 'until the Government of the Sultan takes over this function'."

The European Alliance

The Soviets' "New look" policy, however ridiculed, seems to have had some effect even in Europe as the following news-item indicates:

"New York, April 21.—Mr. George Kennan, former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, said tonight : 'Our alliance in Europe is showing signs of going apart.'

"He referred on a television programme to Iceland's demand for the removal of US bases, to France's 'state of partial paralysis,' and the recent statement of the West German Government that it intended to open direct talks with the Soviet Government on reunification as signs of weakness in the alliance.

"About the German statement, he said: 'This does mark a turning point in the whole development of the German question and a very significant one.'

"Mr. Kennan said American foreign policy since 1949 had suffered from 'over-militarization of our thinking about the cold war' and this had weakened many of the constructive post-war undertakings and estranged the U.S.A. from part of world opinion.

"He added : 'Unless we change pretty soon and pretty drastically our whole approach to foreign affairs—and by this I mean not the policies of the moment but the attitude of our people generally towards the relationship of foreign policy and other facts of American life—we must expect a continued tendency towards the reduction of our prestige and influence throughout the world generally.'

"He pointed out that the U.S.A. was not the only power confronted with difficulties in the world today and said that 'the Russians are only now beginning to feel the real discomforts and embarrassments of being the successors of Joe Stalin.'

"The Soviet 'new look' he suggested might very well weaken the ties that have cemented the Soviet empire in the past and give it an external appearance of monolithic power."

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LAND-GIFT MISSION

By SURESH RAMABHAI

rm its new and fresh discoveries, science is king life more easy and pleasant. Curiously, ever, man is feeling less happy and con- ed and there is more fear in his eyes than . The economic and social disparities en rather than contract. Revolutions come a spark of lightning only to pass away. The in the street remains very much where he

The French Revolution stood for frater- , equality and liberty. But the Guillotine d not secure these for the common man. Industrial Revolution brought prosperity England at the cost of millions of Asia and whose markets she could exploit. The n Revolution has not yet succeeded in shing the dictatorship of the proletariate. these revolutions did relieve material e to a degree, they left the core of distress unredeemed. Man is treated by o-economic revolutions as an animal ory needs but they have not paid due to his heart and his unique individuality. us ake Marx. He was a great genius ved deep into the working of the econo- esses on the eve of the age of techno- He gave that historic and inspiring call: s of the World, Unite! You have g to lose but your chains." Looking the history of the last fifty years one that workers have also got to lose g positive before they lose their That thing is—their sense of owner- h the rich and the poor, the capitalists workers, dote upon this sense. In y suffer from the tyranny of posses- h believe in the same sensate values re for the same material standards of and luxury. As a matter of fact, the are those poor who won the race for these , while the poor are those who lost in race for more sensual comfort. Yet both hearts empty of love and they are dly striving to fill this void with posses-

The time has now come when possessiveness should be recognised as a form of illness of the mind. Our possessions possess us. The truly rich man is he who is not a slave of his possessions nor at the mercy of possessiveness. All wealth is a collective product of social well-being. The ownership of wealth should rest not with the individual but with society. Mahatma Gandhi emphasized this point in his theory of Trusteeship. Through Land-gift mission, Acharya Vinoba Bhave has placed a concrete way to give Gandhiji's theory a living shape. Vinoba asks all who possess land, money or property to renounce ownership of what they have and set apart a part of their own possessions for society. The Land-gift movement seeks to make the rich or the poor shed off their ownership rights and share their richness or poverty together.

"Share Together" is, in brief, the essence of Vinoba's mission. So long as we enjoy alone and refuse to share with others, we cannot be true to our neighbour, to ourself or to anybody. Also where would then be the dividing line between man and animal? Both eat and sleep and reproduce. But whereas the characteristic of the animal is that it enjoys its meat by itself alone, that of man is that he wants to share it with others. Which is why man can refuse food even when he is hungry. He obtains peace in fasting too.

In thus voluntarily parting with our possessions we discover the inner richness which loving our neighbour alone can bring to our hearts. This is the echo of all scriptures. All religions of the world bear testimony to this wisdom of the ancient seers. Modern science also drives us to the same conclusion.

Private property is hailed as a sacred right all over the world. It has culminated in the horrible state of affairs in which while the producer is denied the means of production, the non-producing possessor enjoys the products of his labour. Science tells us that if the means of production continue to be owned by indivi-

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dual persons or States and if the gulf between intellectual and physical labour persists, the very existence of man is in jeopardy. This lure for possessions and power has contributed to the growth of urbanization, centralisation, industrialization and—as a result—to militarization. In place of developing spontaneous, happy human co-operation, it has exalted materialism and warped man's vision. Scientists are keenly aware of this development. They have sounded the alarm. J. B. S. Haldane, the great biologist said :

"Materialism, once a scientific theory, is now the fatalistic creed of thousands. But materialism is nothing better than a superstition on the same level as belief in witches and devils."

Sir Arthur Eddington, the renowned physicist, held:

"We are no longer tempted to characterize the spritual aspects of nature as illusory. Rather, the physical world borders everywhere on the spiritual and its factual existence is due solely to this connection."

Above all, Einstein, the scientific wizard of this age, declared :

"The fate of the human race was more than ever dependent on its moral strength today. The way to a joyful and happy state is through renunciation and self-limitation everywhere."

Vinoba's Land-gift mission is just the p[illegible] gramme of collective sharing of the good th[illegible] of this earth. Vinoba calls upon man to m[illegible] both as a religious duty and scientific necess[illegible] a halt in his present drive, share all land [illegible] skills and power among all, and thus [illegible] towards building a non-possessing social or[illegible] standing on the pillars of common owner[illegible] voluntary co-operation and productive lab[illegible] In this manner, Vinoba seeks to bring abo[illegible] revolution in the technique of revolution i[illegible] So far violence has been the main sheet-an[illegible] of revolution. It need not necessarily be [illegible] In Vinoba's words:

"We want to overhaul the entire social str[illegible] without recourse to violence, that is, we want [illegible] peace and revolution. Revolution is indispen[illegible] Now if we want peace also, then we have to [illegible] that peace too has the power to revolutionize [illegible] society—not gradually but with the speed of a re[illegible] lution. If this is proved violence will cease to be [illegible] indispensable adjunct of revolution and society [illegible] be saved. This is what we call a peaceful revol[illegible] or Satyagraha.

"Through Land-gift programme we are h[illegible] the people to acquire the power of Satyagraha [illegible] develop faith in humanity. We also desire to m[illegible] fest the power of peace for solving all our prob[illegible] Viewed in this perspective, the Land-gift missio[illegible] reveal its distinctive glory."

(*Courtesy* : All-India Ra[illegible])

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NEW AGRARIAN POLICY OF INDIA

By Prof. C. L. KHANNA, M.A.

Agriculture was for long regarded by the British rulers as the anchor-sheet of the Indian economy. Rightly did Lord Mayo observe that

"For generations to come, the progress of India in wealth and civilization must be directly dependent on her progress in agriculture."

Yet the tragedy was that it received but scant attention at their hands. The agricultural policy followed by them during their regime of about two hundred years was slow, spasmodic and static. It was essentially dictated by ulterior motives to perpetuate economic and political domination over India much to the advantage of their homeland and to the detri-

ment of ours. It was not until the year [illegible] when Orissa was visited by a gruesome fa[illegible] that they realized the need of a special de[illegible] ment for the improvement of agriculture. [illegible] even then nothing was done beyond the a[illegible] ment of a few legislations or the appoint[illegible] of the Royal Commission of Agriculture [illegible] first Commission of its kind—in the year 1[illegible] This is not to say that all the interm[illegible] measures were absolutely futile but to [illegible] taken them as anything beyond wind[illegible] dressing was sheer complacency. In 1937 [illegible] imperialist-minded provincial govern[illegible] yielded place to the National Congress [illegible]

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ies and it was pin-pointed by the latter that e salvation of India lay in ameliorating the of the agriculturists. Since then a visible ange in agricultural outlook has come forth.

The first and the most vital step taken by Congress provincial governments was the orm of the land tenure system which had ed the initiative, enterprise and drive of Indian farmer. It was believed that land s the base of India's economy and that the rian system should be so organised that the of labour were enjoyed by those who and land was worked as a source of th for the community. The myriads of lemen between the State and the actual s of the soil were deemed as an incubus the existing agricultural society. Wedded this creed, the Congress governments rushed rd with schemes for the elimination of all ediaries. This work, however, came to a standstill when the Congress went out ce on the eve of the Second World War the 'Quit India' movement of 1942. The was resumed when this Great Organisa- s in the saddle again in 1946. Although e of the "social and economic revolu- ough the Zamindary abolition has been it is heartening to learn that the legislations have been fully imple- in the Punjab, Pepsu, Bhopal, Madhya and Hyderabad; substantially imple- in the case of Uttar Pradesh, Sau- Madhya Bharat, Bombay, Madras Bihra and partially implemented in Orissa, Rajasthan and Vindhya Pradesh. States, namely, Assam, West Bengal, Delhi and Himachal Pradesh, the ns to eliminate the parasitic class of aries are in the process of enactment. med by State governments that about on intermediaries have so far been f their rights and interests over more million acres of land. This is, un- , an achievement of which we could ately proud.

problem more far-reaching in character e liquidation of the Zamindari system equitable distribution of land, which, as earlier, is a source of wealth for the community. Much has been said and n in favour and against the controversial The Planning Commission, however, has laid at rest the controversy by accepting, in principle, the policy of fixing a ceiling and floor on the amount of land that an individual may hold. It is needless to dwell here upon the discreet basis governing the implementation of this policy in the various States. In the context of varying circumstances of the States ceilings have been imposed on the existing holdings and on the future acquisition of land by owner-cultivators in the Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Madhya Bharat, Saurashtra and Hyderabad. In other States, the work will be speeded up with the completion of the "census of holdings operations" undertaken by the State Governments.

Both these measures—the Zamindari Abolition and the ceiling on holdings—will be but palliatives if the tenancy problem in India were left unsolved. Aptly has it been remarked by the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee that

> "To leave out the problem of agricultural labour in any scheme of agrarian reforms, as has been done so far, is to leave unattended a weeping wound in the agrarian system of the country."

The Planning Commission has prescribed the remedy of the three F's, *viz.*, Fair rent, Fixity of tenure and Free transfer of land, to solve this problem.

In regard to rent, the Commission observes :

> "While it is difficult to suggest a generally applicable rate of rent, over the greater part of the country, a rate of rent exceeding one-fourth or one-fifth of the produce could well be regarded as requiring special justification."*

If this limit were accepted by us for a 'Fair rent' the rents payable by tenants in the Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, West Bengal, Madhya Bharat and Bhopal do not conform to this standard and the Governments have been urged to take action to reduce rents. But in the large majority of States, for example, Assam, Orissa, Madras, Madhya Pradesh, Hyderabad, Bombay, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin, Ajmer, Rajasthan, Vindhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh rents have been whittled down to accord with the recommendation of the Plan.

* *First Five-Year Plan*, p. 198.

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"Protected labour" is a *sine qua non* for agricultural welfare as protected industries are for industrialization. The problem of tenant security has proved baffling. Laws have been made in certain States, namely, Bombay, Hyderabad, Berar, Tanjore, Mysore, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and the Punjab to ensure against unjustified ejectment of the tenants-at-will. It is contended by some critics that the policy hitherto adopted for the purpose is inadequate and slip-shod. Much leeway has to be made before the Government at the Centre and the States can lay a claim to the solution of this crucial and chronic problem of tenancy.

As regards the tenants' rights of free transfer of land, it is necessary that they should be given permanent and heritable rights in respect of the lands tilled by them.

'Land to the tiller of the soil' is now our precept and not only a maxim or a slogan. The measures alluded to above have been taken to achieve this ideal and their cumulative effect has been highlighted in increased productivity. Millions of tons of foodgrains, which were lost every year because the ill-paid agricultural labourer, who had no stake in land, did not put his heart into work, had been conserved. We have been able to turn the corner in the matter of food. The race for self-sufficiency in food has been won, controls virtually abolished and rationing completely withdrawn. With the mounting up of the internal production our imports have tapered off to a negligible quantity as is shown by the following table :

Year	Production (in million tons)	Imports & year (in million tons)		Value of food imports (in Rs. crores)
1948-49	43.3	2.84	1948	102
1949-50	46.0	3.71	1949	134
1950-51	41.7	2.12	1950	180
1951-52	42.4	4.73	1951	216
1952-53	47.6	3.90	1952	210
1953-54	56.1	2.00	1953	86
1954-55	65.8	0.80	1954-55	68

Note.—Statistics are based on the *Eighth Year and India 1955.*

It is noteworthy that the planned target of 61.6 million tons for 1955-56 had been exceeded by 4.2 million tons in 1954-55. Why import then?—is an apt question, one might ask. The imported foodgrains, according to Mr. A. P. Jain, the Food and Agricultural Minister, are intended not so much for meeting the requirements of internal consumption as building up an adequate reserve. Another remarkable feature is that by cutting down imports India effected a saving of Rs. crores of its hard-earned foreign exchange 1954-55 compared with the peak imports 1951. But now no stocks are to be imported from abroad.

The situation in respect of the commercial crops also shows "considerable improvement." A glance at the statistics tabulated below would at once convince us of this:

Commodity	*Year*	*Production*	*Planned production in 1955*
Cotton	1950-51	2.97 Mn. bales*	
	1951-52	3.13	
	1952-53	3.13	
	1953-54	3.93	
	1954-55	4.30	4.22 Mn. bales
Jute	1950-51	3.28 Mn. bales†	
	1951-52	4.68	
	1952-53	4.61	
	1953-54	3.13	5.39 Mn. bales
Sugarcane	1950-51	5.6 Mn. tons	
	1951-52	6.1	
	1952-53	5.3	
	1953-54	4.6	6.3 Mn. tons
Oilseeds	1950-51	5.08 Mn. tons	
	1951-52	4.93	
	1952-53	4.64	
	1953-54	5.59	
	1954-55	4.40	5.6 Mn. tons

Note.—* 1 bale=392 lbs. † 1 bale=400 lbs.

Agricultural production as a whole registered an increase of 13.5 per cent in 1953 over that of 1949-50. The outturn of cereals recorded an increase of 17.2 per cent, oilseeds of 9 per cent and cotton of nearly 50 per cent.

While it is difficult to point out precisely the contributory factors to the high production levels, it is widely recognised that the Integrated Production Programme initiated on the recommendation made by the Grow More Food Inquiry Committee has helped achieve self-sufficiency in food and certain other crops. The intensive campaign is now an integral part of the Community Development Project and National Extension Service schemes which spread all over the country to make a multilateral attack for the improvement of the "whole" man in the villages. Lop-sided de-

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...ment of the farmer's life is considered im-...cident and infructuous. Though according to ...me, not much has been done since the incep-...n of the Community Projects in 1952, it ...cannot be gainsaid that they have well-served ...-seed-multiplication farms' for propagating ...thought.

The effect of the increased production, of ...policy of decontrol and of political causes, ...h as the Korean truce, was the sagging of ...prices of agricultural products. The Econo-...Adviser's Index Number of wholesale prices ...respect of agricultural commodities (food ...cles) stood at 320.7 on the 19th November, ...5, as against 339.4 in 1954-55, 384.4 in ...53-54 and 398.6 in 1951-52, the opening year ...the First Five-Year Plan. The Government ...d therefore to resort to policies of price sup-...and export promotion to arrest the down-...d trend of prices. Whereas during the war ...s from 1939 to 1945 the British Govern-...had been faced with inflation and hyper-...tion problems, our National Government ...to confront an equally worse evil of defla-...ry tendencies. Of course, at the moment ...not assumed any grave proportions but ...ly action was certainly called for. And ...taken. To combat this tendency the ...Government entered the open market ...chasing what may be called, "buffer ...of cereals to serve as reserve for emer-...s, if any. At the end of 1953-54, the ...stocks of food, mainly rice, were 16 ...tons. The stocks of foodgrains held by ...Government on October 29, 1955, were: ...3,40,000 tons, rice 10,13,000 tons, and ...grains 37,000 tons. It was declared on ...of the House on December 14, 1955, ...chases in the internal markets would ...to the extent necessary to give price ...to principal foodgrains in order to ...them at reasonable levels.

...ort of agricultural commodities was ...ped up. During the current year up to ...ber 30, 1955, more than 84,000 tons ...at Rs. 461.74 lakhs had been exported ...e countries.

These were *ad hoc* measures to surmount ...nic hurdles coming in the wake of price ...in the agricultural sector. Realising that ...provided no enduring cures of our present ...future difficulties, Mr. A. P. Jain enunciated the following basic remedies in the course of the Parliamentary debate held in October, 1955 :

(*a*) The setting up of a National Co-operative Development and Warehousing Board.

(*b*) The institution of a Central and State Warehousing Corporation.

(*c*) The provision of adequate credit facilities through the Reserve Bank and State Bank of India.

The two organisations mentioned at (*a*) and (*b*) above are designed to improve the holding power of the Indian farmer and to organise co-operative marketing and processing so as to strengthen his position as a seller, to assure him of a regular trade outlet and to enable him to obtain better prices. This will also teach the farmers that agriculture is primarily a form of business. With that end in view the Board will link credit with marketing.

The Government will allocate to the Board (*i*) a non-recurring grant of Rs. 5 crores and (*ii*) a recurring grant of not less than Rs. 5 crores per annum for the first five years and thereafter a reasonable sum consistent with its functions. Out of these allocations would be created two funds, namely, Development Fund and Warehousing Fund with Rs. 15 crores allocated to each. The developmental activities will be the formation of primary marketing societies, the apex marketing organisations and the processing co-operative societies such as sugar mills, cotton gins, oil expellers and jute balers.

The functions of the Board are to give loans and grants to State Governments which, in turn, would extend similar facilities to marketing societies at the lowest rung of the ladder. It is proposed to set up 1,500 primary marketing societies and construct 1,200 godowns during the Second Five-Year Plan. At the apex there will be one new society in each Part 'A' and 'B' States. The total estimated cost will come to about Rs. 18 crores.

The Central Warehousing Corporation is intended to set up warehouses at important places in the whole of the country and to subscribe to the share capital of its counter-parts in the States. The Central Corporation will have an authorized capital of Rs. 20 crores and a subscribed capital of Rs. 10 crores. This capital will be raised by a contribution of Rs. 4

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crores by the Central Government and the balance by

(*i*) the State Bank of India;
(*ii*) commercial banks;
(*iii*) insurance companies and
(*iv*) co-operative societies.

With the completion of the programmed ware-housing and storing facilities, it would be possible to have a storage capacity of 2 million tons at a cost of Rs. 10 crores by the Central and State Governments during the Second Five-Year Plan.

The Indian farmer stands in need of three types of credit—short-term, medium-term and long-term. To meet this requirement of rural loans our National Government has undertaken reorientation of the existing credit structure.

The first historic measure taken in this direction is the formation of the State Bank of India. This Bank is vested with powers to open 400 branches throughout the length and breadth of the country. Apart from broad-basing the rural credit, the State Bank will provide "vastly extended remittance facilities for co-operative institutions" and assist co-operative marketing and processing activities. It will also advance money to small-scale and cottage industries against goods and their title documents. It might also purchase the debentures floated by the Land Mortgage Banks whose number will be increased from nine to eighteen to cover all States, Part 'A' and 'B'.

Another "important development" in the realm of credit re-organisation is the amendment to the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934. According to this amendment (which was brought on the statute book on December 30, 1953) the Reserve Bank has been empowered to enlarge the scope of credit required for seasonal agricultural operations and marketing of crops. It is authorized to advance short-term loans to

(*i*) State Co-operative Banks and the State Financial Corporations for financing production and marketing activities of cottage as well as small-scale industries;

(*ii*) The Central Industrial Finance Corporation.

The Reserve Bank can also meet medium-term credit demands for agricultural purposes.

To enable the Bank to discharge the functions of providing short-, medium- and long-term credit, two "funds" have been instituted by it :

(*i*) National Agricultural Credit (Long-term Operation) Fund to which the Reserve Bank will contribute a non-recurring sum of Rs. 10 crores in addition to the recurring sum of Rs. 5 crores per annum. This Fund will make advances and loans to (*a*) State Governments for subscribing to the share-capital of co-operative credit societies; (*b*) State Co-operative Banks for financing medium-term needs of agriculturists; and (*c*) Land Mortgage Banks for making long-term loans.

(*ii*) National Agricultural Credit (Stabilization) Fund which will be credited by the Bank with a recurring amount of Rs. 1 crore every year. This Fund will help stabilize the co-operative credit by advancing loans to State Co-operative Banks. This will help the latter to convert short-term credit into medium-term credit whenever the farmer has to take recourse to it under the pressure of natural or other calamities.

Thus the new approach envisaged by Nehru Government aims at reforming the anachronistic land system, making provision for marketing and warehousing facilities, reorganization of credit, and stabilization of agricultural prices. In fact, it implies a complete reorganisation of agriculture. If this were accomplished, it would be possible to "wipe out every tear from every eye" as was the ambition of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation. The living standards of the teeming millions of six lakh and odd villages would rise. The invidious inequalities between the rich and the poor would vanish into thin air. India where poverty reigned supreme for centuries would have a millennium foreseen by sages and seers. Gandhi's ideal of "Ram Raj" will become a reality.

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INDUSTRIAL LOCATION IN INDIA

An Incongruity

By V. S. YADAVA, M.A.

According to Alfred Weber, whose theory of industrial location is the best and the most acceptable of all the existing theories on the subject, the determinants of the location of an industry are the costs of labour, the costs of transportation and the raw material prices. Carrying the analysis a little further it may be stated that as the differences in the prices of raw materials are mainly due to distances, and can thus be expressed in the costs of transportation, the location of an industry is determined by two factors—labour costs and transport costs. The most suitable place to locate an industry is that which has the lowest transport costs in terms of ton-miles. An industry will be located at such a place where the transportation costs will be the minimum both in respect of getting raw material, supply, and making the finished product reach the market. However, this location will be deviated if the wages of labour elsewhere gives a comparatively greater economic advantage. Weber divides raw materials into (1) 'Ubiquities' and (2) 'Localised Materials'. The latter are further sub-divided into (*i*) 'Pure Materials' *i.e.*, those materials which contribute more or less the full weight to the finished commodity in the making these are used (*e.g.*, wool, cotton cloth) and (*ii*) 'Gross Materials' *i.e.*, those which lose much of their weight in the process of manufacturing and contribute only a part of their weight to the final product. The best example of such 'Weight Losing' or 'Gross Materials' is the sugarcane which contributes only a part of its weight in the manufacture of sugar, etc. Iron ore and coal are other examples of 'Weight Losing' materials. 'Ubiquities' are those materials which are available everywhere and on that account, do not exercise any grip-control over industrial location. 'Localised Materials,' on the other hand, are found in particular regions and, therefore, exercise a predominant influence in the location of industry. Among the 'Localised Materials,' the 'Gross Materials' exercise a greater control in determining industrial location than 'Pure Materials.' So according to Weber's theory, industries are located in regions of low transport costs and labour costs.

Weber's theory of industrial location is neither a rounded doctrine nor is it very comprehensive. In actual practice industrial location is not conditioned by economic factors (low transport costs and labour costs) alone. Natural, political, social and psychological considerations play a vital role in arriving at the 'locational point.' To exemplify, nobody will locate an industry in a region that serves as a host to the natural calamities like earthquakes, floods and epidemics even if the transport costs and labour costs are the minimum. Similarly, regions of malarial climate, etc., will hardly attract industries. Again, an industrialist will not start an industry in a remote rural area even if it offers economic advantages stated in Weber's theory because of the absence of the elementary amenities of daily life which are easily available in cities and to which city-dwellers have become habituated. The social atmosphere will also be very different. This reason explains why industries come to be located in cities or their vicinity, in preference to rural areas even if it is somewhat disadvantageous from an economic point of view. The absence of banking and other credit facilities—the so-called arteries of commerce and trade—in some regions will scare away industrialists. There is also a strong tendency of concentrating factories at a place where such factories already exist because of certain advantageous conditions such as the momentum of the start derived from the reputation that the particular locality comes to possess for some quality product. Moreover, industries come to be located in the interior of the country even at some economic sacrifice because of strategic considerations. (Interior is safer in cases of bombardment, etc.). 'Safety

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first' is the principle with every man and more so with an industrialist who has not only his life but also his large capital at stake. In view of the above facts Alfred Weber's theory needs imbibe some modifications to be more applicable to the real problems.

Extent of industrial Concentration in India

In India, the pace of industrial development has not only been tardy but even the location of industrial units has been defective, uneven, and unbalanced. The industries are concentrated in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. If we add U.P. and Bihar to the list we have marked the whole industrial region in the country. Northern India and majority of Part B and C States are without any industries worth the name. Bengal, Bombay and Madras have about 77 per cent of the total workers employed in large-scale industrial establishments and the figure works out to 90 per cent if U.P. and Bihar are also grouped. The remaining States of India, except the Punjab and Madhya Pradesh, employ 1 per cent or even less of the total workers in large-scale establishments. A study of some of the key and important industries unmistakably reveal the locational trends in the country.

Cotton Textile Industry

The Cotton Textile Industry had its beginning in Calcutta in 1818. The real foundation of the industry was, however, laid in about the middle of the nineteenth century when in 1854 a mill of the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company went on production in Bombay. The industry has had to pass through many vicissitudes—the high price of cotton owing to the American Civil War, the imposition of cotton excise, the acute depression that followed in the wake of World War I, boom, the loss of China market, the competition from Lancashire and Paisley—before occupying its present position of unique importance in the country. Today the Cotton Textile Industry is the biggest industry in the East employing daily on average about 4½ lakhs of people and having a capital investment of about Rs. 110 crores. The number of mills in the industry has increased from 47 in 1876 to about 460 today. From its very inception the industry was concentrated in Bombay even though centres like 'Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Nagpur and Cawnpore e[illegible] greater proximity to raw material, nearness [illegible] market, closer acquaintance with the local [illegible] cheap labour and cheap land'.[1] The deve[illegible] ment and expansion of the industry have [illegible] sulted in its dispersion to other parts of [illegible] country and 'the share of Bombay in the [illegible] ber of mills has gone down from 32.9 per [illegible] in 1919 to 18.6 per cent in 1937'[2] yet Bo[illegible] continues to retain its status of being the [illegible] concentrated centre of the industry. Owi[illegible] this concentration the Technological Lab[illegible] tory of the Indian Central Cotton Comm[illegible] and the Department of Chemical Techno[illegible] of the Bombay University are located in B[illegible] bay for carrying out research on cloth fibr[illegible]

Thus, "in spite of the growth of industries other parts of the country such as Madras, Madhya Pradesh, U.P., and Madhya Bharat, the industry continues to be concentrated in Bombay where more than 60 per cent of the existing spindles and looms are installed. In the future development of the industry care will have to be taken to improve [illegible] location."[3]

The industry needs to be diversified [illegible] that it may migrate to other parts of the co[illegible] try, particularly the Northern India and P[illegible] B States.

Jute Industry

This industry occupies a dominating p[illegible] tion in the industrial structure of the co[illegible] Dating its origin in the mid-nineties, the [illegible] industry has shown phenomenal growth a[illegible] history has been, on the whole, one of un[illegible] rupted progress. This progress is reflected [illegible] an increase in the number of jute mills from [illegible] in 1879 to 1893, to 73 in 1914-1919 and 10[illegible] 1938-39. The total number of jute mills [illegible] India today is 112.

"This important textile industry has the di[illegible] tion of accounting for approximately a quarter of [illegible] export trade of the country. The progress of [illegible] industry can be gauged from the fact that India [illegible] today become the chief jute manufacturer, con[illegible] more than 60 per cent of the raw jute of this [illegible] continent. The total capital invested in the ind[illegible] is about Rs. 30 crores and the industry employs [illegible] than 3 lakhs of workers on the average."[4]

1. *Indian Economics* by Dr. K. K. Dewatt and Prof. G. [illegible]
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Problems in Indian Economics* by P. C. Jain (1955 [illegible]
4. *Hindustan Year Book and Who's Who*, 1955 by [illegible] Sarkar, p. 490.

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This important industry is the most concentrated industry of the country. It is almost wholly located in West Bengal. 'All but one of the two of India's 112 industries are in West Bengal in and around Calcutta on the Hooghly River.' This appears to be slightly an overstatement. A more accurate estimate of the location of this industry is that 'the industry is concentrated mostly in West Bengal where there are 101 out of 112 registered jute mills. The remaining mills are in Madras, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.'[8] Clearly, therefore, the growth of the industry has not changed its locational trend and the industry continues to be centralised in West Bengal.

Iron and Steel Industry

The iron and steel industry of India is the biggest industry in the whole of Asia and one of the best in the world. Barring a few sporadic efforts, the real beginning of the Iron and Steel industry was made in 1907 with the formation of the Tata Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur. The Mysore Iron Works at Bhadravati (1923) and the Steel Corporation of Bengal (1937) followed suit. Today the main constituents of the industry in India are the Tata Iron and Steel Company, the Indian Iron and Steel Company (incorporating the Steel Corporation of Bengal) and the Mysore Iron and Steel Works. The industry received a great fillip during World War II and has made great progress. The increase in the production of pig iron and finished steel from 1.49 million tons and 0.86 million tons in 1939 to 1.65 million tons and 1.02 million tons in 1953[7] respectively shows that the industry is well maintaining its progress. The industry is located in Bihar and West Bengal. In the jute industry, the point of location of the industry has also remained unaltered and concentrated in the above two States.

Sugar Industry

The sugar industry showed feeble resistance in the face of competition from Java sugar and subsidised European sugar. Thus, before the grant of tariff protection in 1931 the sugar industry was having a precarious existence. After the grant of protection in 1931, the industry made rapid strides and "the number of sugar factories in India increased from 32 in 1931-32 to 159 in 1953-54 . . . The industry is concentrated mostly in U.P. and Bihar but some other parts of the country such as Bombay, Madras, Mysore and Hyderabad are better suited for the industry as the yield of sugarcane per acre of land is higher there and the cane-crushing season can last longer there. In 1953-54, out of 159 factories 72 were in U.P., 30 in Bihar, 16 in Madras, 15 in Bombay, 4 in West Bengal, 2 in Orissa, 1 in Punjab, 2 in the Chief Commissioner's States and 17 in other States and State Unions."[8] Thus, the location of the sugar mills is highly unsatisfactory and uneconomic and partly contributes to the high costs of production. This unbalanced and lop-sided location has burdened the industry with unnecessary additional costs; thus making it unable to withstand the foreign competition.

"The U.P. and Bihar account for 75 per cent of the sugar factories and 81 per cent of sugar production. In Bombay, consumption of sugar is the highest but production is very low; in Bihar, on the other hand, consumption is very low and production is very large, and in Madras production is small and consumption is very large. This involves unnecessary costly haulage."[9]

This malady of improper and uneven location calls for drastic and immediate solution.

Cement Industry

Though of recent origin—the first cement factory was started in 1904 at Madras—this important Key industry has reached its full stature. Before Partition India had 23 cement factories with an annual installed capacity of 2.7 million tons. The partition of the country resulted in some of the factories falling to the share of Pakistan, and India was left with 18 factories with actual production of 1.5 million tons only. Soon the dustry overcame the disaster and today there are about 27 cement factories in India with an installed capacity of over 5 million tons. The location of the industry is, however, defective. The industry is concentrated in the three provinces of Bihar, Madras and C.P. (now Madhya Pradesh). Added to this evil of concentration is the fact that most of the cement factories (Dalmia

7. *Problems in Indian Economics* by P. C. Jain.

8. *Problems in Indian Economics* by P. C. Jain.

9. *Indian Economics* by Dr. K. K. Dewatt and Prof. Gurcharan Singh.

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group of industries is an exception) are located at a very great distance from the consuming centres. Moreover, the factories are also away from coal fields and "the nearest factory is at a distance of 200 miles, and several factories are at a distance of more than 1,000 miles. No cement works upto 1925 were situated within 350 miles of Calcutta and 250 miles of Bombay and these two ports and their surroundings consumed more than half the cement consumed in the country. Most of the cement works were seriously handicapped by their remoteness from the chief consuming centres."[10]

"Of late, the cement factories have shifted to new locations and the development of the industry has been more balanced. But even in 1955-56 out of a total of 27 cement factories with a rated capacity of 5,006 thousand tons, 6 factories with a rated capacity of 1,160 thousand tons and 5 factories with a rated capacity of 882 thousand tons are located in Bihar and Madras respectively."[11]

The above study of some of the key and basic industries of the country clearly brings out the fact of deep concentration of industries in particular regions. The history of other industries will only confirm this locational trend. Thus, the chemical industry of India—"a key industry par excellence"—is highly concentrated and two-thirds of its employees are found in Bengal and Baroda. Similarly, in the case of cinema industry "the film production is virtually confined to Bombay, West Bengal and Madras." Bombay is the largest producer of films in India and may rightly be termed "India's Hollywood."

The concentration of industries has made the industrial structure of the country lopsided and any industrial development in such circumstances means the increasing concentration of industries in the already industrialised areas and localities. This is clear from the following table :

Percentage of the total number of Industrial Workers in India

Province	1921	1939	1943*	1951
Bengal and Bombay	62.1	59.2	57.6	54.3
Bengal, Bombay, U.P., Madras & Bihar	83.1	85.9	84.4	88.4
Rest of India	16.9	14.1	15.6	11.6

* Figures up to 1943 are for undivided India.

"It is worth noting that although the share of West Bengal and Bombay has decreased from 62.1 per cent in 1921 to 54.3 per cent in 1951, the share of Madras, U.P. and Bihar has increased from 83.1 per cent of the total number of workers in 1921 to 26.8 per ctnt in 1943 and 34.1 per cent in 1951. The share of the rest of the country in the number of industrial workers has declined from 16.9 per cent in 1921 to 15.6 per cent in 1943 and 11.6 per cent in 1951. This means that the concentration of industry has taken place in Madras, U.P. and Bihar at the cost of Bengal and Bombay and the rest of India."

Disadvantages of Industrial Concentration

The concentration of industry in particular localities leads to manifold economic, social and political evils. Economically, the undue concentration of industrial units in a locality leads to the under-development, if not the neglect, of the vast regions and localities in the country. For example, in India, North, North-Western and parts of Southern India have been neglected and industries in these areas are found only as an exception. Contrarily, other parts of the country, like Bengal, Bombay, Bihar, Madras and U.P. are highly industrialised. Such concentration does not lead to the maximum utilization of the country's resources. The industrially undeveloped areas possess natural resources and economic advantages, though not to the extent of the industrialised areas, which remain untapped and unexploited. This results in national loss both in terms of material and human resources. The under-development of vast areas leads to greater unemployment which means not only the loss of existing man-power but also of potential human resources. "Unemployment is a great evil, it is a poison, it pollutes the society and wrecks the political fibre of a country." Secondly, the concentration of industries in particular areas unbalances the whole industrial structure of the country and if some natural or economic calamity overtakes an industry only the people of the particular area where the industry is concentrated are ruined. For example, depression in cement industry would hit the people of Bihar more severely than the people of the rest of India. This would be avoided in case of the dispersion of industries to different areas and places. If industries

10. *Ibid.*
11. *Problems in Indian Economics* by P. C. Jain.
12. *Ibid.*

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are decentralised a region will nurture more than one industry and, therefore, depression in any particular industry will not result in a total disaster for the region, for it is not obligatory that depression in one industry will coincide with depression in other industries. So, in a locality has more than one industry the difficulties and distress that come in the wake of depression would be diminished and whatever distress falls to its lot will be shared by other regions also. Thirdly, the concentration of industry in particular areas is not conditioned only by economic considerations as enumerated in Alfred Weber's theory. The caprice and prejudices of the industrialists are a contributory factor in locating industries at a particular place. The history of the industries, given above, clearly shows that had economic considerations been the sole determinants of industrial location, the cement industry would not have been located far away from the source of power or the sugar industry away from the market. Finally, such concentration of industries creates inequality between the different regions. It creates industrially pampered areas and industrially backward areas. The people inhabiting the latter areas not only suffer from want of means of livelihood but also smart with frustration and injustice at the sight of opulence in a nearby area. Such a gap between different regions is inequitous and untenable. It cuts across the Directive Principles of State Policy which *inter alia* lays down that

"The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing that the ownership and control of material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good."[18]

The undue concentration of industries leads to a crop of social problems, *e.g.*, overcrowding. The population of industrial towns like Calcutta, Bombay and Kanpur has doubled and even trebled. Such overcrowding leads to pollution and housing problem. Slums are created and labourers are forced to live in tenements which are a veritable hell on earth. The labourers live in hovels which are "cold in winter, hot in summer and wet in rains." The labour force is mainly recruited from rural areas and therefore the new surroundings, unhygienic and insanitary as they are, are quite alien to them. But diabolical necessity makes them live in such hovels where "they are pushed and not pulled." A number of social evils like drinking and gambling, to which the labourers per necessity become addicts, pester them and the society of which they are a part. Infant mortality and diseases of various kinds prevail in these areas. The State has to provide for a number of facilities, *e.g.*, provision of free hospitals and child and maternity welfare centres. The State has also to incur expenditure on slum clearance and has to pass and enforce labour legislation to mitigate the evils that result from concentration of industries. Such is the heavy social cost that the indiscriminate concentration of industries, which the profit-motive of industrialists creates, involves. Here the individual and social objectives are at variance.

Politically, the concentration of industries in particular states or areas to the neglect of other parts, as we have in India, is indefensible and monstrous specially in a "Welfare State" that the Democratic Sovereign Republic of India is. In a democracy the concentration of industries and the consequent increase in population carries with it the risk of concentration of political power too. All this may result in the creation of vested interests. Besides, industrial concentration is dangerous because of the great risk of total annihilation of industries in an aerial bombardment. So in an emergency industrial concentration in the country will jeopardise national interests and security.

Thus, concentration of industries is indefensible on economic, social or political grounds. It is a great defect in the industrial structure of the country.

Indeed, "our industrial progress has not only been slow, it has also been uneven. It has been competitive rather than complimentary. Our industrialists beat the trodden path; instead of initiating they simply imitate. As soon as any new industrial opening is discovered, there is a frantic rush to fill the gap: a factory is piled upon a factory till the industry has ceased to be remunerative. Not only the same line is taken up but also the industrialists run to the same place to open a factory till the industry becomes highly centralised and unbalanced. Its location becomes unfavourable either from the point of view of markets as in the case of sugar, or from materials as in cotton or from source of power as cement industry. Our industrialists follow the 'safety first' principle.

18. Constitution of India, Article 39(C).

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History of almost all major industries in India amply bears out this conclusion."[14]

The situation calls for immediate remedy.

The Way Out

"The problem of industrial location is socio-economic in character. The choice of a site for an industry is not only of individual interest but also of great social significance. From the standpoint of the individual entrepreneur, the location of an industry is largely influenced by cost considerations. The point of minimum cost is chosen irrespective of its wider repercussions. But from the social standpoint, location determines the distribution of industrial labour and the division of the socially necessary work among the different areas of the country. An over-concentration in a particular area may result in heavy social costs, such as congestion and infant mortality. In actual practice the individual and social objectives of location rarely coincide and hence the problem has assumed great significance with growing industrialisation."[15]

The State shall have to play an important role in planning the loc' 'on of industries in the country. A policy o. *laissez-faire* in this sphere will spell ruin by allowing further concentration of industries to continue and afflict the industrial health, social welfare and political stability of the nation by evils attendant to such concentration. Happily, the Government of India is conscious of its duty to see "that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment,"[16] and has, by the enactment of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951, assumed powers to regulate the location of industry.

In any scheme of physical rebuilding, maximum utilisation of the actual as well as potential, physical and human resources and in the establishment of a solid, broad-based and organic industrial structure, the evil of concentration of industry must be removed lock, stock and barrel. For a country of the dimensions of India, the solution lies in regional planning. "Special attention must be given to regional development to reduce disparities in economic opportunities and the level of life between different states."[17] Particular areas in the country which possess the requisite economic sources for industrial development and mutually exclusive should be demarcated and appropriate industries allocated to them. India, such regions are easily discernible should be properly developed. The study our industries has shown that some indus like Jute and Iron and Steel have not sh any sign of dispersion to any area other their original places of concentration in of rapid growth in the industries and ex forces. Such industries are termed as tied immobile industries. On the other hand, are certain other industries, *e.g.*, cotton tex sugar, paper, cement, etc., which, with expansion and development, have rev great dispersion resulting in a great decline importance of the original centres of con tration. The latter industries are termed mobile industries. So in any scheme of in trial dispersion in India special attention be given to the mobile industries which great resilience in migrating to different of the country. Recent developments in direction show that the Government of In is not oblivious of having a co-ordinated tern of economic development in which con tration of industry does not fit in. The in trialists have also realised that cut-th competition, as once prevailed in the co industry, is a losing proposition and have gun improving the location of industrial The improvement and expansion in the of transportation and the availability of electric power in the interior of the co have further led to industrial decentralis Consequently, many industries have mig from their original centres of concentration. cotton textile industry has migrated to Madhya Pradesh and elsewhere resulting gradually diminishing importance of Bo Likewise, the sugar industry notwithsta the fact that U.P. and Bihar are still its important centres, is fairly spread over country. This is clear from the fact th 1931-32 out of 32 factories 26 were in U.P. Bihar but in 1952-53 out of 134 only 93 in U.P. and Bihar. The cement industry also dispersed greatly. State enterprises in industry have facilitated its even locati the various parts of the country.

The above developments are mere po

14. *Indian Economics* by Dr. K. K. Dewatt and Prof. G. Singh.
15. *Studies in Indian Economic Problems* by Prof. R. Balakrishna.
16. *Constitution of India*, Article 39(d).
17. *Second Five-Year Plan, The Framework* (The Publications Division, Govt. of India).

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wards which progress has to be made and not something to be glorified. The industrial location in the country is very defective and will need time, patience and sustained efforts before it is rectified. But the situation need no longer be neglected, effective measures should be initiated early so that this industrial malady is set right.

Recent Trends

By virtue of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951, the Government of India has assumed regulatory powers in determining industrial location, etc. "This Act brings under government supervision and regulation the more important industries of the country, *e.g.*, the 37 industries listed in the first schedule." The list has been enlarged by an amendment of the Act. The Industries (Development and Control) Act 1951, lays down *inter alia* that

(a) All the existing industrial undertakings in the scheduled industries have to be registered within a prescribed period;

(b) No new industrial unit can be established or substantial extension to existing plants made without a licence from the Central Government."[18]

This Act has greatly corrected the industrial structure by migrating industries to new places. Many new industries were refused by government on locational considerations. The Act also provides for the establishment of Development Councils "for ensuring that private industry confirms more and more to the planned pattern of development," and "to investigate the possibilities of decentralisation of the stages and processes of production with a view to encouraging the growth of allied small-scale and cottage industries."[19]

But the evil of industrial concentration cannot be removed by a policy of mere licensing. Conditions must be improved in the underdeveloped regions to attract industries. The provision of electric power, means of transport and communication, availability of cheap labour, erection of factories, and banking and other facilities are some of the prerequisites of industrial location.

"Industries do not go to backward and under-developed areas and to rural locations partly because of prejudice and partly because these places do not offer facilities such as raw materials, electric power and the type of labour required. In order to attract industries to these under-developed areas it is necessary to (*a*) develop these areas so that the industrialists might be attracted to them and (*b*) to give, at least in the initial stages, such facilities as land at concessional rates, lower railway rates, and cash subsidies, wherever necessary. It is only when such a progressive policy is adopted that the location of Indian industries can be effectively improved."[20]

The availability of cheap hydro-electric power as a result of the completion of the various multipurpose projects afford an opportunity for decentralisation. The development of backward and rural areas is gathering momentum after the initiation of the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Services. The programme of opening about 300 of its branches by the State Bank of India in rural areas will remove the lacuna of the absence of credit facilities in such areas. Much has been achieved, but still great leeway remains to be made. In the "Socialistic pattern of Society" that we have, backward areas will be developed and industries attracted to them. But as we aim at dynamic evolution and not revolution, all these developments will take time. Therefore, it has been rightly remarked :

"Industrial development in India has so far been concentrated in a few select areas. If it is to proceed in a balanced manner, increasing attention will have to be paid to establishing industries in those States and Regions which have so far remained backward. Under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, the Government has powers to regulate location, but large changes in the pattern of industrial location cannot be brought about within a short period. Private industry is reluctant to settle in a new area in preference to an area already partly developed and offering banking and transport facilities and other ancillary services. Moreover, a considerable proportion of the industrial development envisaged in this five-year period is by way of expansion of existing industrial units. The electric power to be derived from the multipurpose projects will, however, open up great possibilities of industrial development in the Punjab, Orissa and Bihar."[21]

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18. *First Five-Year Plan*, People's Edition, p. 179.
19. *Ibid*, pp. 179-180.

20. *Problems in Indian Economics* by P. C. Jain.
21. *First Five-Year Plan*, People's Edition, p. 191.

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PUBLIC ENTERPRISES IN INDIA

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By Prof. PRAKASH CHANDRA TRIPATHI, M.Com., LL.B.

Introduction

In the early days of capitalism, when there were plenty of opportunities for all to grow rich without coming into serious conflict, the system of private enterprise worked fairly satisfactorily. The good of the individual entrepreneur more or less coincided with the good of society. But as capitalism progressed and scope for expansion got limited the interests of the individual and of the society became divergent. In the process of maximisation of profits the individual entrepreneur adopted policies which instead of leading to the advancement of society, definitely led to its degradation. Profit motive attracted entrepreneurs into those lines of production which, either due to the absence of acute competition, or to the ease of starting them, or to the smallness of capital outlay and quickness of return, yield the highest rate of profits. In India this led to considerable expansion of such industries as cotton textiles, sugar and the neglect of heavy chemicals, electrical and general engineering which require huge capital outlay or returns on which can be expected only after a long time but which are nonetheless vital for the balanced industrial development of the country. The absence of such industries was sharply felt in the early phase of the Second World War when the Allies could not get an adequate supply of war goods from India. Government was, therefore, to step in to supplement private enterprise. In their industrial policy statement made in April, 1948, the Government of India thus declared 'mixed economy' as the main feature of their new policy. It has been in pursuance of that policy that a number of industrial enterprises have been started in the post-independence years.

Industrial Enterprises

A brief account of public enterprises in India is given below.

Sindri Fertiliser Factory (Sindri, Bihar)

Soil is our one and only source of food. Investigations have shown that only 7 per cent of the earth's land surface possesses the ideal combination of temperature, climate and soil for crop production. The maintenance of the manurial balance of the soil by the applica of artificial fertilisers is, therefore, necess to force more production from areas which not enjoy ideal soil conditions. Hence supreme importance of a fertiliser* factory.

In 1943, the Foodgrains Policy Comm carried out a review of India's requirements nitrogenous artificial fertilisers and reac the conclusion that the country's annual amounted to between 2 and 3 million to *i.e.*, 10 to 15 million tons of ammonium phate. Following this review it was decided establish the large-scale production of artif fertilisers in India. A Technical Mission which served representatives of two import U. K. concerns with an expert knowledge the industry and of the plant required visi India in 1944. The site now occupied by Sindri factory and the capacity of the pl installed are as recommended by the Techn Mission.

A State-owned private limited liabi Company known as Sindri Fertilisers Chemicals Limited completed at a cost Rs. 23 crores, was formed in December 19 The authorised capital of the company Rs. 30 crores and all the shares are held the President of India except one which is by the Secretary to the Government of I Ministry of Production, in his personal c city.

The factory is the first major State- enterprise since Independence and largest and most modern fertiliser-produ plant. At 1,000 tons a day, it has an a capacity of producing 3,50,000 tons of a nium sulphate. A target of 3,15,000 tons ammonium sulphate was fixed for Sindri the First Plan. Four days before the e 1955, the factory's annual production re

* There are two important classes of feltilisers, viz., n fertilisers and phosphatic fertilisers. Of nitrogenous ammonium sulphate is the most important. In addition t fertilisers, there are 6 plants producing ammonium sulphate installed capacity of 80,000 tons annually. Of these th importantt is Fertilisers and Chemicals, Travancore Ltd. C phatic fertilisers, superphosphate is the most important. In tion to Bihar Government Superphosphate Factory, there 14 producers of which the largest is Fertilisers & Ch Travancore Ltd. The production of it is limited by the of sulphur.

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1,20,262 tons. Sindri has enabled the country to save about Rs. 33 crores in foreign exchange and played a significant role in expanding food production. Sindri's capacity is being expanded by over 60 per cent. This scheme which is now being executed will bring an additional production of 70 tons of urea and 400 tons of ammonium sulphate nitrate per day. Estimated to cost about Rs. 7 crores, the expansion scheme will be completed during the early part of the Second Plan period. Besides the expansion of Sindri two more fertiliser factories and the utilisation of lignite deposits in Madras for the production of about 70,000 tons of nitrogen per year are envisaged under the Second Five-Year Plan.

The two most important requirements of a fertiliser industry are the supplies of gypsum as the raw material and plenty of water. The factory draws its supplies of gypsum from Bikaner and Jodhpur deposits in Rajasthan. When in full operation the factory will require about 2,000 tons of gypsum per day. The water requirements of the factory which are estimated to be about 12 million gallons per day are supplied from an artificial lake built by a dam on the Gowai which is a tributary of the Damodar.

Sindri is fast growing into a nucleus for chemical and other industries. A cement factory installed by A.C.C. Limited to utilise the by-product (chalk), with a capacity of about [illegible] tons of cement per day has already gone into production.[2]

Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory (Chittaranjan, W. Bengal)

Named in memory of one of India's most [illegible] patriots, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Chittaranjan is the next big industrial enterprise of the Government. Built at a cost of [illegible] Rs. 15 crores it helps to bridge the gap—[illegible] of long British rule—in the requirements of a country which has a railway route mileage of about 34,000 with approximately 8,000 locomotives in use.

In the First Five-Year Plan the factory was originally planned to build 120 steam locomotives and 50 spare boilers every year on single shift working. But the actual progress is so gratifying that it is recently proposed to step up the production target of Chittaranjan from 120 to 150 per year, and thereafter to 200 average-sized locomotives, in the course of the next four years through the introduction of such measures as judicious multi-shift working, additional equipment and training of staff.[3]

The workshops which cover a total area of about 8,80,000 square feet have been so designed as to facilitate the movement of raw material from the initial processing stages to the final finish, in one direction through the various shops, until it is delivered to the erecting shop ready for the assemblage of locomotives.

Today 90 per cent components of a locomotive are produced in Chittaranjan. Locomotives now cost about 6.5 lakhs. The landed cost of an imported locomotive is about 5.3 lakhs. The cost will gradually come down as the production increases and it has been worked out that by 1956-57, the unit cost will compare favourably with that of the imported ones of the similar types and that is including the overheads of the model township.

Perambur Coach Factory (Perambur, Madras)

After partition while on the one hand our country was left with a badly depleted and deteriorated coaching stock, on the other the passenger traffic had registered an enormous increase over the pre-war level. The Government met this situation by making large-scale imports of passenger coaches from abroad. It also became absolutely manifest that taking into account all available sources of home capacity for the manufacture of coaches, a large separate manufacturing unit similar to the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, for meeting our requirements of coaches, was inescapable. Accordingly, in 1948, the Central Government took a decision to establish such a factory in the country. Finally, the work was started with the collaboration of a Swiss firm.

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2. The original scheme envisaged the supply of gypsum from the mines of West Pakistan (in North Punjab). As a large [illegible] of coal was being sent to the Punjab a considerable number of wagons were returning empty to the coal mines. The cost of [illegible] of gypsum supplies to Sindri was, therefore, expected to [illegible] due to the partition, however, the salt-range gypsum could [illegible] be depended upon. The main difficulty in the present supply [illegible] is the transhipment at Agra where the railway gauge [illegible] to the metre gauge.

For every ton of ammoniud sulphate produced, the Sindri [illegible] turns out as by-product nearly a ton of Calcium Carbonate [illegible]. For the utilisation of this by-product (chalk) the [illegible] of a cement plant was necessary.

3. The target of priduction in Tata Locomotives and Eng. Co. is 50 locomotives in 1954-55.

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The following production targets have been agreed upon between the Government and the firm:

Target	*No. of unfinished coaches*
1st year of production	20
2nd year of production	100
3rd year of production	200
4th year of production	300
5th year of production	350

Of the above numbers, the agreement contemplates a progressive increase in the number of coaches to be turned out by using indigenously made parts excepting for wheels and axles and proprietary items. The target in the first year of production is 20 coaches, rising rapidly to 350 in five years when a coach will come off the assembly belt every 6 working hours.

The most modern type of coach, where the coach body and the under-frame form an integral unit, in all-metal welded construction, thereby reducing the weight by about 7 tons, *i.e.*, about 16 per cent has been selected. The factory takes its name from this integral design.

The factory when in full production will give employment to about 4000 men.

Hindustan Machine Tools Factory
(Jalahalli, Bangalore)

The machine tool is the mother of mass production; indeed, of modern industry itself. The recommendation to establish a machine tool factory came as early as 1947 when the Disposal Utilisation Committee, which was established in that year to advise the Central Government how best to utilise about Rs. 400 crores worth of surplus war material, gave the highest priority to its establishment. The Government then began exploring its possibilities and finally in collaboration with a Swiss firm the work was started.

Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd.. is a private limited company registered under the Indian Companies Act. The authorised capital of the company has been fixed at Rs. 12 crores, divided into 1,20,000 ordinary shares of Rs. 1,000 each. The issued and called up capital for the present is Rs. 4 crores. The company will be mainly financed by the Government, the Swiss firm participating in the company to the extent of 10 per cent. A board of dire[illegible] eight in number of whom 2 have been appo[illegible] by the Swiss firm and the rest by the Pre[illegible] of India is in charge of the business of [illegible] company.

A well-planned and co-ordinated pro[illegible] tion programme which has taken due notice [illegible] the existing capacity of the factories in [illegible] private sector has laid down the follow[illegible] annual production target: High speed lat[illegible] 900, milling machines—460, and drilling m[illegible] chines—240. This production target is to [illegible] achieved in 6 years in gradual stages. D[illegible] the first stage a production rate of 550 mac[illegible] per year, comprising 400—8½ ins. centre [illegible] speed lathes 90—10½ ins. centre high s[illegible] lathes and 60—12½ ins. centre high speed la[illegible] will be reached in 3 years from the date [illegible] commencement of balanced production, nam[illegible] January 1, 1955. During the second stage [illegible] factory will switch over to the production [illegible] lathes of larger sizes and other machines [illegible] milling and drilling machines.

Hindustan Cable Factory Limited
(Rupnarainpur, W. Bengal)

Constructed close to the Chittaran[illegible] Locomotive Works, with the technical assi[illegible] ance of Telephones and Cables Ltd. of Lon[illegible] the factory went into production in Septem[illegible] 1954 and reached its full capacity of 470 m[illegible] of cable per annum in the very first year. P[illegible] duction has now been stepped up consid[illegible] and during 1955-56 the factory is expected [illegible] manufacture 550 miles of cables to be sup[illegible] to the Posts and Telegraphs Department. [illegible] project to double the armouring capacity [illegible] the company, now under way, is expected to [illegible] completed at the end of 1956. The fac[illegible] will then be in a position to manufacture [illegible] miles of cable annually and not only meet [illegible] increased demand for telephone cables in [illegible] country but supply demand in other A[illegible] countries.

The company, Hindustan Cables Ltd. [illegible] completely owned and financed by the Gov[illegible] ment of India and is run under the ov[illegible] control of the Ministry of Production.

The principal raw materials used for [illegible] annual manufacture of 550 miles of cables [illegible] copper wire, insulating paper, lead, bitu[illegible] hessian and steel tape and soft wood (Pu[illegible] Chir). The copper wire, hessian and

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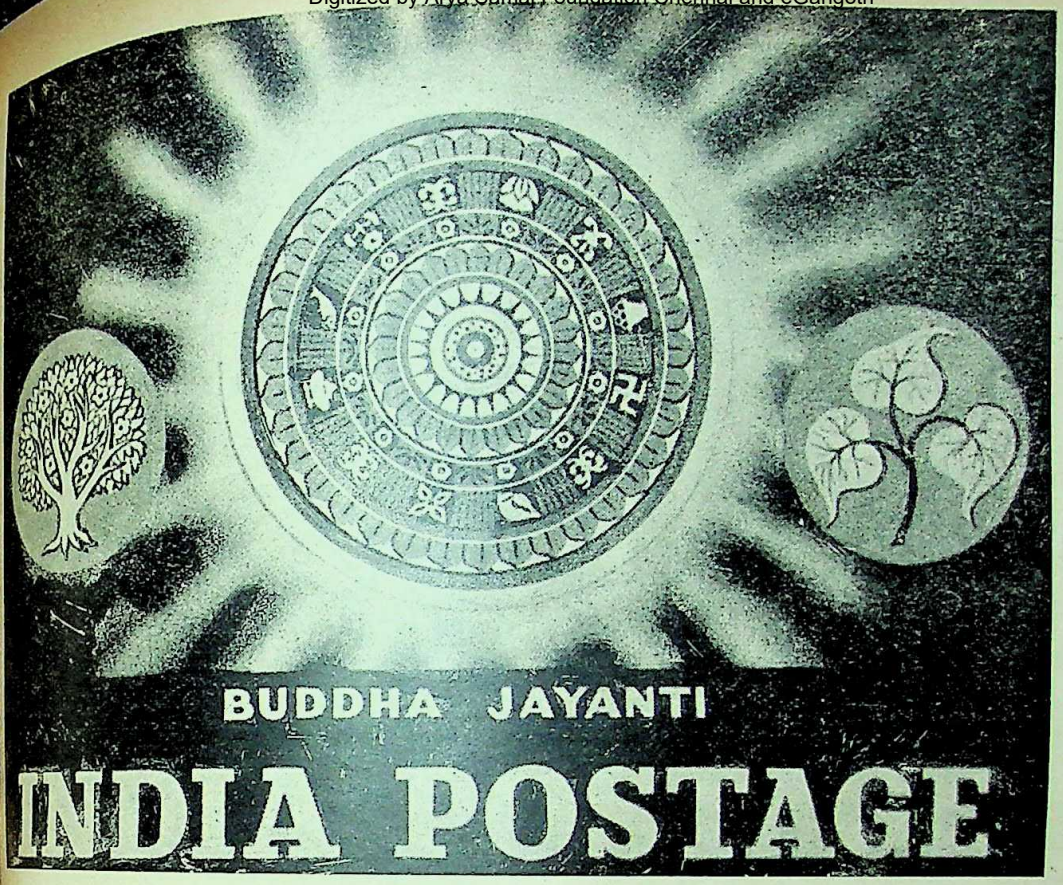
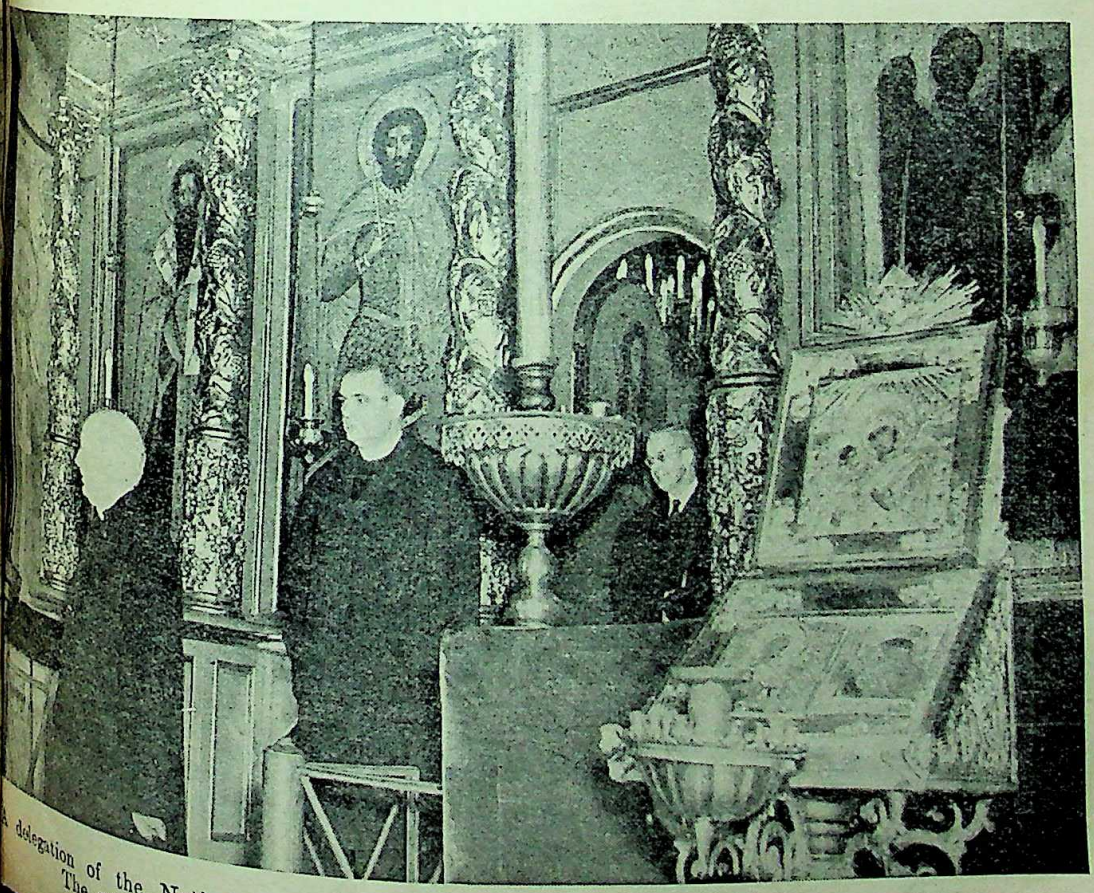


Composite design, incorporating the Round Parasol, a view of the Bodhi Tree and three Pipal tree leaves, by Sri R. D'Silva of Bassein



A delegation of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. visited Moscow. The guests made the rounds of the Kremlin and saw places of interest there

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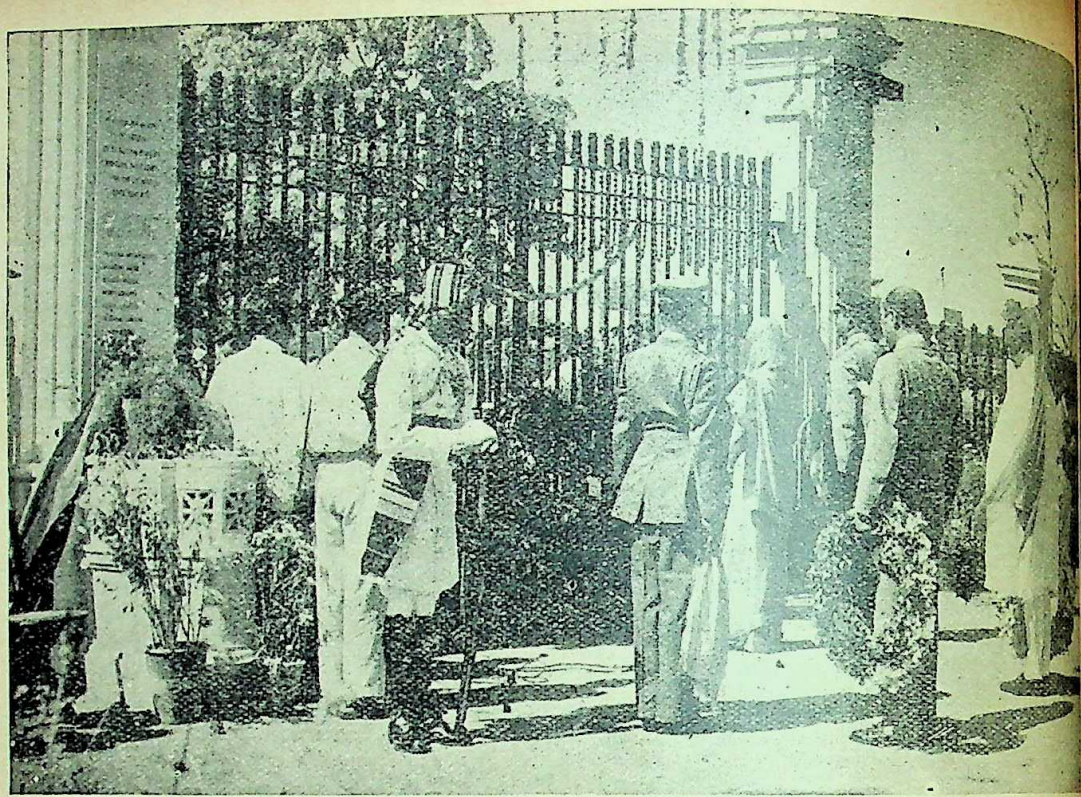

An imposing War Memorial at Jaipur to commemorate the memory of the Rajput warriors who gave their lives in the service of the country during the last six hundred years

Wreaths were placed at the Memorial by H. H. the Rajapramukh of Rajasthan and by (*from left to right*) Sri M. L. Sukhadia, General Rajendrasinghji, etc., on March 31, 1956

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seasoned soft timber are obtained mainly from indigenous sources, while steel tape, insulating paper and lead have to be imported from abroad.

HINDUSTAN ANTIBIOTICS LIMITED
(PIMPRI NEAR POONA)

Established with the assistance of the World Health Organisation and United Nations Children's Emergency Fund, the factory went into production in 1955 and has already exceeded its Five-Year Plan target. Against the target of 4.8 million mega units of penicillin, the factory's present rate of production is of the order of 8 million units per year. The factory is a private limited company with all its shares owned by the Government of India.

HINDUSTAN INSECTICIDES (D.D.T. FACTORY, DELHI)

Established with the assistance of the two U.N.O. agencies (the U.N.I.C.E.F. supplying all imported equipment, W.H.O. providing all technical assistance and the Government of India arranging for the provision of land, buildings, steam, water, electricity etc.), the factory went into production in 1955. The factory has a capacity of [illegible] tons of D.D.T. per year which will be [illegible] for the anti-malaria programme. This capacity is to be doubled during the Second Plan period. The factory is managed by Government through a private limited company with a Board of Directors under the Ministry of Production. Another D.D.T factory with a capacity of 1,400 tons of D.D.T. per year is being set up at Alwaye in Travancore-Cochin State.

HINDUSTAN SHIP-BUILDING YARD
(VISHAKHAPATNAM)

It is a joint enterprise of the State with the Scindia Steam Navigation Company. Initially, it was being run by the Scindias, who could not make a success of it. The Government, therefore, in January 1952, took majority of its shares and are participating in running it. The yard which finished its first ship in 1948 has 16 ships to its credit now. Excepting the engine and the propeller, practically all components are made in the country [illegible]. The ship-yard in spite of its early [illegible], appears to be going strong with a capacity for launching 5 ships a year and [illegible] facilities for constructing even big ships of 25,000 ton size. The shipyard is to be expanded considerably during the Second Plan for which a provision of nearly Rs. 10 crores has been made.

HINDUSTAN HOUSING FACTORY LIMITED
(NEAR DELHI)

The factory has been formed in collaboration with an Indo-Scandinavian firm to utilise the existing Government Housing Factory for the production of certain building materials such as roofing slabs, fencing posts, industrial beams, etc. The factory has four departments, namely, (*i*) Wood Working Department, (*ii*) Prestressed Concrete Department, (*iii*) Light Weight Concrete Department and (*iv*) Steel Construction Department. The factory is a limited company with a paid-up share capital of Rs. 1 lakh of which 50 per cent is owned by the Government and the other half by the Indo-Scandinavian concern.

NATIONAL INSTRUMENTS FACTORY
(JADAVPUR, W. BENGAL)

The factory is rapidly being expanded for the manufacture of instruments for health, education, defence and other purposes. New schemes include manufacture of optical glass and a large range of precision instruments never manufactured before in the country.

Besides these, the Defence Ministry of the Government are also running a few big works, *e.g.*, the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd. at Bangalore, Prototype Machine Tool Factory at Ambernath.

Under India's Second Five-Year Plan, three steel plants are to be set up, each with a million ton capacity. The one at Rourkela (Orissa) is being built up by the Germans. The second at Bhilai (Madhya Pradesh) by the Russians and the third at Durgapur (W. Bengal) by the British.

Apart from the Government of India, some of the State Governments have also started certain industrial enterprises of their own. The National Newsprint and Paper Mills Limited, which is mainly a Madhya Pradesh Government and Government of India's venture, has started producing newsprint of an acceptable quality. The mill has been producing about 400 tons of newsprint per month. The newsprint manufactured by the mill consists of 65 per cent mechanical pulp obtained from Sabai

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collected from the nearby forests of Madhya Pradesh. For its chemical pulp it will be using bamboo sulphate. The mill's present production meets about 30 per cent of the country's annual requirements of newsprint and by the end of this year it would be able to meet 45 per cent of the total present requirements of India. Foreign exchange of the value of Rs. 20 million will thus be saved every year.[4] Similarly, Uttar Pradesh Government is running a cement factory at Churk.

Capital and Management

Practically in all the democracies (particularly U. K., Norway and Sweden) where public enterprises have grown up, the problem of their management has occupied considerable attention in recent years. The problem has its different facets. There is, for instance, the question of Parliamentary control. There is then the question of audit control or financial accountability for public moneys. Both arise from the same democratic conception. An altogether different problem is one of internal management of State undertakings, the question whether undertakings should be run by civil servants or by business managers having practical knowledge of the execution of the business, and if by business managers, where and how to find them and to train them.

In U.K., with the development of State enterprises there developed an acute controversy on the question of Parliamentary control over these industries. Whereas a section of people alleged that little States had been created with large economic powers with the establishment of these nationalised undertakings, over which there was little parliamentary supervision, there were others who claimed that in the interest of the tax-payer and the efficiency in management Parliament should exercise very little interference in the day-to-day working of these undertakings. Following this controversy, a Select Committee was appointed in 1953 to examine the problem. The Select Committee recommended the setting up of a Standing Committee of Parliament to supervise the working of nationalised industries. But no action on this recommendation is heard to have been taken by the Government so far. Similar questions have been debated in countries like Norway and Sweden.

With regard to public enterprises in India it will be seen from the above, that in the case of some of them, the State alone has subscribed the whole capital (*e.g.*, the Sindri Fertilizer Factory), in the case of a few others (*e.g.*, Ship-building yard) both the State and the private indigenous capitalists have supplied the funds, then there are a few enterprises (*e.g.*, Machine Tools Factory) in which the Government and the foreign capitalists have provided the capital. In order to impart flexibility and autonomy, the control and management of most of them, with the exception of the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works and the Perambur Coach Factory, has been transferred to private limited companies which have been formed for the purpose.

To ensure full accountability for the expenditure out of public revenues, unfettered scrutiny by the Comptroller and Auditor General is essential. Nevertheless excessive scrutiny may often lead to timidity and unusual caution on the part of those charged with the management of industrial enterprises and may impair their initiative so very essential for the successful execution of a business. Some change, therefore, in the present audit procedure is required.

Recommendations of the Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha

The Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha, in its 16th Report, has made a number of sensible observations on the organisation of nationalised undertakings. Its principal recommendations are:

1. *Abolition of the Board of Directors.* While approving the joint stock company form of organisation for State undertakings, the Committee has candidly stated that the board of directors, who are all nominated by the Government, perform no useful function whatsoever. The Committee suggests that such boards should be abolished. In the case of small undertakings, a managing director, it is stated, should be enough. Where large enterprises are concerned, it is proposed that there could be a board of managing directors, consisting 3 or 4 in number, including the chairman, depending on the size of the undertaking. Incumbents to these posts should be chosen on the basis of their experience in financial

[4] *Hindustan Times*, November 1, 1955.

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ters and in the technical side of things. The Chairman and the members of such boards should work collectively and on a functional basis. This scheme to remove 'sleeping directorates' in the public sector is really praiseworthy, more so when the Government has enthusiastically pursued the reform of company management in the private sector. But it is feared that the adequate number of men meeting the specifications laid down by the Committee to man these reformed boards will be difficult to find.

2. *Constitution of an advisory body for the purpose of advising the managing director on various matters from time to time*: The advisory body should not have powers to decide matters of policy or to give orders to execute any of its directions. This body should be composed of representatives of business, labour, consumers and Parliament or local legislatures.

3. *"Direct relationship" between the Minister concerned and a State undertaking*: It is against encouraging the procedure whereby a State joint-stock company was treated as a department subject to the control of the Secretariat of the Minister.

4. *Regrouping of State undertakings, to be in charge of "more than one Minister"*: As the field of State activities expands and a large number of national undertakings come into being, it would be necessary to appoint more than one minister to be in charge of the national undertakings, which shall have to be grouped in due course according to broad classification of the commodities and products and other relevant considerations.

5. *A portion of share capital thrown open to the public*: The Committee recommends that at least 25 per cent of the share capital of joint stock companies running State undertakings should be available for subscription by the public. In so doing the Government should fix a ceiling on individual holdings of shares as also on any dividends that might be declared by such undertakings. This again is excellent advice, for the standards of management will then become amenable to the austere judgement of the market place and individual or group monopolies will be avoided.

6. *Setting up an Indian Commercial and Industrial Service*, for recruiting men experienced in business, commerce, industry and trade, for the management of State undertakings.

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AGRICULTURE IN THE RIGVEDA

By Prof. J. R. KAKDE, M.A.

The story of agriculture is in fact the story of human civilisation. The prehistoric invention of grain agriculture is one of the most important events in human history. Today we enjoy far more abundant crops from superior varieties grown than did our Neolithic ancestors, to which period the origin of the rudiments of agriculture in Primitive Agriculture, as the Natural Industry Stage, is generally ascribed. The degree of agricultural standard, however, varies from country to country under the varying impact of the nature of prevailing civilisation contact. We find this wide gap between the Agriculture in India and the Western European countries, as well as in different parts of various states of India. However, this present gap has been the result of the gradual evolution in the sphere. It is a *fait accompli* that those who have achieved a wide differentiating higher standard in any sphere show later on a comparatively slower rate of further progress if not properly disciplined or regulated, while others taking advantage from them jump with leaps and bounds in competitive nature to come up to the level. India suffered the same fate in olden days when she was at the zenith of her civilization, acclaimed to be of a very high order in many spheres.

The main industry of the ancient Aryans was agriculture and there are frequent allusions to it in the Rig-Veda, the oldest Sanskrit text of India. Many Sanskrit scholars, Western and Oriental, tried in their own way to translate the hymns of the Rig-Veda and interpret the knowledge hidden therein. Even our ancient commentators, Sayana and Yaska, do not agree on the nature of interpretations of these most ancient compositions. In Rig-Veda itself (I.164.39) it is clearly mentioned that the understanding of the Vedic hymns is not a simple affair. The basic background of the interpreter makes all this difference.

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Therefore, it is not expected that the Rig-Vedic interpretations by different persons will tally and the whole controversy of the antiquity of this great text and the type of the knowledge therein will end so soon.

There is a general slogan of the Western scholars that the story of the evolution of wheat is the story of the evolution of the human civilization. It is absolutely true of the Western World, but it does not at all apply either to India or to Oriental countries in general. The food crops often mentioned and prayed for are barley (Yava), generally translated as cereals, and rice (Dhanya, Dhana). It can be safely said from the present status and also from the post-Vedic and Epic literatures that the story of human civilization in India is the story of rice evolution, and if very ancient antiquity of the Rig-Veda is proved this will apply to the whole world at least till the beginning of the 18th century when the rise of the Western civilization started with the beginning of the industrial revolution in American and West European countries. The most common crop often mentioned in the Rig-Veda is barley, so much so that it got a place in Hindu rituals since then. It seems that barley cultivation marks the beginning of cultivation in the then Rig-Vedic cold (low temperate) climate (as supported by geological evidences) since rice could not get the same place of pride in Rig-Vedic social life of the Aryan community. Wheat (Godhum) is not mentioned in the Rig-Veda, which has been introduced later on during the Yajur-Veda period. Hence wheat has not followed the Aryan civilization as is the case with the western civilization. This fact has been completely overlooked by western authorities on Agriculture, while writing the history of Agricultural evolution. No mention of the Indian evolution in the agricultural field is found in books on "History of Agriculture." The attempts by the Oriental scholars show that direct references to agriculture are solely considered to reveal the general nature of the then agricultural conditions. Like different kinds of knowledge, it seems the 10th Mandala describes briefly that the history of agriculture gradually evolved and advanced from the time of the composition of the first or previous hymns or earlier to that, besides the state of knowledge advanced upto its own period.

The history of agriculture in Rig-Vedic India refers to N. W. India—the Sapta-Sindhu (Punjab) region with the adjoining areas of Afghanistan and Kashmir mostly and Peninsular and eastern India regions beyond the intervening seas (occupying the present Gangetic valley and mostly of Rajputana and Sindh regions) were not much known than. It is admitted that some of the hymns are very ancient, that different hymns were composed during different periods, thus giving reference to some previous times. In other words, from the Rig-Veda it is considered that some of the hymns addressed to certain deities had come down through ages to the Aryan descendants and recomposed in better language. There are some references to certain previous deeds by some Rishis or Great persons. From this it is concluded that the work of Rig-Veda is gradual composition of many (thousands of) years human progress much before the generally considered period, giving a very ancient antiquity of the Rig-Veda and its culture. Secondly, the references to various tribes (which may or may not be of the different original stock as is yet questioned) with varying stages of cultural development and opposed to the orthodox way of thinking and living (such people not classed as Arya-X.49.3, even though some of them call themselves Aryas) help to gain the knowledge of agricultural evolution. As per one trend of thought these are Aryan tribes under different stages of development which probability is very clearly explained in 8 and hymns of 117th Sukta of 10th Mandala. Even the Indus valley civilization, an outcome of Mohenjodaro Harappa Roopad excavation, has been advocated vehemently after 1950 particularly, as the one already finding history in the Rig-Veda and allied to the Aryan on the basis of certain interpretations and similar findings in Hawaii Islands. Even if these still remain as controversial points, the Indra worship in the Rig-Veda gives a sufficient clue to the history of the Aryan Civilization and thereby the history of agricultural evolution. Broadly the Rig-Veda gives the picture of Aryan development through Eolithic, Palaeolithic, Neolithic and Metal ages.

The whole Aryan Sapta-Sindhu society was not peaceful to live in. The people were at different stages of development as it is found even today. The development of Indra cult by those who do help and promote agriculture (and hence all these people are called Aryas) (and the reference to Indra's Vajra as made of stone, bone and iron or bronze) gives the different stages of agricultural history. Though primarily connected with atmospheric principles, Indra is finally considered as the supreme god doing the functions of other deities mentioned separately. As Indra and his Vajra were from strength to strength at every modification of Vajra's material, so also there was the development in the Aryan culture from the early age to the metal age in different spheres. Indra with the handled Vajra is described as famous from ancient (X. 23), and Indra's greatness grows more and due to his deeds (X.24.1), he is praised for the (with iron vajra) in X. 84.3 with all eternal resting in him, and the earth and the sky as his own body (X.54.3) and balancing them (X.55.1). In such narrations the stagewise history development of various things can be searched, from the later neolithic stage of development agriculturally, the advanced primitive agricultural stage. Indra himself is the deity of later origin divine son of the former divine deities—Dyava Prithvi). His Vajra, initially, was made of (11. 14. 6), of horse bone (1. 84. 13), of the

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Dadhichi, and then of iron (as in 1st and 8th Mandal-
This three-stage division can be further had from
references (III. 32. 13; IV. 21. 5). The Indra
is predominantly connected with the manifes-
of the God of Rain, its related events
the whole Rig Vedic agriculture (as is the
even today in India) as a gamble on the rains.

Primitive Agriculture: Agricultural authorities begin
history when human being first started making use
tubers and roots in their daily diet, out of
necessity and fortunate coincidences. This
naturally expected with the appearance of true man.
stage of evolution is considered to be at the end
Palaeolithic Age. Even though Hindu philosophy
that like other creatures man was as such created
the creator, the form and general features from the
appearance of man have undergone many varied
transformations since then as we know now (as well as
Hindu thought) that every being in this
is under the process of evolution (V. 19. 1).
this is the case it can be concluded that the
of agriculture starts with the end of the
period, and the actual history of agriculture
mentioning begins with the start of the
Age. The *Neolithic Age* marks the full
of the primitive agriculture in its two stages
Husbandry and the Naked fallow system, the
in its early stage, after passing through Mesolithic
the latter in the later stage by the end of
climax of primitive agriculture is expected
reached. The Rig-Veda gives the picture of
stages of agriculture as expected during the
Age. However, the agricultural development
strictly follow the divisions of cultural develop-
The later part of the Naked fallow system can
to mark the beginning of the Metal Age, *i.e.*,
primitive agriculture was approaching its
the use of metal for different implements and
purposes had already begun in some form or the
The accounts of various explorers of unapproached
of the world for the last two centuries reveal
and the nature of the agriculture followed
primitive stages. The primitive agriculture
was cattle-dominating; it is proved from
tication to their use as a unit of exchange
things in the barter system of trade in the
metals.

Natural Husbandry: This marks the beginning
of the Palaeolithic Age, extending through
to early Neolithic Age. The agricultural
were made of stones, to start with in the
helpful forms, bones, and then the man-made
implements were fashioned after the types of useful
and hard wood, all tapering to a point and
in the beginning but later on curved and of
shapes, with which the first primitive cultivator
digging and then turning the sod soils of river banks. Indra's Vajra of stone and later on of horse-bone (from a divine horse) gives the same idea of the type of evolution. These very references also indicate that this is a pre-Rig-Vedic happening. The change-over from the hunting stage cannot be expected to that of sudden cultivation but to mere collection of naturally grown fruits and then grains. However, the domestication of animals must form the first step since they supplied easy meat whenever need be, besides the milk. Hence domestication of animals can be said to be the first step towards community living and settled life and then grain production to be an advance over the hunting stage by the end of the Palaeolithic Age. From here the idea of property possession, its protection and thereby need of community life for safety, arose. From the need of feeding these animals with the naturally available fodder man found it compelling to move from place to place in search of new areas for the purpose after short periods. This gives the rise of nomadic or moving life of the early agriculturist.

Owing to the usefulness of certain grains or fruits in human diet man found it more beneficial to try to produce them himself, make more use of the milk and preserve the animal more for meat purposes, only for occasional use, and absolutely for emergency (still hunting partly the wild animals for the purpose). This need created (a) selection of animal stocks into groups for milk and for meat predominantly, and (b) clearing up of some land occupied by other unwanted vegetation, so that his selected vegetation for his grains could be grown and harvested. This sort of selective agriculture thus arose out of necessity probably through Mesolithic Age with the start of the Neolithic Age when partly settled life found its firm root. It also made man think more about certain animal classes from his stocks, and thus begins the thought of the piece of land for growing his crops. From the experience gained about the capacity of his land to produce the necessary quantity of grains for any particular period and his early affiliation with same sort of religious thought, the land worship before clearing and using it for the purpose might have started. This practice (IV. 57) is still observed in the nomadic tribes of India as well as even among the well-settled people in villages. Thus the origin of land worship, before starting agricultural operations, can be visualised among the Hindus. This new land opening from the forest stage is known by different names in different states, *e.g.*, it is called *Bewar* by the Gond tribes of South Madhya Pradesh. The further modification arising out of need is the way to dispose of the cleared or felled vegetation from the land, and fire was helpful for quick result *i.e.* burning all vegetation on the land to be used for growing crops and then sowing the grains. This is called by some tribe in India as *Dhahia* and *Rabing*. Even then man had to shift from place to place after some years since by continuous cropping the land became much less

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productive. Thus, this is the beginning of the first type of farming or cultivation, called now as *Skip* or *Shifting agriculture*, the feature of natural husbandry stage in Agriculture.

The start of the use of any manure and proper system of sowing other than broadcasting cannot be expected at the end of this stage. It is just possible the land-tillage started, during this stage with the help of a strong wooden piece or stone piece as the land digging with hand by individuals, and later on dragging for convenience by man himself. It is in this sense the first literary meaning of the word 'agriculture,' or *krisi* finds its origin. The picture of nomadic pastoral agriculture can be traced in the hymns of I. 42 and 53-58 mainly and in other scattered references.

The prayers for gift of cattle indicate the trend of mind of this early primitive stage. The use of tree bark and animal skin (hides) for clothing is a further evidence of such a stage. These clothings are even now considered fit for those denouncing this wordly civilised life and going back to the primitive way of living with naturally growing fruits, tubers, roots, etc., as articles of food. The hymns (IV. 57 to 3) dedicated to the supposed Lord of Field (and not Indra) are a pointer to this stage whose advanced nature is revealed from the hymns (I. 42. 1-10) by the dominance of pastoral agriculture of the nomadic advanced cultivators. The *Pusan* deity is invoked to lead them to good green pastures in their advent to new regions without any troubles from the people committing outrages by intercepting their journeys. Forest clearance by trees and later on burning (mentioned as shaving of the earth) to gain new agricultural lands is mentioned in X. 142. 4. The indirect evidence of land burning due to heat of the summer is in I. 164. 44 wherein the importance of different seasons in agriculture is explained. These give the picture of early nomadic Aryan agriculturists. The whole Sukta (X. 142) indicates that the land (grass or forest) after burning of the vegetation becomes fertile—fit for the better growth of the desired vegetation. The people used to live in forest areas with huts and their cattle freely grazing and with ample wholesome delicious forest fruits naturally grown and sufficient for a long period without taking troubles to cultivate as the necessity exists in regular settled life (x. 146.). This is the picture of nomadic agriculturists. Because of this natural gift from forests a forest-deity (Vanadevi) came to be worshipped during this stage for maintenance and safety of the man and his domesticated animals. The land after vegetation burning became fertile for the production of other plants (X. 142) and from this the act of fertilizing soil with ash might also have been picked up by man at that time as an advancement in the stage of manuring.

Brihati is said to have ploughed the land by yoking wolves, for the benefit of his devotee named Manu (VIII. 22.6) in ancient times. This gives the of a crude type of ploughing which began comparatively wild state of living, *i.e.* nomadic when man had begun to learn the art of agri and that this condition existed in very old the prehistoric Manu is mythologically consi have made the beginning of human race and on this earth. Manu was taught the art of (I. 112. 16), the Aryans the art of (I. 117. 21) by Asvins who also give rains. different from the allusions attached to other plough references (IV. 57; X 101. 3 which speak of furrow drawing, drawn by pairs, and not horses, producing a picture of the present day local Indian plough. This edition of plough and the art of line sowing broadcast-sowing can be expected as the the later primitive stage gradually developed.

(B) *Naked-Fallow System*: The very 'Arya' means 'cultivator' (a regular settled not the nomadic cultivator) being derived from meaning 'to cultivate.' The reference to 'Indra's as made of horse-bone marked the beginning stage which is considered to start with the of the practices in the previous stage leading the settled life. The reference of Asvins (I. 11 for teaching the art of ploughing and contrast to Indra in similar and other respects that Asvins were the deities of Agriculture the development of Indra Cult. And since, the ment of the importance of drought and rains relation with agricultural produce marks the of the settled agricultural life and that this is given to Indra as evidence from many hymns, the Asvins-cult begins with the beg this stage when the cultivator is changing from life to settled agriculture with the prelimin ledge of ploughing and sowing. The Indra final or climax period of this stage when the became a completely settled regular agricultur advanced knowledge of ploughing and sowing is a definite need of ploughing the land to food in such a case as opposed to naturally avail in forest for a pretty long period—a picture depicted in X. 146. It is in this final period stage that the people called 'Arya' came distinguished from the unsettled agriculturists the nomadic stage and becoming a regular the settled agriculturists. As such they been named differently. The emphasis on deli from Pusan of Nomads to Asvins of early set further to Indra in settled agriculture by the this stage. The fallowing of land during this may-be at any interval, can surely be developed result of their experience gained in shifting during the previous stage, since land's

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produced by constant cropping without any other generations after some years.

It is in this settled stage that the beginning of strides in the advancement of agricultural methods be expected. It is here that further increased use of domesticated animals, cows and bullocks, can be realised as a grave necessity because of their possibility for dung manure, milk and draught agricultural implements. A development of and other useful agricultural tools and implements rapidly taking place for the ease and security of rural mode of life, and cowherds were becoming and more important. And it is in this latter stage of pre agriculture cow-cult and later on Indra-cult end of this stage) probably took their birth. Some Rig-Vedic hymns show the greed of the Aryans possession, even by indulging in praise VI. 4, VI. 56. 5) with prayers offered to Pusan This clearly indicates that those Aryans the later primitive agricultuarl stage (not its end) when animals were still considered property and the Aryans had not yet become peaceful and settled people. As well, other prayers the gift of cattle. The prayers for the possession grasslands with common grazing and common sheds or open sheds give the same dominating the advancing primitive agriculture with much society involving less endeavour on the part of barter system of trading with cow as a exchange shows that the Aryans had not then neolithic age and hence the early agricultural were exchanged for some plant, food-ornaments, and even brides. Therefore, the of cattle denoted wealth, an idea which still in the traditional agricultural stages even till the Hindus. Therefore, it is natural that nature of agriculture, with stock-raising as the of farming was the dominant feature of Rig-agriculture in general and for good pasture lands of rainfall (sufficient and at necessary intervals) importance to the deity (here, Indra) supposed control on rainfall and its distribution. Also, the end of this stage that idea of cow as well as cattle in general as arose for the first time due to their varied which is found more rigorously advocated the next stage even though killing them for was not totally stopped by the Aryans X. 169, X. 19.).

H. G. Wells says in his *Outline of World* (p. 77):

(Neolithic) men were becoming aware that they needed protection and direction, from impurity, power beyond their own. Confused by and in response to that bold, wise, shrewd and cunning men were to become magicians, priests, chiefs and the idea of secure community life and involving

of some divine power or powers originated in general, and naturally of agriculture too, as man advanced towards a more settled life and required peace in his life. The various sky principles became the deities for the protection of these settled agriculturists, and thus with the supreme importance of Indra, the rain-god and other related meteorological principles started in their culture and life.

The hymns dedicated to the supposed Lord of the Field (IV. 57. 1 to 3) indicate the advanced stage of primitive agriculture when settled life had become the order of the day, with the thought of the cultivator diverted towards certain principles of crop husbandry. The other hymns in the same Sukta show that Indra cult had started with some definite advanced nature of agricultural practices marking the climax of this stage and fusing into the start of the traditional agriculture. The whole importance centres round the plough affair and cattle-rearing, the deities being broadly invoked to bestow happiness. The same trend is observed in the hymns of x. 101. And by then the horse still finds place in the agricultural work of carting harvested produce (x. 101. 7), a custom finding no place in the later Indian traditional agriculture. The hymns (x. 19. 4, 5, 8), which mention of common cowherd and the nature of tending the cattle for grazing, show that people had then started settling or had just started settled agricultural life with cattle as their mainstay. All these various hymns indicate the danger to the cattle of the cultivators, the greatest importance attached to the cattle and the beginning of agriculture on a sort of co-operative basis.

The sowing method can be expected to be broadcasting to shart with, persisting in this stage in earlier periods, and with mixed cropping as originating under natural conditions. It is only the need of varied produce and higher produce for maintenance which can divert the settled cultivator to select the components of his crop-mixture for the best results and also to think of pure crop sowing as a better way of sowing and to discard or remove the unwanted plants (weeds) —all of which seem to gain their origin during this stage and the cultural practices following nature reaching their climax under the prevailing forced agricultural conditions. It is only in their attempt for survival that this settled man might have thought of tapping and thinking of probable, varied and many natural causes or principles limiting the results of his sweat. The legend of failure of Indra in completely defeating the Aryans' enemies with his Vajra made of horse bone, or on its pattern, is indicating this thought under development for fuller grasp of the various aspects of rainfall. The other sky deities are considered separately as Indra's great friends in supporting him in his attempts to give prosperous agriculture to his agricultural devotees. The importance of food derived from land, given in I/187, clearly indicates that they were producing varied, many and quality (for nutrition)

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foodgrains. The initial attempt under these early cricumstances can be of producing these many articles on ones own land with varying acreage as per needs as well as producing them as mixed sown crops as best as they can, since early sowing connot be expected as pure crop sowing as the man was learning, to start with, from the natural existing conditions. The cult of considering bullocks, like cows, as unslaughterable and even if done so considering the act as telling on one's power or energy (X. 28. 11) can only be developed in this initial settled agricultural stage when domesticated animals were found indispensable for agricultural operations. Sun-god is intimately connected with agriculture with whose help one can possess cows and family happiness and not by gambling (X. 34. 13). The necessity of rain for good growth of food crops (X. 43. 7) might have been fairly understood during this stage, and further grave experiences of total dependence on this necessity might have created the thought of supplementing or making up the deficiency by artificial watering which thought gets its practical application in the next stage whtn better methods of cropping for higher food production find their natural start.

Sukta 102 of 10th Mandala gives a picture of the settling or just settled society, which is still not peaceful to live in. The enemies are some Aryan tribes as well as non-Aryans. The importance is on bulls which were a symbol of strength, there are constant conflicts for the possession of land and cows. All these things mentioned in this sukta are of this earlier stage. Use of bullock-carts had started. Even the furrow created by the plough is prayed for good yields (IV. 57. 6) Along with Pusan deity of the early cultivators Indra also is being considered another deity connected with agriculture as will be clear from the following translation :

> "May Indra accept this Furrow; may Pusan lead her onwards. May she be filled with water, and yield us corn (food crops in general) year after year." (IV. 57. 7).

The last part refers to the maintenance of soil fertility for crop production for years to come, and by that the permanent nature of settled agriculture. Gradually Indra gained predominance because of the most intimate relation of water with settled agriculture and Pusan as the supposed Lord of the Field, and Vanadevi, Koddes of the Forest, were left mostly for those who still practised natural husbandry and lived in jungle areas, only as remanant for others. Thereafter the struggle for acquiring new grassland area, for cattle as well as good arable land, started in which Indra and Agni (or Agni's any other form) deities came into utmost prominence. The discussion (X. 109) between Sarama, a female agent of the cultivators, and Pani, a less religious and boasting people of other tribe, refers to this type of struggle for the fertile grasslands in the plateau regions.

Traditional Agriculture : During this period the Vedic myths seem to have taken deep roots and spread rapidly as the necessity for peaceful life grew [illegible] It is during this stage, the Rig-Vedic agri[illegible] village was completely self-sufficient, supplied w[illegible] normal wants of the inhabitants. Most of the [illegible] tural references depict the picture of this tra[illegible] agriculture, gradually evolved and finally attain[illegible] high standard. The same led to various spec[illegible] freely discovering new ways and techniques giv[illegible] to various branches of arts and sciences, and [illegible] pretation of correlation for harmony was sought [illegible] established between cause and effect to enable [illegible] to reveal the various manifestations of natural eve[illegible] principles. This gave the beginning of shaking [illegible] absolute dependence on nature alone. The [illegible] hymns in IV. 57 indicate the general standard of [illegible] ture towards the end of the primitive agricul[illegible] well as giving the beginning of the tra[illegible] agriculture with certain definite agricultural pr[illegible] The Indra God is the strongest. So also do the [illegible] in X. 101. In both these suktas the importance [illegible] praise of different deities for different aspects in [illegible] natural way, not beyond broad preliminary op[illegible] for final harvests is still a dominating feature. But [illegible] then the idea of the natural principles involved in [illegible] culture seems to have definitely started, this is also [illegible] from the same hymns. The use of leather bucket [illegible] for water lifting marks the beginning (X. 101). [illegible] crude Persian wheel (X. 93. 13) marks the [illegible] mediate period of this advancement, and the [illegible] irrigation (X. 99. 4) marks the great advance[illegible] this stage. The principles of weeding and drilling [illegible] sowing) were now well understood. Gradu[illegible] emphasis has been shifted from only the pastoral [illegible] to the arable type, and finally it became a good [illegible] of the mixed farming. The idea of individual [illegible] ship developed as against the corporate agricult[illegible] in the previous stages, so also the idea of the [illegible] valuation of goods (IV. 24. 9) with certain [illegible] currency, finally coming to the actual gold [illegible] (V. 27. 2, etc). Even then the co-operation [illegible] agricultural aspects was still a dominating fea[illegible] some from or the other on the basis of a village [illegible] mon, specially cattle grazing, as found today [illegible] in the case of villages in and round about the [illegible] areas. Indra's Vajra is made of iron, all the [illegible] natural principles rest in him and because [illegible] previous and future meritorious deeds he becom[illegible] leader of the Aryans (X. 48. 3).

(A) *Legume Rotation Stage* : The nature of [illegible] of heat (summer and winter season) with rainfall [illegible] clouds, explained figuratively as those of cow[illegible] cowherds and requesting Indra to turn these [illegible] (rain clouds) for man's happiness (X. 19) [illegible] the beginning of early meteorological knowledge [illegible] with it the beginning of this agricultural stage. [illegible] Aryans had by then fully settled, thinking [illegible] prosperity of this life but still with the strong [illegible] primitive agriculture in livestock dominance [illegible]

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agricultural pursuits. The principles of crop production being visualised (I. 121. 15) for the first time as connected with Indra and agricultural land was now considered as Mother and human beings as her children entitled to enjoy her milk (produce from the land) as a result of for *upasana*—cultivation. These considerations can start only when the balance of agriculture is being gradually shifted from stock-farming to arable farming as well. The 101 Sukta of 10th Mandala speaks about shallow water-table well from which water is lifted by moat (leather bucket) by horses of warriors meant for cow protection. This importance to cows during the period, when iron was in use along with water-lifting appliances, can be said to be only of this early traditional stage when cattle importance was still a dominating feature. The same farming arrangement is asked for bullocks employed in ploughing the land in which later on seeds are sown. But no clear indication is given of this water being for any irrigation at all. The picture of settled people in other aspects but still maintaining a high attachment to cattle wealth, fear of non-Aryan people and other things mentioned can be referred to indicate this early stage of traditional culture (VIII. 5).

It cannot be asserted that a rotation of crops is mentioned in the Rig-Veda. The reference to Indra and Pusan together to help in ploughing and sowing in such ploughed lands year after year (X. 101) shows that—by the fag end of the later traditional stage continuous cropping was still a practice with regard to crop rotation. Various cereals grown and pulses (legume crops) as fruits and roots were also grown for food. The weeding and sowing of crops (X. 131. 2) are practices which have origin in the early traditional stage and are now undergoing the process of perfection. "The cultivator harvesting the sown barley (crops) separately and in due order."—This has been interpreted variously by different translators—giving the idea (1) of crop sequence or rotation, and (2) line sowing and avoiding weeds during sowing. Sowing in furrows prepared by a plough (as in drill) is referred to in IV. 57. taking these references together it is concluded that (1) orderly sowing is due to line sowing, and (2) separately sowing the sown crop is for avoiding the weed growing in the field (and thereby giving the chance of weeding in field crops)]. The perfect sowing of their importance reaches a climax stage and is the beginning of the later following. Similar to the practice of naked-fallow rotation in the later primitive agriculture, resulting necessity in settled life, and the experience in the nomadic stage, the rotation of legume non-legume crops is the resultant of mixed on the climax of the second stage, through the experience gained leading to the beginning of the traditional agriculture during which period most of the principles of agronomy found their start and in the process developing to a sufficiently high degree of perfection.

(B) *Field-Grass Husbandry*: The whole philosophy of Aditi (the eternal and inviolable principle), along with several deities as sons of Aditi having a solar character, seems to mark the development of this stage when man has progressed sufficiently to a settled peaceful life. The earlier gods of the sky (prominently, Dyau, Varuna, Mitra, Indra, Maruta) find their relations better understood and are in a wider compass linked up with the Aditi principle; they lose their previous independent importance vastly developing the ideas of astronomy, meteorology and geology (origin of universe). *Purusa Sukta* (X. 90) explaining the evolution gives the relation of various arts and sciences in human welfare. We find in their explanations the relations with agricultural enterprises have clearly developed but the actual improvement in the crop husbandry proper seems to have progressed a lesser degree. The thought of land improvement for better produce is much advanced (VI. 47. 21-28) but the same for crop improvement and the rotational side, and for soil fertility maintenance has not probably received much attention, even though this aspect might have been understood as expected normally. The great importance given to food quantity in Anna Sukta (I/187) can only be the outcome of the traditional stage and more specially of its later part when arable farming had developed equal importance along with stock farming. The various attributes for a good farmer stated in X. 101. 4 indicate by themselves the well advanced agricultural standard attributed to this agricultural stage, as we know that agriculture is not the concern of the fool of the family. The praise of land, bullocks, seeds and peasants in various hymns, considering the same as pillars of agriculture, clearly indicates that the balance has now shifted to arable farming, crop-husbandry with different types of field grasses (non-leguminous) for food and fodder being considered for the dual purpose of man and animal (X. 27. 8). It is not yet of the present-day-type perfect convertible husbandry. However, now the cultivator as well as the agricultural profession receives the most respectable position in the society. It is during this stage both arable and stock farming get equal importance along with the development of the best type of balancing mixed farming, and as such now Indra is invoked for a boon of plenty in both pursuits (X. 42. 7).

The Indra cult has taken very deep roots during this stage, since all meritorious past and future deeds are attributed to him in whom all the eternal universal principles are considered to rest (X. 48. 3). Now he is armed with iron-vajra. All wealth (Divyadhana) is

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attributed to this source (X. 48. 5). In different Rig-Vedic translations Yava is translated often as corn or cereals (or grain crops), even though it literally refers to barley. If this is to be taken as a generalised term then the field grasses were very well understood both for grain and fodder purposes. Barley is being equally used as a cultivated fodder grass in Western and American countries and it is not unnatural that the Aryans who were still continuing their attachment to cattle might be using this cultivated barley either in the field stage itself as green fodder for their cattle or as grain for human beings and its straw and bhusa for cattle (X. 27. 8) since these food crops are after all grasses (X. 27. 9). The importance of food gift (X. 117) and worth of vegetables for sacrifice meaning that vegetarian diet should be preferred to non-vegetarian *i.e.*, animal food, can alone be developed during this agricultural stage when food crops were sufficiently produced for maintenance of life. The idea of good soil management for better harvests (VI. 47. 21 to 28) can be attributed to this stage only (in which Indra answers to the question related to soil improvement). Likewise, the knowledge of other various sciences applied in agriculture is the outcome of the traditional period and their higher standard is the product of more peaceful and advanced society with this later stage.

The Rig-Veda thus finally gives the picture of a well settled traditional agricultural economy with a self-sufficient agricultural village. The Aryans were sufficiently advanced, at this fourth stage, in arable farming even though the advancement in social and other scientific aspects was of much higher order. The various references to cattle as wealth, to cattle lifting, their loot, pillage, etc., indicate that the mixed farming which followed stock-farming had a much superior status. The arable farming was probably limited to a much smaller area of greater fertility in river valleys whose people showed greater cultural advance while other people (with their primitive type agriculture) were still in perpetual conflict with this more advanced settled section of the people who were rapidly advancing towards urban economy and greater dependence on agricultural industry. It is this settled-society people who indulged in speculations about cosmic forces by which they were surrounded and discovered their intimate relations with them through which the knowledge of various sciences applied to agriculture could be known. Of the two main branches of farming, stock-farming is frequently mentioned, directly as well as figuratively, crop farming is much less mentioned. However, these tered references supplemented by the interpretation of other references show that most of the principles crop husbandry were well understood by the stage of the Rig-Vedic period. And finally a brief ture of the *Sapta Sindhu* Aryan's agricultural perity can be had from the hymn, meaning "The S is rich in horses, rich in chariots, rich in rich in gold ornaments, well-made, rich in rich in wool, ever-fresh, abounding in Silama the auspicious river wears honey-growing (Wilson, X. 75. 8).

It is thus clear that the Agricul development had progressed gradually natural conditions and reached a sufficiently high dard under artificially controlled conditions. The rences for food, food from soil, soil to give food, towards grain or arable farming; and references to cow care, milk and use and importance of milk are for stock farming. And finally the advice (V. 34 to desist from gambling and take up agri and keep cows in the house for complete happ clearly indicates the importance of both in agri *i.e.*, mixed farming should be the rule in agricul the best result. All such references clearly that arable farming was equally important and it will be wrong to say that Rig-Vedic people mainly pastoral, but that they valued *mixed* greatly, the farming now advocated as best welfare of any nation, the medium of produc food for man and animal. Indra is invoked (X. to give plenty in both grain food and milk food from the cow and to give fertile soils for the (referred elsewhere). The present trend is cultivated grasses (in any pattern). It is but that the modern standard could not be expected but the fact remains that the importance of farming was well understood.

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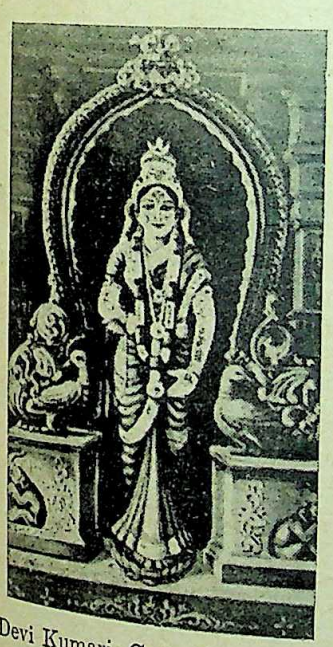
CAPE COMORIN

The Land's End of India

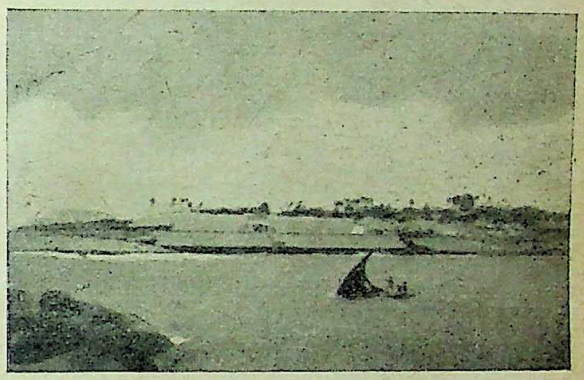
By MANIK LAL MUKHERJEE

A journey to Cape Comorin, the farthest point to the south of India, specially from Calcutta, is really an adventure in itself. There the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea meet and flow as the great Indian Ocean. The three different colours of the waters of the three seas become apparent to the eyes of the inexperienced tourist at sunrise and sunset, which a traveller has a chance to miss if the sky is cloudy which is generally the case here during the months of October and November. To reach Cape Comorin the tourist from Calcutta has got to catch the Trivandrum Express at Madras which leaves Madras at night and reaches Trivandrum just at candle-light the next day. There is also an aerodrome at Trivandrum very near the sea-beach, and travel by air is also comfortable to Trivandrum.



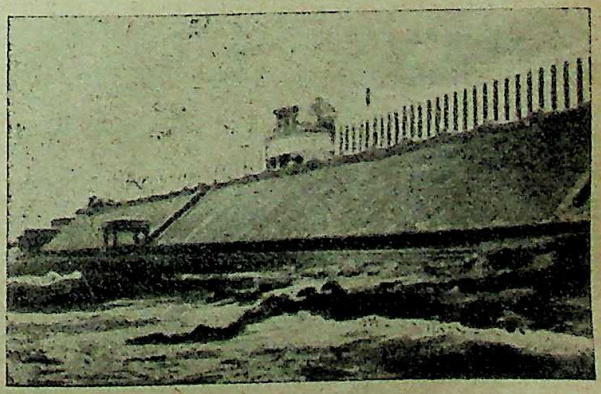
Devi Kumari, Cape Comorin

Trivandrum is the capital city of Travancore-Cochin. On the 25th of September, 1955, we left for Cape Comorin at one o'clock by a special bus reserved for us for convenience of journey. Of course, there are public buses too, the fare from Trivandrum to Cape Comorin being Rs. 2-8 by Express Bus. We drove through valleys up and down shadowed by coconut groves on all sides. The hamlets on the roadside looked very neat and clean. We found no slums anywhere. The scenery around looked charming indeed. As the bus trekked its speedy way over zigzag concrete roads up and down the valleys overgrown with cocoanut groves with minglings of palm, mango and fur trees, for the first time we saw tapioca plantations. Tapioca is widely cultivated in Travancore-Cochin. It looks like a papaya tree with a lean and thin stem. It has herbaceous roots which are succulent. The root is dried, powdered and eaten



The Temple at the Land's End, Cape Comorin

as a substitute for rice by the poor. To me Travancore looked partly like Bengal and partly like the Santhal Parganas. The soil appeared vermilion-red at most places. I was told that Travancore is blessed by two monsoons a year, once between May and July and again between October and November. The latter comes from the North-East of Travancore (Cape Comorin) and I was told by Sri P. S. Kukallaya, Chief Inspector of Factories and Boilers, Travancore-Cochin, that only a third of the area, that is up to Quilon, is blessed by this monsoon.



The Temple, Cape Comorin

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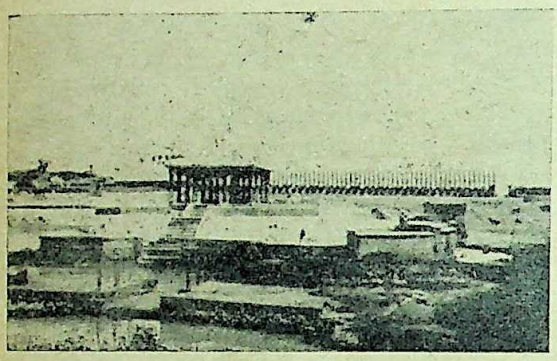
As we drove through avenues of cocoanuts, rains set in, so much so that at places the bus had to negotiate pools of rain water with which the highways were logged up. We felt as if we were in Bengal. The peculiarity of Travancore rains is that it is seldom deep and continuous and as such it is called the rain-shadow.



Bathing Ghat, Cape Comorin

People seemed to greet us from doorsteps with smiles as we drove through hamlets. Though most of the houses had brick- or stone-built walls all of them had thatched roofs. The dried cocoanut leaves were very decently dressed for thatching as it appeared to our eyes.

Not very far from Cape Comorin (scarcely some eight to nine miles) stands the holy temple of Suchindram in the vicinity of which is a natural Salt Factory which we visited with interest. Salt, we saw, was being manufactured there by the method of evaporation through condensors, salt water being allowed to accumulate in low-lying beds at first.

Swami Vivekananda Rock, Cape Comorin

Here we had our afternoon tea and my friend Sri S. K. Nath of the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, took some photographs himself and had some of his likenesses taken by me.

As we approached Cape Comorin we found that there was a scarcity of cocoanut trees and a vast area looked arid and barren but for some nursery gardens under State enterprises.

When we arrived within a mile of Cape Co[illegible] we saw brick-built houses and *dharmasalas* [illegible] common in holy places in India) but the mos[illegible] tic building on the shore is the Cape Hotel. [illegible] then 5 P.M. but the sky remained cloudy and [illegible] sional drizzles poured over our heads as we [illegible] standing on the sea-shore. There we were pr[illegible] besieged by sellers of conch-shells who placed [illegible] varied articles before us till they were besieg[illegible] eager purchasers like ourselves who, though ver[illegible] in number, all gathered on the sea-shore. Sri [illegible] and I myself stood in silence within the closes[illegible] of the waves till we found that dashing waves [illegible] calmly kissed our feet and retired from the [illegible] and our joy knew no bounds as we began to play [illegible] the frolicking waves. Sri Nath said, "Take my p[illegible] as the waves kiss my feet please, Mukherjee" [illegible] smiled, waited for the opportunity and at last c[illegible] him in the camera with dexterity if I may say [illegible] To our great dismay we missed the beautiful s[illegible]

Sun-rise, Cape Comorin

(not to speak of sunrise) as the sky remained [illegible] till nightfall. The best thing for a tourist is to [illegible] at Cape Hotel one night and see sunrise and s[illegible] the next day, but we could not do so under pr[illegible] of official business.

Leaving my friend Sri Nath to have his own [illegible] with his camera I sauntered along the sea-sho[illegible] search of the holy temple of Kanya Kumari. [illegible] a walk of some ten minutes or so I came to [illegible] temple where I found some of our fellow-tra[illegible] including Sri S. N. Sen Gupta (Technical A[illegible] Boilers, Government of India), and Sri M. N. [illegible] (Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Works, Ho[illegible] and Supply). Sri H. G. Chaoji (Chief Inspe[illegible] Boilers, Madhya Pradesh) was then seen ret[illegible] with his wife after a sacred bath in the temple. [illegible] the Cape Hotel has within its own enclosures [illegible] excellent arrangement for a bath; the charge [illegible] for a bath is two annas only.

When we expressed our intention to enter [illegible] temple we were informed unless we bared [illegible] body and put on a loin-cloth around our waist [illegible]

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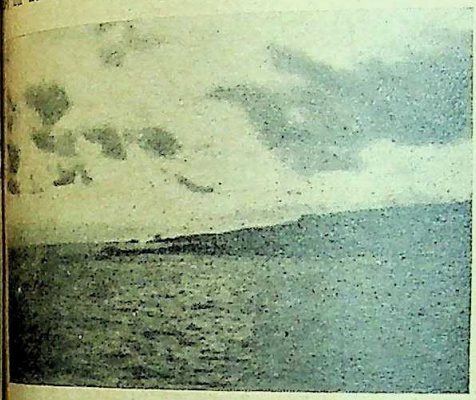
...to do so. As most of us were with trousers on ...felt dejected but I found out a means as a solu-... One of the priests being requested lent us a ...-cloth for which he was paid back along with the ...itself. We bared up our body, put on the loin-... around our trousers and entered the temple one ...ce. Charmed already as we had been with the ...estic view of the temple which has stood for ...uries we were much impressed as we got into the ...e full of perfumed incense and were blessed with ...glimpse of Devi Kumari. None are allowed to get ...to the deity and I was told that there are three ...nds on the sacred body of the deity, one being ...on her forehead.

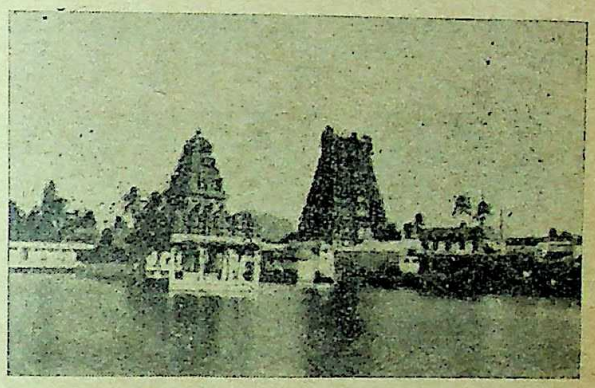


Sun-set, Cape Comorin

...temple escaped the ravages of foreign in-... temples in Southern India are marked by ...) because of its unique position. It stands ...surrounded on the East by the Western ...and on the West by the vast seas, namely, the ...Sea and the Bay of Bengal having their con-... the Indian Ocean. There is no harbour nor ...we find any ship or boat but only the waves ...and rolled in beautiful bounds. We had some ...of curios in the temple-shops and I went ...the temple surrounded on three sides by three seas as it was. The sea-view was really enchanting and I scarcely felt any inclination to quit. In silence I stood gazing at the dancing waves of the Bay which only reminded me of the broadmindedness of Bengal itself which is eager to embrace all India like the Bay of Bengal even a thousand miles away from Calcutta.

Some snapshots are published which I am sure will prove to be of some interest to my readers and for which I am vastly indebted to my dear friend Sri S. K. Nath, my constant companion on tours.

As I have said already the pilgrim or tourist from Calcutta has got to come up to Madras by train or plane as the case may be. If he intends to travel by



The Ancient Temple, Suchindram

rail the Trivandrum Express leaving Madras (Egmore) at 20-25 hours will reach him to Trivandrum the next evening. Trivandrum to Cape Comorin is a distance of some 54 miles by road and there are ample conveyance for the journey. Calcutta to Cape Comorin is a journey of 1,598 miles by rail and road.

We bade goodbye to Cape Comorin at about 7 o'clock in the evening and came back to Trivandrum at about 10 o'clock in the night.

Cape Comorin will and still lives in my mind. India has her panorama all around.

(*Photographs: Courtesy of Hari Kumari Arts*).

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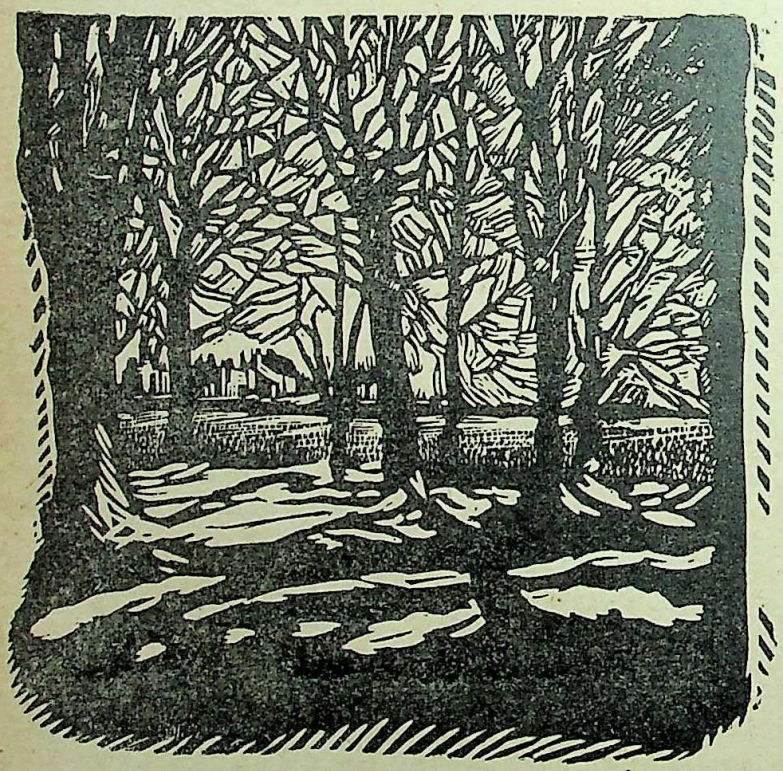
THE LATE LALIT MOHON SEN
A Tribute

By M. R. SEN

In the death of Sri Lalit Mohon Sen, Principal of the Government School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow, India has lost a great artist. The late Sri Sen although a product of the West blended the Indian subjects with Western realism in a manner which is remarkable indeed. By nature Sri Sen was shy and unassuming. He shunned publicity. If he loved anything passionately it was the silent work of art which he practised in various spheres for about forty years. His grasp of the details of his art was complete. Looking at most of his works we find the stamp of vigour, honesty and forcefulness of a vital personality.



A lino-cut sketch

During his life-time I met Sri Sen many a time to know his considered views on art in India. He criticised the present unfortunate tendency of some of our leaders to show special "favour" to foreign artists and also to Indian artists of inferior types which he said was calculated to bring disrepute to the fair name of real art in India. I once asked him his opinion about an Indian artist and about a foreign artist. He said :

"Artists in Europe work silently and therefore most of their works are creative. To them art is a religion. In India, unfortunately, our artists talk much and work less."

Referring to Dr. Abanindranath Tagore and disciples Sri Sen remarked :

"Abanindranath is a great artist in the sense of the term. He is also a great teacher approach to art is rational and initiative. T fore in his work we find all the qualities of ing, composition, colour and his particular of expression."

Sri Sen told me in the course of discussion the present-day followers of Abanindranath T lacked these essential qualities of their revered He added :

"I find that those who p to belong to Tagore school of do not study drawing in the manner their master did. T chief defect lies in the fact they draw inspiration from s body else's painting and dr without studying the nature perly."

His Work and Life-sketch

Lalit Mohon Sen was born 1900 at Santipur (Nadia) in district of Bengal. In his boy he was of indifferent health 1911, while a boy of eleven came to Lucknow for a change the same year he got himself mitted into the Queen's School, Lucknow. He had pa aptitude for drawing and ing and soon he found life uninteresting. In 1912 Government School of Arts Crafts was started in Lu Lalit Mohon, a boy of joined the Art school with ten others on very first day of the of the school. He completed five years cours painting and he was one of the first batch awarded the diploma in painting. In 1918, the Government specially opened a commercial art to absorb Sri Sen as a teacher which position for five years. In 1923, the U.P. Government Sri Sen the first technical scholarship for studies in art in England. He joined the Sch painting in the Royal College of Arts, Lond completed the diploma course within two and years before the scheduled period and thus ob the Associateship of the Royal College of Arts was also awarded a special certificate in wood-

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Boatman's wife, Srinagar
(A pencil sketch)

Joonkiri—a pahari girl
(Red-chalk drawing)

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ing. His merit was appreciated by the late Sir William Rothenstein, the then Principal and Professor of Painting of the Royal College of Arts who allowed him as a special case to sit for the diploma six months earlier.

On return to India in 1920 he was appointed Superintendent of Drawing Teachers' Training of the Government School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow, which post was also created only to engage him. In 1928, he was awarded the Government of India scholarship along with three others out of an All-India competition for the decoration of India House, London, where he went for the purpose of mural decoration of the walls of India House. During this trip he visited all the important art centres of Europe for the purpose of studying the old methods of Fresco painting in different techniques. During his stay in England for four years his paintings were exhibited in various exhibitions. Perhaps he was the first Indian artist whose pictures at the Royal Academy of Arts were purchased by Queen Mary. He was, perhaps, the first Indian artist whose beautiful water colour painting entitled *The Queen of the Hills* was published by the Fine Art Society, London, who sold signed proofs of 100 copies at £2 and 2d each. It was so much appreciated that the whole edition was sold out within three months in London alone. Besides, the publisher had to bring out a cheaper ed of 300 copies which were sold in provincial ... This was a recognition which was not probably g to any Indian artist.

On his return to India in 1932 he worked ... various capacities at the Government School of ... and Crafts, Lucknow. After several promotions ... became the Principal.

Besides painting Sri Sen also practised in w ... engraving in which he was a leader in the co ... Two of his wood-engravings—portraits of Ga ... and Rabindranath—were acquired by the Victoria ... Albert Museums, London, as far back as 1930. ... has also produced some very good stone-carv ... wood-carvings and modelling. He also specia ... himself in etching, lithography and photogr ... Besides practising all branches of arts and crafts ... Sen devoted himself mostly to painting of portr ... pastels and drawing out typical heads in crayon ... finished paintings are marked by a remarkable rel ... ing of mellow highlights and judicious shades. M ... of the landscapes painted by him are rendering ... typical Indian scenes. Sri Sen was fond of mak ... holidays in remote and picturesque corners of ... country and all the time he returned with beau ... sketches and line drawings.

———:O:———

WANDERING BLACKSMITHS OF RAJASTHAN

By MANOHAR PRABHAKAR, M.A.

SCATTERED over many parts of Rajasthan and its adjoining States for the last 350 years or more are to be found the most interesting nomadic tribe of wandering blacksmiths or the *gadulya lohars* as they are popularly known. These people have no houses, nor even tents; their only shelter is their open carts, beneath which they huddle in sunshine or rain, on the out-skirts of a town or near a well in a Rajasthan village. They park their bullock-carts with their men, women and children in shabby dress and go about attending to the day-to-day routine, preparing knives, tongs, scissors, sickles, axes, bolts and nails, etc.

ORIGIN

The story of Gadulya Lohars is traced back to the fall of the fort of Chitor in 1568 which was invaded by the imperial army of Akbar. Their forefathers, when driven from their houses at the sack of Chitorgarh in the former Mewar State, took a vow that neither they nor their descendants would ever again enter a house to live in, till the fort of Chitor had been liberated. At the same time, they also took solemn vow of not sleeping under a roof or on ... until their glory was restored. Many generations ... come and gone since then, but the Gadulya Lo ... still stick to their oaths.

POPULATION

In view of their wandering character, it is difficult to get the correct data of the population Gadulya Lohars. However, the Census Report ... put forth their population at 6,970 in the whole the then Rajputana Agency. A major part of population according to the report, is in Ma ... Jaipur, Bikaner and Mewar. No Gadulya Lohars available in Bharatpur, Dholpur and Tonk.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS

In the past those people had a sound reputa ... for their fine craftsmanship and found sufficient ... to enable them to earn if not a large, at any r ... sufficient income for their simple needs. Their

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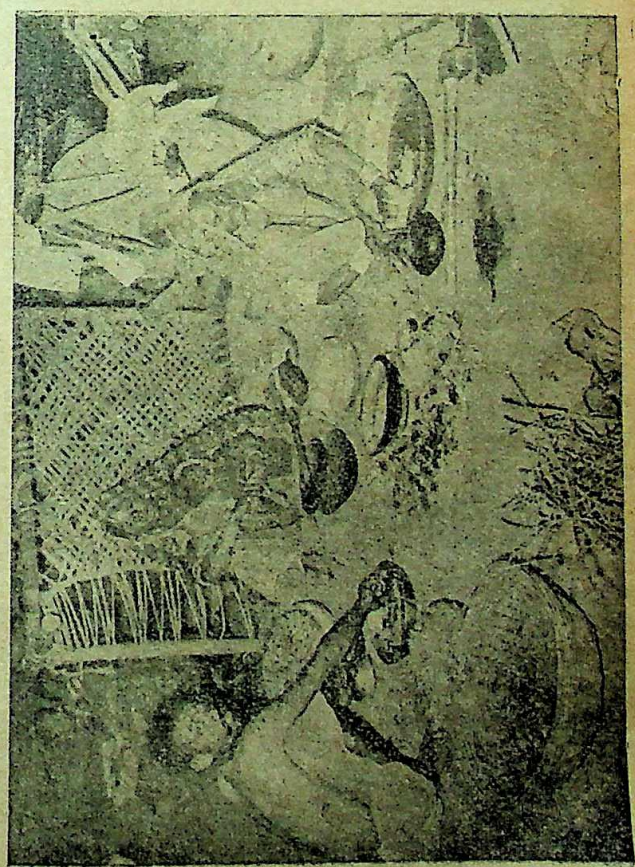
An old lady showing some iron-made implements to her customers

Two Gadulya Lohar ladies in their full dress



A view of a Gadulya Lohar's kitchen

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work was the making and repairing of agricultural implements, and the forging of the metal-work of carts and tools for village carpenters or weavers. But the Gadulya Lohars have now fallen upon evil days. Cheap machine-made tools and spare parts for agricultural implements are available in almost every village-shop and handicrafts in general are rapidly being ousted by factory-made goods. Their economic condition now is often pitiable.

A Gadulya Lohar's better-half not only manages her household affairs but also participates in the manufacturing work

We may now proceed to consider their social condition. As a whole they are regarded in Rajasthan as "untouchables" and are not permitted to draw water from the village wells. Entry into Hindu temples and other places of worship is also prohibited for them. The hoard of myths and tradition combined with their illiteracy and social disabilities have all gone to make their position static and their mode of living continues to be the same as it might have been two hundred years ago.

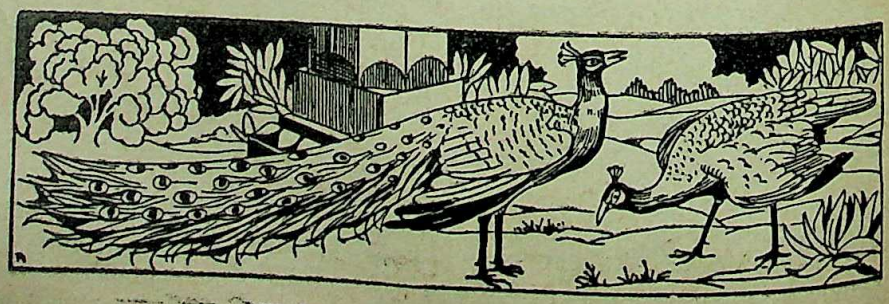
Religious Beliefs and Customs

Illiterate as they are, they are blind believers on the plane of religion. The gods and goddesses venerate belong to the Hindu pantheon. The desses Durga and Sheela Mata are invoked to them against evil spirits which, they believe, certain trees and bushes. Animal sacrifices are performed to please the deities; and festivals Dewali, Holi and Dushera are celebrated with rejoicings. The marriage of a Gadulya Lohar takes place at an early age and betrothals take even earlier, sometimes when betrothed is not even born. and widow remarriage are but bigamy for a woman is be a serious offence. The standard of these people is than that of our so-called members of society. It is be disgraceful for a Gadulya to charge interest on loan to another member of the community. The breach of social and community laws is by Panchayats functioning as tribunals for different

Need of Permanent Settlement

Under tre existing circum the only remedy to the Gadulya Lohars is their settlement. Social workers in tribal welfare and the Rajasthan are now of the with the attainment of dence, the time has come Gadulya Lohars to abandon nomadic life and settle down in one place. A of these people was, therefore, convened at on April 6. Led by the Prime Minister these Gadulya Lohars marched to the historic Chitor and thus fulfilled th vow undertaken by ancestors more than three centuries ago.

The Rajasthan Government have decided to vide every possible facility to rehabilitate suitable places.



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FATHER HENRY HERAS

A Distinguished Orientalist Passes Away

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

...ng the leading orientalists of the twentieth cen... the name of Father Henry Heras is in the top ... having been the Founder-President of the Indian ...torical Research Institute of Bombay, the Vice-...sident of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic ...ty, Member of the Indian Historical Records ...mission and of the International Committee of ...ntal Sciences. Dr. H. Heras passed away in ...bay on 15th December, 1955, after a brief illness. ...h stoic serenity the ailing orientalist and historian ... his friends and admirers visiting him: "I am ... now to my Eternal Home."

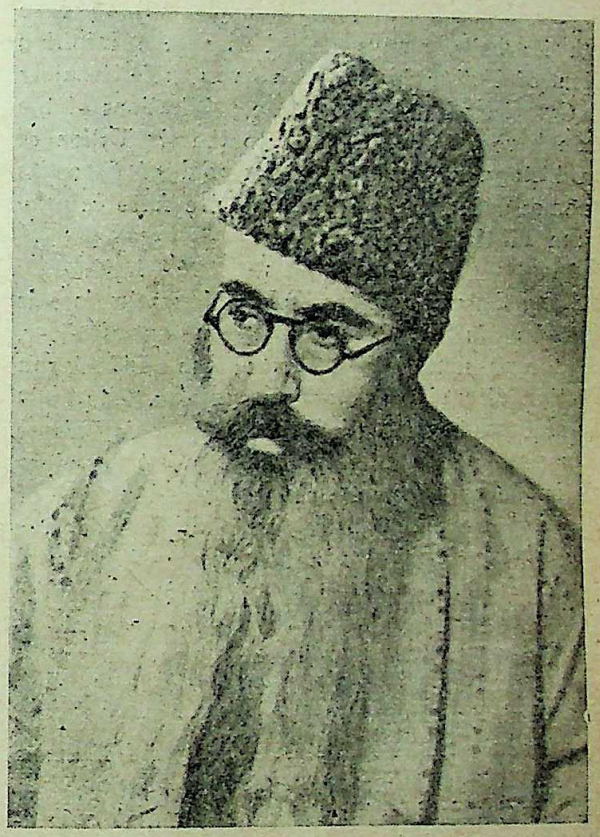
Father Heras, born in 1888, received his early ...tion in Spain. Then, he went to the United ...s for advanced studies. His inquisitive and open ...d seen absorbed the grand spirit of Western civi...tion. In order to pursue his studies and realise ...pirations, following the traditions of genuine ...s and *Sanyasis* like Vivekananda and Daya...nda Saraswati, Heras, at the early age of sixteen ...d himself to life-long purity and voluntary ...ty to *brahmacharya* and *aparigraha*, and he ...d the Jesuit Order which became the nurse and ...e of his vocational mission. Heras was fortunate ...d sympathetic and wise guidance, protection and ...tion of his vast mental resources in the Jesuit ...which, far from crippling his talents, canalised ...strengthened and nurtured them.

At the age of thirty-three Heras was already ...ed principal of a college of Saragossa in Spain. ...later, in 1922, Heras came to India as professor ...ory and Archaeology at St. Xavier's College, ...y. It was here in India that the young profes...ered the treasures of Indian wisdom. "I ...ed Indian History," exclaimed Heras, hardly ... months after his arrival in this country.

Dr. Heras related the story of his discovery of ... History in these words:

"When I arrived in India the Principal of St. ...'s College asked me: 'What subject do you ... to teach?' I replied: 'Indian History.' Then ... Principal retorted: 'But, what do you know ... Indian History?' I replied: 'Next to nothing.' ...ed at this ignorance, the Principal asked ...: 'How, will you, then, teach Indian History?' ...ered: 'I will learn.' This happened over ... years ago, and, ladies and gentlemen, I am ... learning Indian History. I have discovered ... treasures therein."

...e said Prof. Heras at a packed audience during ...ver Jubilee celebrations of the Indian Historical ...te in 1953 presided over by Sarvepalli Radha-krshnan. From the beginning of his academic career in India in 1922 until he died, Prof. Heras dedicated his life, talents and every bit of energy in exploring the virgin fields of Indian history, archaeology, Indian philosophy and culture. Like the great orientalists of the last century, eminent minds like Max Muller, Monier Williams and Paul Deussen, Henry Heras



Dr. Henry Heras

loved India because of her culture, her religious lore and her philosophy and history. The lyrics of the Vedas, the psychological metaphysics of the Upanishads, the music of the Bhagavad Gita and the rhapsody of Indian religious atmosphere—all enraptured that receptive, sympathetic and intuitive mind of Heras. He became a lover of India which, in his words, is "the most ancient classical land of the highest wisdom of God."

Historical Institute

In order to investigate into the deeper significance of Indian history and culture and canalise the energy and pool the resources of the research students of Indian history, Dr. Heras founded the well-known Indian Historical Research Institute in Bombay. When the Institute began its life in 1926 it had hardly

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a couple of hundred books. But today the library of the Institute has a collection of well over 25,000 books, the majority of them being rare, specialised and select books. The Institute has its own museum and archaeological section which contains some very select monuments of Indian history, specially documents connected with the early Mohenjo Daro and Harappa civilization and the Buddhist period of Indian history. The Institute library is one of the best in the whole of the Bombay State and—for that matter—in the whole of the Indian sub-continent.

This institute, started from a scrap, is today one of the best research centres in this country. Hundreds of savants, scholars and research students have gone through its halls, always guided by the inspiring direction of Father Heras who was affectionately called *Guruji* by his students. The publications of the Institute have contributed much to the elucidation of Indian history, not merely as a record of dynasties with names and dates, but as a creative force in the evolution of the Indian people.

Indo-Aryans

Among the works of Dr. Heras his masterpiece is his *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture*, which throws much light upon the Indo-Aryan civilization *vis-a-vis* the Dravidian culture. The main thesis of Heras in this book is that the pure Aryan race is now almost extinct in India and what survives today is the outcome of the meeting and mating of the earliest Dravidian civilization with that of the culture of the Indo-Aryans. In the writings and teachings of Dr. Heras one senses the idea that the Dravidian culture detected in India and the Mediterranean, all along the Dolman Belt, was the parent and originator of human civilization, although later on enhanced by the Aryans, a theory which runs counter to the racialist fads of Rosenberg and Hitlerite Germany.

Besides hundreds of articles on physical anthropology, history, religion and culture and history of India, Dr. Heras published many books among which the important are : *History of the Manchu Dynasty of China. The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, The Pallava Geneology, Beginnings of Vijayanagara History, The Writing of History, Min Kan* or *The Mystical Meaning of Possessing Fish Eyes* and his greatest and last book on *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture.* In his *The Jesuit Policy of Conversion in India*, Dr. Heras substantiates the thesis that the best and most representative Jesuits never attempted transplanting of Christianity in this country, but only a vital synthesis between what is best in the oriental culture with what is best in Christian civilization, a position which would be welcomed by all sane nationalists.

Christian Yogi

In recognition of the great historical research work which Father Heras did in India many co[illegible] in the West and in the East honoured him [illegible] degrees and titles. Spain honoured Dr. Heras [illegible] making him a member of the Academy of Hist[illegible] Sciences in Madras. Poland awarded Gold Cross [illegible] Merit to Father Heras and Afghanistan awarded [illegible] Decoration of Learning. Many Indian univer[illegible] availed themselves of the scholarship of Father H[illegible] who was a member of the Board of Studies of [illegible] Poona University. Bombay, Delhi and other Un[illegible]sities have many a time seen Prof. Heras lectu[illegible] to their students. But the biggest title which [illegible] Heras most is that of Founder-Director of the In[illegible] Historical Research Institute of Bombay which c[illegible]brated its Silver Jubilee under the presidentship [illegible] Dr. Radhakrishnan in 1953. The Commemora[illegible] volume published by the Institute gives us an i[illegible] into the multifarious activities of the Institute [illegible] of its Founder-Director, Dr. Henry Heras.

From an Indian point of view, what marked [illegible] out as a singular individual was his deep spi[illegible] insight, his life that proved the dictum: "What d[illegible] it profit a man if he gained the whole world [illegible] suffered the loss of his own soul?" Yes, Dr. He[illegible] was not merely a scholar of international repute; [illegible] was also a saintly man, one who set his heart [illegible] soul for the task of self-purification and self-realisa[illegible] not less zealously than Gandhiji, Ramakrishna [illegible] Vivekananda. From the close acquaintance which [illegible] present writer had with Dr. Heras it may be s[illegible] that he was a pattern of *Christian Yogi* who dedi[illegible] his life and energies for the study and spread [illegible] historical, cultural and philosophical knowl[illegible] through his saintly life, his lectures and books.

Love of India

Like C. F. Andrews whom Gandhiji describ[illegible] his "dearest friend on earth," Dr. Heras w[illegible] genuine lover of India. Although born in E[illegible] Heras adopted this land as his own and gave h[illegible] stinted energy to the study and spread of In[illegible] culture. Whatever charges may be levelled agai[illegible] number of foreign missionaries, we do know th[illegible] Heras was far above any petty communal, ra[illegible] national prejudices.

His large heart went to the extent of exp[illegible] away even the apparent anomalies and contradi[illegible] in India's social, religious and cultural traditions [illegible] drank deep from the Upanishadic and Vedic lore [illegible] thus became a veritable bridge-builder betwee[illegible] East and the West. Heras was also an apostle [illegible] Inter-religious understanding and he worked to [illegible] end of his life for the cementing of cultural uni[illegible] solidarity between the Christian civilization [illegible] West and the Hindu-Buddhist culture of the [illegible] That is his permanent legacy for posterity in [illegible] and the world.

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CONSPECTUS OF BEAUTY AND ITS RELATION TO ART

By K. L. GOSWAMI

current concept of beauty is limited in historical It was associated with a particular phase of ophy in Greece which was essentially anthro- ic. Idealisation of nature and man was ex- al in their enlargements, primarily in the art of n form. After a lapse of several centuries, the was revived in the Renaissance. This particular type of art differs from a Byzantine ideal which e rather than intellectual or from Oriental n abstract and non-human.

uty may simply be defined as that which pleasure. But it has also been brought to a of absurdity, reckoning, eating and smelling, Further, though Benedetto Croce's of art simply defined as "intuition" also met ticism in a confused plane, the term "intui- which is again capable of meaning various n reduced to a point of absurd distortions.

uty is evanascent. In the appreciation of we proceed from the physical object though its ate reach is abstraction. From an initial plane to a spiritual conception, the pere- takes us through different stages in conse- importance. The knowledge of the form of imperative. This knowledge is acquired, as down, by a systematic study of the exact of measuring, weighing and counting called ies of Numbers, Geometry, Stereometry and ry. In course of prolonged study of these the seeker will be rewarded suddenly with ension of beauty—a kind of mystical flash. uty whose foundation is firstly established in us plane is stabilized into a plane of spiritual n.

formulated mind, according to Plato, hovers external objects, blurred by the wall of senses. the ken of immediate experience the reality beyond and behind is unperceived by a mind. The world of senses is but reflected of Reality. The existence of material forms ical which dims our vision and warps our . That which is nearer seems truth—the is impalpable. The world of Plato is a world ysics, which, however, is not our field of y.

the view of modern psychology, the trends of process proceed to realise 'illumination' in us route. The creation of a work of art is ed by an intense preparation. It means that must have fundamental knowledge of that branch of art in which he employs himself, such as, music, painting, literature or an art of allied kind. The sudden chrysalis of creative art with which we are presented with is but the conclusion of an intense activity which precedes it. Thereafter, the artist passes through a period of 'incubation.' He jostles and nurtures with his idea in a plane under the surface of mental immediacy when the appearance of a happy idea looms up in a flash of 'illumination' and finally comes before us in the shape of finished art, be it music or painting. These series of processes play unseen to us and even unconsciously to the artist. According to this notion, a piece of creative art from a genius as coming in one stroke is a misjudgement. The fact is, the artist has to pass through a welter of stages all the while beneath the outward ripples of his activities. Modern psychology and behaviourism, in their basic root, point to this end. The final vision has its root in a world of unapprehension.

Tolstoy (1828-1910) defined the process of art as:

> "To evoke in oneself a feeling one has experienced and having evoked it in oneself, then by means of movement, lines, colours, sounds or forms expressed in words so to transmit that feeling that others experience the same feeling—this is the activity of art."

He further says:

> "The others are infected by these feelings and also experience them with that of the creative artist."

So long Tolstoy's theory of art was praised and enthroned. In recent time, with the development of the study of aesthetics, the theory has lost its shine. According to him any artistic representation should be judged by its effectiveness upon the persons who perceive it as the "communication of emotion." The artist is successful only when he is able to transmit the same intensity of feeling to the recipient. In other words, when a peasant fails to be appreciative of the same intense feelings of a Bach, Beethoven or Shakespeare, which are acutely complex, the artist has failed. If, to the uninitiated peasant, this form of art is jejune, why should it be condemned,—a modern mind fails to accept. Tolstoy opines the artist must be successful in transmitting his feelings. But the real function, as the exponent of modern criticisms estimates, is not to transmit the feeling but to "express feeling and transmit understanding." The cardinal function of art is to empathise. To follow Tolstoy's enunciation is to

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accept jazz over Kruetzar Sonata or figure of a bathing belle scoring over Botticelli's Madonna.

Belief in ethical values of matter or conduct helps little to solve problems in aesthetics. The basis of belief warrants suspension of judgement and the differentiation in objects good or bad are of no importance. Apprehension of beauty presents us problems which demands acute intellectual undertakings. It does not appear in a flick of intuition. Intuitional interpretations in aesthetic judgement are misleading. It may lead us to namby-pamby expostulations.

A clear idea of objectivity and subjectivity is a prerequisite element before we can embark upon pivoting a definite position in the values of art or beauty.

> "A subjective judgement is a judgement that the experience of the person making the judgement is being modified in a certain way—that something is happening in or to the subject. Whereas in the objective judgement—the world external to the person judging, is characterised by a certain quality."—JOAD.

As an illustration in subjectivity, it may be cited the colour of the sky is blue or green as it affects a particular person's vision but the objectivity of the truth of $5 \times 5 = 25$ or that the table is square is undeniable.

In the aesthetic judgement of beauty the relation of mind and object is of importance. It is, in fact, to be realised as a harmony between these two elements. Both of these entities form an integral whole and that "the wholes are both more than and more real than the sum of their parts." This view is associated with Monistic metaphysics. It poses a number of questions. An object of beauty, say the statue of Venus de Milo, lay buried in the heart of Africa and was dug out before the gaze of a primitive people in whom the slightest trace of civilization is absent. Would they be able to appreciate its unique beauty? If the statue is an object of beauty, would its excellence dawn upon them, on viewing its rhythm and plasticity? If not, how does this object remain unappreciated in spite of its inherent quality of beauty? Is it a matter of any importance whether the primitives appreciate its beauty or not, which had existed all the time in it and still remains at the moment? In other words, in spite of non-appreciation, the beauty remained in it. Or do we attribute a notion or idea of beauty in it according to our sophistication or degree of embellishments. That it had no quality of beauty in itself but derived it only by agreeable attribution of our mind. If beauty exists independent of one's appreciation or not, why primitives fail to appreciate? Does beauty depend on som factors extraneous of its ex Is it a built-up? These problems can only be solved mastering the knowledge of subjectivity and ob tivity in the study of aesthetics. Mostly the di in judgement is born not as a difference in tas difference in knowledge.

Dr. J. A. Richards states that beauty is tional satisfaction. In beauty we realise an em equilibrium where the impulses are harmonised fact that certain forms, colours, tunes move us others do not provoke any emotional participation us to questions which await answers. Dissonance by misarranged notes in music or colours in pa jades the aesthetic sensibilities and dissipates harmony content. It happens due to the lack of Clive Bell termed as significant form. The pre of it in objects, evokes a kind of peculiar emotion call works of art. The quality and intensity course, differs and largely depends upon the co of emotional expression. The difference betw creative artist and a mere copyist is the differen this peculiar emotional experience in expression artist paints a landscape or creates a tune which complete harmony with this aesthetic feeling. creation becomes just not an object, a face but expressed in a significant form which invests the with peculiar traits carrying with it sparks of cre These can be intellectually measured in terms balance, rhythm or harmony but in reality it is tive in origin. That is why a primitive art is not a kind of art than a civilized one but rather a p of lower kind of civilization having more ele force.

Aesthetic sense is, thus, immured in even tive people. These are amply exemplified in the drawings of animals at Altamira in Spain as well in those of the Bushmen of South Rhodesia South-west Africa. However, the plastic sense found in this period disappears in the Neolithic p Foregone illustrations deny the common accepta co-relating beauty with art. Art fulfils its harmonious expression which may not be beau In paintings, particularly of the surrealists or primitives, they attempt to express in grotesque which are far from being beautiful. They are a from a Greek Aphrodite or a Byzantine Ma From the standpoint of classical concept of they are definitely ugly and unbeautiful but ne less they can claim to be called works of art.

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SANTINIKETAN

To Rabindranath During His Closing Days

By KALIDAS RAY

(Translated by Umanath Bhattacharya, from the original Bengali)

barren tract of *Bhuban-danga*, for aeons did I lie,
ing beneath my rugged ribs heaps of human
ashes, O!
my bushes thick, bandits used to roam at night,
And jackals yell in fierce delight,
g on the victims, now and again.
The cows would browse in the plain,
ing the scanty grass during the day;
bons in the sun would bask; and shepherds play.
By constant clash of the mongoose and snakes,
Scar'd with claws and clotted with blood,
Lay this rugged part of West Bengal,
Desolate and dismal.

what a glory was in store!
at thou got the clue and from my core
Unearth'd the hidden treasure and lore,
the deep-sunk Throne of Thirty-two Nymphs,
famed in tales of yore!
All cover'd with ant-hills were my limbs,
Cleaving them asunder, verses flow in streams,
Tingling with rills of Light supreme.
Never did I dream,
That hermit sate in trance under my
banian tree!
Invoking the Spirits of the *Tamasa* and
Niranjana,
And showing the two currents in me!
Lives on the domain of Gloom,
Sudden gets back Ind, her long-lost speech,
Resplendent and rich.
O glorious day, the day of my dreams!
Where harmony swell the pealing hymns
Every temple and shrine, cloister and hermitage;
Heralding the New Age.
Lo and near the herbs, the *Khas Khas* raise
their heads,
And fill the air with incense fine;
Thy treadest this ground of mine,
Leaves rustle sweet and creepers entwine;
Lo, the shrubs, the grass, the insects
And every common thing,
With songs immortal, ring.
Dumb'd gravels and pebbles,
As in incredible fables,
With life and make an Eternal spring.
Yield focus their eyes at me, wonder wide,
There hath come a beam!

Every bird that twitters in the thicket,
Doth chant a Vedic hymn, like Tittir of ancient days;
Here meet all Faiths, all Creeds, all Ways.

A thousand petals of my heart O my Sun!
Thou hast unfolded with manifold rays of thine.
Lo! the lyre divine
Vani Herself plays! What web is spun
In music fine!
What lay inarticulate so long
Gets a tongue in thy Song;
Pathos untold, chords unstrung, melodies mute—
In every modulation of tones and tunes
They ring in thy lute.
Spellbound the world hears!
My heart throbs, bestow'd with myriad ears.
In this cultural Fair today,
Treasures of ages are giv'n away.
A thousand folded hands gather round me,
O glory!

But my golden days, how long will they last?
Much it pains my heart to think of evening O!
The shades of twilight are falling fast
O'er yon tops of *Sals*; silent, slow
The clouds of a tragedy deep, are gathering lo!
As I gaze at thee—
Thoughts of afar wrinkle thy brow, I see—
Time and again thou dost cast thy eyes
On the fathomless Sea, and void of the skies.
Where sinks all Humanity!
What whisperest thou so languishingly
Into the ears of Eternity?
The Day's on its pyre, O sire!
What tune is this that's play'd upon thy lyre!
Stay! Stay! The world entreats thee,
O pace this Earth a few years more!
A mystic gleam falls upon thy brow from an
unknown shore.

My heart aches and knows no rest
As I listen to the solemn melody;
There's unrest in the *Mahuya*-groves,
Do they sense the Tragedy?
Ah, from what lovely horizon far away,
Tearing the Mystery's screen,
Tomorrow's Star doth flash its sheen upon thy brow?
Gilding now in twilight ray the rim of the sky!
What joy, what hope, what solace, therein doth lie!

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I recall today O Poet! Oft hast thou said:
The Eternal Traveller gives back the dust to dust;
For return he must, the clay that clings
to his feet,
As he embarks his Pilot to meet
Called away to new, yet newer shore,
That lures him evermore.

Like earthen pots away he casts the mortal
And quits the banquet-hall without remorse,
In vain doth Love entreat to stop his
As I bring to mind these burning words of
The very dust of my ground doth
And writhes in agony untold—
What if the sky burns red and gold!

———:O:———

GANDHISM AND TECHNOLOGY

By SUDHIR CHANDRA LAHA and BIJOYLAL CHATTERJEE

In the concluding chapter of *My Experiments with Truth* Gandhi has written:

"My uniform experience has convinced me, that there is no other God than Truth."

But how to realise this Truth? Gandhi says:

"To see the universal and all-pervading Spirit of Truth face to face one must be able to love the meanest of creation as oneself."

This identification with others implies that we do unto others what we would that they should do unto us. G. K. Chesterton in his *Life of Saint Francis of Assissi* writes that he treated whole mob of men as a mob of kings. A king moves amongst hundred courtiers but he was a courtier who moves amongst hundred kings. Similar was the reverence of Gandhiji for human personality. More than gold and material goods we want to be treated with courtesy and honour.

This innate respect for human individuality determines Gandhi's attitude towards machines and technological development. Dr. Alexis Carrel, Nobel Laureate, in his famous book, *Man, The Unknown*, writes:

"Esthetic activity remains potential in most individuals because industrial civilisation has surrounded them with coarse, vulgar, and ugly sights. Because we have been transformed into machines. The worker spends his life repeating the same gestures thousands of times each day. He manufactures only single parts. He never makes the complete object. He is not allowed to use his intelligence. He is the blind horse plodding round and round the whole day long to draw water from a well. Industrialism forbids man the very mental activities which could bring him every day some joy. In sacrificing mind to matter, modern civilisation has perpetrated a momentous error. An error all the more dangerous because nobody revolts against it, because it is accepted as easily as the unhealthy life in great cities and the co in factories."

In the same strain Arnold J. Toynbee w the IXth Volume of his great book *A S History*:

"We invent the machinery of mass-pro and for the sake of cheapening the unit, w lop output on a gigantic scale. Almost a caly the machine delivers a stream of artic creation of which the workman has had No He has lost the joy of craftsmanship, satisfaction in something accomplished the conscientious exercise of care and sk

By the end of the eighteenth century Ad boasted that it took eighteen men to mak each man doing a little bit of the job and pa pin on to the next. This was to many a t civilisation. By setting each man to do just bit of the work and nothing but that, over again, he became very quick at it. Thus p plentiful and cheap. Bernard Shaw in *The Woman's Guide to Socialism* remarks about

"The country was supposed to be because it had more pins, though it h capable men into mere machines doing without intelligence, and being fed by food of the capitalists as an engine is coal and oil. That was why the poet complained that 'wealth accumulates, decay'."

Gandhi, like Goldsmith, clearly perc degrading effect of industrialisation on hum ality. His soul revolted against this mut man's individuality. To Gandhiji man was himself. He was created to realise God and treated by another man like a helpless instru the production of his wealth or for the s for his distress. When a man degraded into

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he is denied the satisfaction of realising the best of his personality. For the growth of one's personality one should have the largest opportunity of creative work and life in aesthetic surroundings.

Gandhiji, therefore, laid great emphasis on the spinning wheel and decentralised rural industry. In order to stay the dwarfing and dwindling of man under the tyranny of machinery Gandhi sought to promote all that is creative in man. For, as Bertrand Russell rightly says:

"The supreme principle, both in politics and in private life, should be to promote all that is creative, and so to diminish the impulses and desires that centre round possession."

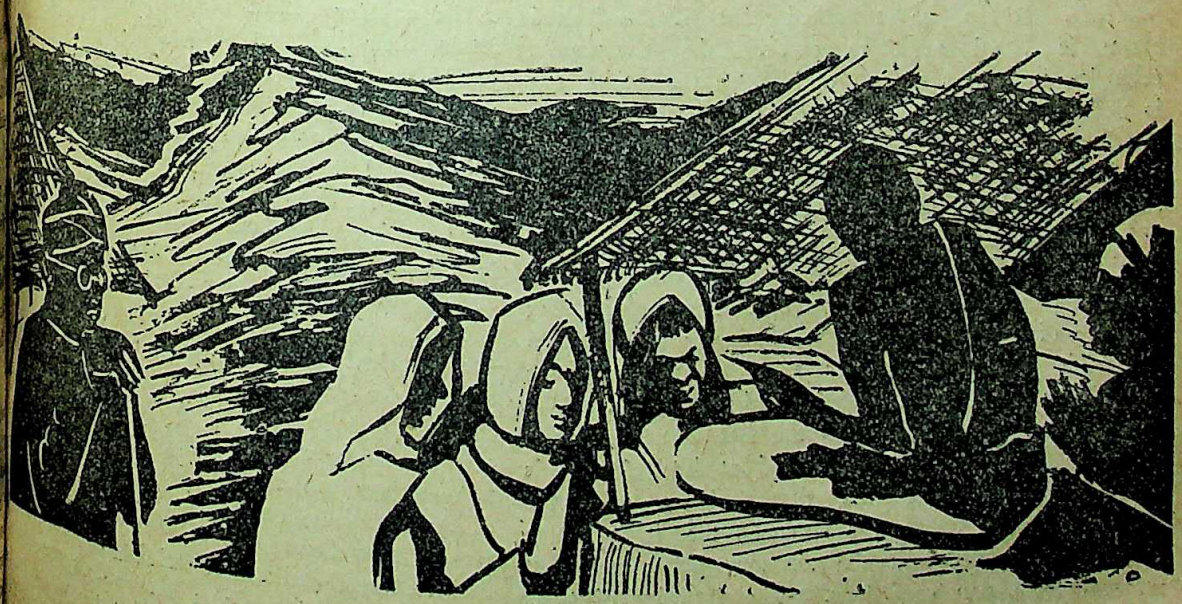
Gandhiji sought to halt the process of regimentation of human beings into robots by large-scale mechanical industry and by resuscitating decentralised cottage industries he sought to open out new channels for the majority of men and women for the fullest expression of their creative personalities.

This decentralisation would also halt the tragic flight of men and women from villages into over-crowded cities about which the Irish poet and philosopher George Russel laments:

"More and more men and women in our modern civilisation drift out of Nature, out of pure air, health, strength, beauty into cities where in the third generation there is a rickety population, mean in stature, vulgar in character . . ."

It is true that when we are deprived of the simple but the pleasures of leisure and love, sunshine and open fields, generosity of outlook and kindliness of disposition are hardly to be expected.

It is a mistake to suppose that Gandhiji was against machinery and technology as such. He wanted both but only to the extent that they should conduce to the ultimate well-being of man. He was shocked at the craze for machinery and the mastery of mechanised technology over men. That the ever-increasing growth of urban industries should kill the rural industries and compel villagers to flosk to cities appeared to be a great curse. He believed that the resuscitation of rural civilisation was the greatest need of the time. For life in close proximity of Nature would give back to man his lost happiness and his sane outlook. The blind worship of Technology has led man to lose charity towards Nature. It has led him to ravage its forests, pour filth into its rivers and poisonous fumes into its air. The law of non-violence that he discovered to be the guiding principle of all life made him also perceive that large machineries have led men not only to exploit other men but also to violent exploitation of peaceful Nature. We all know that Gandhiji had deeply studied Ruskin and Thoreau, Tolstoy and Edward Carpenter and we also know their immense love for Nature. All these savants ardently believed that to live aloof from Nature was prejudicial to the highest interest of man. Gandhi, therefore, sought to restore man to his proper place of balance in Natural surroundings. His warning against excessive use of machinery was therefore not a retrograde measure or a return to the primitive life of a barbarian but a step forward in the march of humanity towards a more enlightened and richer life. He reminded men that it is beneath human dignity to lose individuality and become a cog in the machine. For to use the language of the Bible: "What shall it avail a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?"



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IRAQ AND SYRIA—THEIR POLITICAL PROBLEMS

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By S. H. HASHMI, M.A.,

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It is no more fashionable in India to dub Britain as an imperialist power. The Iraqis, however, do not agree with this view. Britain is still as unpopular, there, as she was in the Indian sub-continent before our independence, though Iraq achieved her independence as far back as 1932. Iraq is not an independent country or at least the majority of the educated Iraqis think in such terms. According to them, Iraq is still a British mandate, if not a colony. The Britishers have retained their stooges, who are simply tools in their hands. Britain is also remembered in connection with the creation of Israel and is considered to be the villain of the piece in the dreadful drama of Palestine. Even a high school student knows something about the Balfour Declaration and its far-reaching consequences. They consider that all the sufferings of the present-day Iraq are mostly because of Britain. Her imperialism would not allow Iraq to try to form a federation of all Arab States. She does not want to see stability in West Asia.

The United States is also counted as a new member of this gang of imperialist exploiters. She is one of the most hated nations in Iraq. Every one is convinced that it was only because of the United States that the thorn of a Jewish State was thrust in their flesh. The American money, the American arms and ammunition and the American pressure on other small nations were responsible for the establishment of the "49th State" of the American Federation. The Iraqi armies, they say, were only twenty miles from Tel Aviv, when they were ordered by the Security Council not to proceed further, otherwise the latter would intervene. It can be remarked that if the United States is hated anywhere outside the Communist countries, it is in the Arab world. To the Arabs, she is definitely an imperialist power, though in a sheep's clothing.

Not many people know much about Communism and Soviet Russia. In fact, they are somewhat afraid of discussing Communism publicly. They are afraid of the police which might suspect them, if they talk about this unwanted and foreign evil. An overwhelming majority of the people do not find any attraction in it, which according to some, does not recognise individual's freedom of thought and expression. The educated persons are aware of the fact that life is not happy in Communist countries and at least from this view-point they prefer the democratic way to the Soviet system. Among the students, too, it is not a very appealing doctrine; the tendency being somewhat unusual for Asian conditions. The majority of them is ultranationalist, which wants "independence" for Iraq and the complete withdrawal of foreign influence and interference from their nation's politics.

In this background we can read the re-action [illegible] Iraq's entry in an alliance with Britain, Turkey, [illegible] and Pakistan. From the topmost leaders to an [illegible] student, everyone criticises this action vehemently, [illegible] it is not without any reasons. The Iraqis even [illegible] resent every move which endeavours to [illegible] alliance with their old enemy—Turkey. The [illegible] memories which a subject nation usually has about [illegible] ex-rulers are to be found in the minds of the [illegible] people, too, for they were under the Ottoman [illegible] ance for many centuries. Making friendship with [illegible] ex-master is not a matter for which the people may [illegible] sympathetic consideration. In recent years, [illegible] recognition of Israel by Turkey and the establishment [illegible] of friendly ties between the two countries have [illegible] to the unpopularity of the latter in these lands. Secondly, it is the view of the Iraqis that this sort of [illegible] is not in any way, beneficial for the people of [illegible] Asia. They contend that this alliance is for [illegible] protection of the American and British interests [illegible] which the Arabs need not sacrifice their lives, [illegible] consider that they do not have any Russian danger [illegible] should they enter into such alliances? If there [illegible] third World War, it will not be a war between Democracy and Totalitarianism, it will be a war only between [illegible] United States and her friends and Russia and [illegible] satellites. So there is no need of sending Iraqi [illegible] to defend British imperialism and American [illegible] There had been loud protests against the [illegible] Pakistani pact and many demonstrations took [illegible] against it. The overwhelming majority of the [illegible] papers wrote against this pact, which was considered to be another effort of the Western imperialists [illegible] retain their hold on West Asia. Some books [illegible] pamphlets were written in Arabic, on the subject [illegible] which the authors tried to show that this pact [illegible] harmful for the Iraqi people. They maintained [illegible] Iraq joined it, she would become a tool in the [illegible] of Western Imperialism. While considering these [illegible] we must keep the fact in our minds that in Iraq [illegible] is a wide gap between the people and the government [illegible] and it is not necessary that a government [illegible] according to the desires of the people. Iraq has [illegible] the so-called Baghdad pact but over and above [illegible] against the expressed desire of Iraqis.

Elections in Iraq are a farce. Though every [illegible] man because women are not allowed to vote [illegible] now—enjoys the right to franchise, about 85 per [illegible] of the voters do not bother to go to polling [illegible] was in Iraq before the election of 1954, and I did [illegible] find so much enthusiasm and interest among the [illegible] about the matter, as was witnessed in our elections [illegible] 1951. One of its reasons is that the voters know [illegible] outcome of these so-called free elections. Thus it [illegible]

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that it is not worth the labour to mobilise opinion a particular candidate. The fact is that Iraq has seen even a single free election, though this mockery been repeated very often in the last fifty years. an illiterate voter, for instance, goes to the polling he might be asked by the polling officer to whom is going to vote?. He may be persuaded to vote a particular candidate. If he does so, well and if not, the counting of the votes is in the hands government and it would see that only its party the majority of Parliamentary seats. This misuse democratic methods leads to military interference politics. Iraq had its experience in the thirties. The tians themselves, by their corrupt and illegal give them an opportunity to take authority in hands, though after attaining power, they, too, involved in the same malpractices. This is a circle, which never ends.

Syria

Syria is smaller in area and population than Iraq. population is less than three and a half million. internal problems of Syria are of different nature than of Iraq. It is a republic but is ruled more by the than by the democrats. It is the most unstable country, but it is interesting to note that the Syrians attach much importance to this characteristic of political life and are not anxious to find out and the causes of this instability. In Aleppo, I asked Professor of Political Science the reasons of instability politics. Well, he replied, we do not give importance to this problem, and in fact, it has a usual feature of our political system. He to be given some time to think over the reasons instability. The problem of instability is not confined Syria only. Many other Arab countries, also, share It seems that one of the reasons is to be in the character of the Arabs, who are, by very emotional and guided by passions. This of their character is witnessed in their political Secondly, the corrupt politicans sometimes, the coup d'etat indispensable, and the military get an opportunity to boast that they saved the from the grip of wicked politicians, who were the country by corruption, nepotism and misrule. people of these countries do not get any to express their views through their true sentatives, because the elections are not fair. If elections had returned true representatives, there have been definitely less chances of the rapid in governments. In Syria, the French were also sible for not creating the proper atmosphere for establishment of stable governments. The ministries in France very often and Syria also inherited feature of her erstwhile ruler. The difference is in France the ministerial changes are within and Syria they are without Parliament. The French, when ruled Syria, did not give the indigenous people that type of political education, which Britain imparted to the Indians. The Civil Service was exclusively for the French and all political liberities were crushed. The people, when they got freedom, were naturally not mature enough to be well-versed in the art of self-government.

An important problem, which still looms large over many Syrians is the inclusion of Alexandretta in Turkey. This Mediterranean coastal plain was handed over by the Allies to Turkish Government in 1922. The Syrians claim that it is a part of Syria and should be returned to her. It is very difficult to assess the genuineness of the case of either of the two parties. An Arab writer has conceded that before Alexendretta was handed over to Turkey, out of all sections of the population, the Turks were more in number than any other section, including Arabs, though they were not above 50 per cent of population. The Syrians still claim this territory and this is the main reason of the cold—if not strained—relations between the two neighbours. Turkey, no doubt, is more unpopular in Syria than in any other Arab country. The two states have only commercial relations with each other and this is another reason, why Syria does not like to join the Baghdad pact.

Among the Arab countries, Syria is very susceptible to accepting foreign aid of any kind. She does not take military aid and is one of the very few non-Communist countries which has refused to accept even the economic aid from the United States.

Out of all common questions concerning the Arab world, the toughest and the most provoking problem is the presence of a Jewish State in their heart land. As a senior Christian Arab statesman, who after my return to India, became the Prime Minister of Syria, said to me:

> "Our greatest and most threatening problem is Israel. It is possible that it might take a long time to throw them out of our motherland, but we are determined to do so."
>
> "You know," he continued with the zeal of a patriot, "Christians kept Jerusalem in possession for about two hundred years, but they were driven out at the end. Israel may pull on for the same period. It does not matter. She would go ultimately."

The Arabs think in these lines and it shows how deeply attached they are to every inch of their soil, which they consider Israel has usurped. The Arabs know it very well that the Britishers are responsible for sowing this seed of permanent danger for the Arabs and then the United States entered the scene as the chief culprit and chose to become the "Father of Israel." The majority of the Arabs believe that a day would come when they would be able to clean the surface of Palestine from Israel.

The danger of Israel, which is common for all Arab countries, has at least compelled them to set aside the internal differences and to unite, because they know that Israel would not be content with the present boundaries,

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but would definitely endeavour to expand herself, till she has included all the territories west of Euphrates and south of Medina. They admit that if there is a union of all Arab countries, they would be stronger and be able to defend themselves against a small but highly mechanised and militarised Israel. The idea of the creation of a Federation of all Arab countries is not only in the minds of some Utopian thinkers, but it has been and is being discussed by the Arab press, politicians and parties. The obstacles are both internal and external. As far as the external reasons are concerned, there are some powers, which see the danger of being ousted from the political scene of these countries, if a Arab federation is formed. Britain is one such power. She still has a very powerful influence in making foreign policy of Iraq. Jordan had till very recently a British Commander-in-Chief and could not be trapped in the Baghdad pact mainly because of a wrong British approach. Though many Arabs are of the view that the United States also wants the existing disunity among the Arab States it seems to be a false idea. A Lebanese Professor of Political Science agreed with me that a powerful and possibly stable anti-Communist Arab federation would definitely be in a better position to contain Communism in this part of the world than the divided, weak and underdeveloped so-called independent Arab states.

It cannot be refuted by any Arab statesman that the main hindrances in this way are internal. There are kings in this regions, some of whom are g millions of dollars, every year, as a royalty fr oil, which their hitherto barren land is produ abundance. They would not be ready to share amount with their fellow-brethren. They would consent to be deprived of their authority and pow is maintained that the leader of the Arab co Egypt, hereself, is not in favour of the formation Arab federation. The traditional rivalry betwe Hashmi rulers of Iraq and Jordan on one side the King of Saudi Arabia on the other, still Moreover the small Arab states fear that they would completely subjugated by their more powerful bours. These and so many other usual difficulties the formation of a federation together with negative British and indifferent American attitude towards this problem, are responsible for keeping Arabs in this present, far from happy, state of affairs.

India's foreign policy is liked in all Arab countries for they are not a party and do not want to be party in the East-West conflict. In joining a area they are with us. Nehru enjoys great respect prestige in all these countries. To them also, he one of the greatest statesmen of the world and perhaps the greatest in Asia. His independent foreign policy is considered to represent the mind of the Arab people though some are of the view that he is over sympathetic in his attitude towards communist China.

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FOREIGN AND YUGOSLAV AUTHORS IN NEW YUGOSLAV THEATRE REPERTOIRES

By C. MINDEROVIC

Nine of the largest Yugoslav theatres have prepared fifty-eight premieres for the new theatre season. These are the works of twenty-six foreign and eighteen domestic authors to be performed in Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Sarajevo and Skoplje.

The Yugoslav audiences will be able to see for the first time or in a new case and production the works of the Greek classics, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophernes. The Slovene drama in Ljubljana will stage *Antigone*. The Zagreb dramatic theatre will give Euripides' *Hyppolyte* while the Belgrade Drama Theatre will present *Lysistrate*.

An already large number of Shakespeare's works to be found on the repertoires of Yugoslav theatres, will be augmented by three new plays. The Yugoslav Drama Theatre which is already showing *King Lear* and *Romeo* and *Juliet*, will enrich its repertoire by the addition of *Macbeth*. The Slovene Theatre in Ljubljana will put *Henry the Fourth* on the stage, while the Zagreb Drama Theatre will present *As You Like It*.

The English Drama will also be represented the performance of three plays by Bernard Shaw *Pygmalion* (The Belgrade Drama Theatre), The *Disciple* (The Yugoslav Drama Theatre) and *Joan* (The Croatian National Theatre).

Of the modern English dramatic works, the S National Theatre will present T. S. Eliot' *Party* while the Zagreb Drama Theatre will give Becket's drama *Waiting for Godot*.

The German classic works will be represented Goethe's *Egmont* and Schiller's *Don Carlos*. Besides the Zagreb Drama Theatre and Sarajevo National tre will present *Mutter Courage* by the contemporary German dramatist Berthold Brecht while work *The Good Man from Sechouan*, which is also on the repertoire of the Drama Theatre, is also prepared for showing by the Ljubljana Municipal Theatre.

This season again the repertoire includes ral American dramatic works. Miller's *Crucial*

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already been shown in Belgrade and Zagreb, will one of the premieres of the Macedonian National atre in Skoplje and the Slovene Theatre in Ljubl- The Zagreb Drama Theatre is preparing Ten- ee William's *Camino Real*, the Ljubljana Munici- Theatre O'Neill's *The Mourning of Electra*, the atian National Theatre *Cane Mutiny* by Herman h, while the Macedonian National Theatre *Philip Jacob* by Irvin Shaw.

Of the Modern French scenic works four dramas Jean Giraudoux will be shown, *viz.*, *Pour Lucrece Apollon de Bellac* in the Zagreb Drama Theatre, *La Folle de Chaillot* and *La Guerre de Troie n'a Lieu* will be produced by the Slovene National re. The works of the French Classics will be per- d this season again.

In addition to Tchekhov's and Gorki's plays are included in the repertoire of most of the tres, Tolstoy's *The Live Corpse*, shown earlier on Yugoslav stage, has again been placed on the ire of the Croatian National Theatre. Gogol's *ing Official* will appear in the Macedonian l Theatre, while his *Wedding* will be performed e Yugoslav Drama Theatre.

The Bloody Wedding by Garcia Lorca—last year's n of the Yugoslav Drama Theatre—will be by the Slovene National Theatre as some of its mieres. Another play by this Spanish writer *n of Don Perlimplin* will also be performed Bugarin.

k by Strindberg, *The Father*, is to be per- by the Yugoslav Drama Theatre. The National in Belgrade will also show the play *The Jews* by the Rumanian writer Mihail Sebas-

The name of the Italian Renaissance writer elli will appear also in this year's bills. k *Mandragora* will be one of the three pre- of the Slovene National Theatre. The Italian will also be represented by Pirandello's play in the performance of the Zagreb Drama re.

s characteristic for the new season that nearly are staging works of the modern Yugo- The Belgrade National Theatre will give formance of Miroslav Krleza's *Agony*, while *The Glembays* recently had its hundredth nce in the same house. Two Krleza's legends and *Christopher Columbus* were shown as premiere of the Belgrade Drama Theatre son, while the Slovene National Theatre is his drama *Calvary*.

e Croatian National Theatre has opened the with the performance of a work by the young Dusan Roksandic, *White Butterflies*. This theatre is also preparing *Gloria*, a drama by the prominent Croatian prose writer Ranko Marinkovic, which will be one of the premieres also of the Yugoslav Drama Theatre.

The Zagreb Theatres are taking the lead in staging the works of young Yugoslav authors. Thus. one of the premieres of the Croatian National Theatre will be a play by the humourist Fadil Hodzic, entitled *We are only Men*. The Zagreb Drama Theatre is preparing *The Even at Gog* by the Slovene writer Slavko Grum (to be shown also by the National Theatre in Sarajevo), and *The Narandzic Family* by the Croatian author Grga Gamulin. This threatre will also stage the dramatization of the novel *Poem* by Oskar Davico on a theme of the time of occupation The premiere of the dramatization of the same work is also awaited with interest in the National Theatres of Belgrade and Sarajevo. Dramatization of the novel *The Roots* by the contemporary writer Dobrica Cosic, who received a prize for this work dealing with conditions in Serbia before the First World War, will be shown in the Belgrade Drama Theatre.

The National Theatre in Sarajevo has opened the season with the performance of a domestic drama *People by* V. Subotic. This play won the first prize of the Federation of Educational Societies of Bosnia and Herzegovina at a contest for the best dramatic work. The municipal theatre in Ljubljana, is preparing three modern plays: *The Universe in Aquarium* by Matej Bor, *Two Hillocks* by Mladen Leskovac and *One Room for Four Persons* by Miroslav Belovic.

The Dubrovnik Renaissance comedy writer Marine Drzic (1508-1567) whose work *Uncle Maroje* was shown by the Yugoslav Drama Theatre at the First International Drama Festival in Paris in 1954, will be represented by this comedy at one of the premieres of the Zagreb Drama Theatre which will also perform *Jovadin*, a play by an unknown Dubrovnik writer from the eighteenth century.

The Suspect by the prominent Serbian comedy writer Branislav Nusic (1864-1938) whose plays are still filling a considerable part of the Yugoslav repertoire, will be one of the premieres of the Belgrade Drama Theatre. The National Theatre in Belgrade has already staged *Uros's Wedding*, a historical play by the poet Milutin Bojic (1890-1917).

The Slovene Theatre is refreshing its repertoire with the play *The Romantics* by Ivan Cankar (1879-1918), a short-story writer and dramatist who primarily treated social problems in his works.

The 150th anniversary of the birth of the famous Serbian writer of comedies Jovan Sterija Popovic (1806-1856) will be marked by jubilee performances of his works *The Miser, The Liar and Super-liar, The Marriage, Patriots* and others in all the big theatres.

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ECONOMICS OF CATTLE WEALTH AND CATTLE INSURANCE

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By Prof. J. C. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., B.SC. (Ag.),
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"The bullocks are the means of transport everywhere in our villages and have not ceased to be such even in a place like Simla. The railway train and the motor car are there, but all along the mountain road I found bullocks trudging up and down, dragging heavily-laden carts. It seems as if this means of transport is part of our lives and our civilization. And the bullock has to endure if our handicraft civilization is to endure."—Mahatma Gandhi.

Cattle have been the most valuable asset to our country for its economic value and for a long time even the standard of living in ancient India. 'Mother cow' has been highly regarded and respected by us for centuries and her protection has been an article of faith with the Hindus. Oxen and bullocks were used for ploughing, drawing and carrying loads and have been the only means of rural transport.

Mythological Legends

According to Hindu mythology, Lord Krishna sheltered millions of cows, Emperor Dilip offered his own life in lieu of that of his preceptor's cow, Nandini, and Arjun courted exile for 12 years in order to rescue a Brahmin's cow. Apart from this, the mention of the 'River of milk and Land of honey,' has been made on several occasions in the Rig-Veda.

Thus the cattle wealth of this country has an intimate bearing on its agricultural development, health and economic prosperity of the people. Bullock-power is available for various agricultural operations and for a large majority of the people the only source of animal protein in their diet is milk and its products. It has, therefore, been rightly said that the cow and and the working bullocks bear on their back the entire structure of the country's agriculture.

Population

India's share in World's cattle wealth is rather too high, *i.e.*, more than ¼ of the entire World's population. This is evident from the following statement taken from *India in World Economy*.

World Cattle Population in 1945
(in '000)

Country	*Population*
1. India	1,36,739
2. U.S.A.	85,573
3. China	19,828
4. Australia	14,133
5. S. Africa	12,593
6. Canada	10,258
7. Turkey	9,549
8. Italy	6,550
9. Ireland	4,211
10. Denmark	3,237
11. U.K.	1,331
12. New Zealand	459

Further, according to 1951 census India's cattle population has increased to 185 million, and the density ratio is 75 cattle per 100 acres of cultivated land and 60 cattle per 100 persons, though the distribution is quite uneven.

Importance

In India's economy the cow plays an importa[illegible] both for the purpose of draught and milk for [illegible] dietary. Though she has over 18.5 crores of ow[illegible] buffaloes, the production and consumption of [illegible] and its product per head in the country is pr[illegible] the lowest, which is clear from the following t[illegible]

Per Head Milk Production

Country	Srs. Ch.
1. New Zealand	7 1[illegible]
2. Denmark	4 1[illegible]
3. America	1 6
4. Germany	1 1[illegible]
5. England	0 7
6. India	0 4

Per Head Consumption of Milk

Country	Srs. Ch.
1. Sweden	1 14
2. Austrilia	1 6
3. England	1 3
4. Canada	1 1[illegible]
5. America	1 1[illegible]
6. Germany	1 1[illegible]
7. France	0 1[illegible]
8. India	0 1[illegible]

This is due to the low productivity of the [illegible] cows. The cowdung which no doubt can be [illegible] utilised as manure to maintain soil fertility, is [illegible] vital problem on which Indian agriculture [illegible] depends. But farmers misuse the dung by co[illegible] it into cakes for burning as fuel, which is d[illegible] the scarcity of an alternative cheap fuel. Accord[illegible] Dr. S. K. Dutta nearly 67 per cent of the d[illegible] burnt as fuel and the remainder is utilized as ma[illegible]

Contribution

The annual contribution by cattle to the [illegible] dividend has clearly been worked out by Sri [illegible] Srinivasan in his *Cattle Wealth in India*. [illegible] This is reproduced below:

Item	*Value in crores of*
1. Milk and milk products (500 million maunds)	8[illegible]
2. Ploughing and agricultural labour (cultivated area 230 mill. acres)	1,[illegible]
3. Transport for agricultural produce	[illegible]
4. Meat (20 million maunds)	[illegible]
5. Hides and skins	1[illegible]
6. Dung	[illegible]
Total	Rs. 3,[illegible]

Further, this contribution can well be c[illegible] with that of other industries in India to the [illegible] economy. This has been given by Dr. S. K. Du[illegible]

Item	*Value in crores of*
1. Iron and steel (1949-50)	50
2. Cotton textile and yarn	150
3. Jute	78
4. Sugar	54.5
5. Coal (3 million tons)	500
Total	Rs. 832.5 c[illegible]

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From the above statements we note that the most backward and uncared cattle wealth gives Rs. 3,470 crores, whereas the basic industries yield only Rs. 3.5 crores. What a contrast indeed! The economist may have exaggerated but it can be confidently said that cattle wealth do affect considerably a country's economy. The value of India's livestocks and their products as estimated by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, exceeds that of her crops. As long as the "Grow-More-Food" campaign can only succeed if proper development of cattle is carried out simultaneously. Wherever cattle are good and well fed, the people are more prosperous and healthy and they get better returns from the land. But in India their living condition is astonishingly perplexing. Despite of the existing huge number of cattle there is a shortage of milk and bullocks of good draught quality. They are generally in unthrifty condition with low productivity, stunted growth, late maturity and calving intervals.

Therefore the proper development of cattle is of national importance. There are manifold aspects of the problem which have to be tackled simultaneously on all fronts to achieve the desired objective. To name these, I shall discuss the problem on the following heads:

1. Feeding, 2. Breeding, 3. Housing, 4. Mortality.

Feeding

Feeding is an important problem for maintenance and production of cattle. Cattle fodder and well managed pastures are the secrets of successful cattle breeding and good breeds are found only in such

The cattle feed provided by us badly lacks in the nutrients necessary for upkeep. They subsist on almost meagre ration, *i.e.*, the byproduct of agriculture. The advisory board of Imperial Council of Agriculture gives the following estimate of availability and requirements of the cattle feed.

Type of feed	*Total production in India (million tons).*	*Annual requirement (million tons).*
Roughages (fodder crops, stubble of cultivated crops and grass)	175	270
Concentrates (oil cakes, cottonseed, cereals and etc.)	3.7	15

This gives a clear idea of the entire problem. Here the essential prerequisite for improving our cattle wealth is the cultivation and proper conservation of fodder crops. Berseem and lucern provide the best type of fodder and also enrich the soil fertility with the help of nitrifying bacteria present in their nodules.

Breeding

Good food can help to improve the milk yield and draught capacity of our cattle only up to a certain level beyond which porgress can be made only if improved blood is introduced. "Bull is half the herd." The present deterioration of cattle in India is mainly due to malnutrition and improper breeding. Due to unhealthy condition the conception does not take place quickly. Therefore, the breed may be improved through pedigree sire with a view to develop their inherent qualities for milk and draught. Upgrading *i.e.* mating of common or local breed with that of more highly improved and pure breed, is an important way open to solve the present crisis in a short period. The method of artificial insemination is also being made use to overcome the shortage of good bulls.

Housing

It is needless to say that the housing condition of cattle are far from satisfactory. The cattle live under the most unhygienic condition and this is one of the main causes of diseases in the country. In compact village condition the position is still worse. Words cannot picture the plight of cattle in the urban areas. The common practice prevailing in the villages is to leave the cattle in open fields during the day and tie them under trees in nights. This is nothing but cruel and inhuman to the creature, and they are exposed to all vagaries of nature. It is, therefore, urged to protect this agricultural wealth under shed with sanitary conditions.

Mortality

Morality is another pressing problem. By far the largest mortality amongst livestck is due to contagious diseases and next in importance are the parasitic diseases. Accident and injuries are also quite common. The majority takes a heavy toll on the cattle population. The following statement will show the magnitude of cattle mortality in India as per Government of India report on the problem of cattle insurance 1950!

Annual death due to diseases among oxen and buffaloes per 1000 animals during 1938-39 to 1940-41

Animal	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41
1. Oxen	1.74	1.54	1.72
2. Buffaloes	1.74	1.13	1.52

All these aspects on the whole affect the rural economy of the country which is summarised below;

1. Loss of cattle affecting financial drain on the cultivators and pressing need for replacement.
2. Inconvenience, delay or break in farm operations.
3. Loss of working days.
4. Inefficient agriculture.
5. Unfit animals become liabilities on the owners.

Viewing all the above, we have to bring out some concrete measures to overcome these ills. No doubt the Department of Animal Husbandry is taking great pains towards this pressing need of the country in improving feeding, breeding and dairy matters but the point lacking as to what measure can help in absorbing the shock of these calamities and other difficulties of our cultivators towards cattle and the answer is Cattle Insurance.

Cattle Insurance in India

The history of cattle insurance in India dates back

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to 1913. In 1923 there were 27 cattle insurance societies in Punjab, 8 in Coorg, 9 in Bombay and 1 in U.P. By 1935 all these were liquidated and the reasons of failures were very many. Cattle insurance is carried out in many countries abroad and the main countries are Belgium, Denmark, Holland and Great Britain. It is carried out under state supervision in those countries.

Goshalas and Pinjrapoles

It is estimated that there are at present 3,000 goshalas and pinjrapoles all over India, maintaining nearly 6,00,000 heads of cattle at an annual cost of about Rs. 7 crores, met from private charities on a voluntary basis. The primary object of establishing these during the last two centuries was to arrest any deterioration of milch cattle as a giver of milk and to protect them from indiscriminate slaughter. Though suffering from apparent drawbacks, they could serve as sanctuaries for the preservation and betterment of the cattle wealth of the country, they also provided asylum to milch cattle from cities and towns during dry periods.

But now a number of drawbacks have appeared, and further because of a wide diversity of unfavourable conditions it has not been possible to run these institutions successfully. Efforts, therefore should be made that these institutions may be organized on proper lines, supplemented by converting them into milk-producing and cattle-breeding centres. Efforts should also be made to bring these in each state together under the Co-operative Unions and to have a uniform federation.

Gosadans

Here it would not be out of place to make a mention of Gosadans. This is a scheme of the Government to open Gosadans, segregation camps for unproductive cattle. All the economically unseless bulls are to be isolated and castrated. Such cattle can advantageously be maintained, without much cost, grazing in forests or other waste land where they even prove useful in fertilizing the soil. expenditure on these may be shared both by the and the State Governments.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are suggested:

1. Castration of all scrub bulls and their substitution by those of approved bulls.
2. Upgrading of productive cattle by selective breeding. Adoption of the technique of artificial insemination to make the widest possible use of available superior bull.
3. Establishing of calf-rearing farms.
4. Preventing and eradicating infectious and contagious diseases.
5. Introduction of improved fodders.
6. Taking effective measures to prevent the slaughter of useful bovine cattle.
7. Salvaging of dry cattle from towns.
8. Organising short-term training course for goshala and pinjarapole workers in animal husbandry and dairying.
9. Providing technical assistance, veterinary help and approved bulls for stud purposes and other facilities like mobile dispensaries, grazing and land for fodder cultivation.
10. Introduction of Cattle Insurance scheme under State supervision, either through co-operatives or start through National Extension Schemes.

Increased agricultural and dairy output is the of the day and no efforts should be spared to this objective. Cattle are the backbone of our agriculture and low production terminating in deficit economy to the above-mentioned hazards will surely be the progress of the country if not checked opportune time. So if risks and uncertainties minimised and agriculture be made a safe all the other difficulties will ease automatically must be some form of Insurance against these

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DEFENCE OR DEVELOPMENT ?

By Prof. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

Intervening in the debate on Demands for Defence grants, Prime Minister Nehru told the Parliament that although a war between India and Pakistan was "unlikely," the possibility of "some emergency arising" could not be ignored. Pakistan, he said, had received Military aid in considerable quantity from the United States and this posed a "terrible problem for India from the point of view of diversion of our resources from developmental to Defence needs." He added: "The problem which has been thrust upon us by Military alliances is how far, to ensure safety today, we are to sacrifice and delay tomorrow's development." The Prime Minister said that it was not an easy matter to decide this question. He was, however, of the opinion that the real answer to the Atom Bomb lay in "the spirit and unity of the people and their will to survive in spite of difficulties." "If this is it does not matter how many tanks or aircraft may put in somewhere." The Prime Minister "The equation of Defence is your Defence your industrial and technological background economy of the country and the spirit of the

It is true that it would be suicidal to rate the importance of national defence in the existing circumstances in which India is placed it will be equally suicidal to slow down our economic development which, in more senses is the real and lasting Defence of the country violence and disorder, both internal as well as We have to realise that the real stability of a ultimately depends on the mental and moral enjoyed by its citizens. If the people are

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...ing to economic and social conditions and there are ...pervasive tendencies among them owing to casteism, ...communalism and regionalism, merely the possession of ...large army well-equipped with modern weapons will ...be of much help in ensuring the safety of the ...country. As the Prime Minister remarked, "If I am ...confident about India, that confidence depends more on ...the spirit and unity of the people than on other ...factors."

In this connection the importance of basic and ...heavy industries cannot be over-emphasised. In the ...modern world no nation can be politically safe and ...free if it is not more or less self-sufficient in the ...necessary weapons of warfare. Without an industrial ...and technological background, merely importing highly ...technical weapons from foreign countries will not be ...much avail. As the Prime Minister pointed out, if ...machines go wrong and if a foreign country refuses ...to supply spare parts, the weapon becomes useless. ...In the second Five-Year Plan, therefore, it is ...necessary to build up our Defence industries and attain ...maximum self-sufficiency in this sphere. It must, how-...ever be realised that India will have to content itself ...with a comparatively small but efficient standing army. ...It would be futile for us to try to compete with the ...Great Powers in building up our Defences. If some ...country which has nuclear weapons at its disposal chooses ...to attack India, from the purely Military point of view ...there is little Defence. It may be that from another ...point of view we may yet be able to meet even the ...Atom Bomb. As the Prime Minister observed, ..."India that will not surrender whatever happened ...cannot be beaten." On the other hand the people of a ...country who have developed a strong will for political ...independence will crumble down easily despite a large ...well-equipped army. Our national Defences, ...therefore, have to be built up in the minds and hearts ...of the people.

From this point of view, we must, even from the ...political point of view, give the highest priority to our ...efforts providing full employment to the people and ...reducing the existing disparities of wealth and ...income. The draft outline of the Second Five-Year ...Plan has been now before the nation for some time. ...It can be finalised. But before we do so, it will ...be necessary to lay special emphasis on the need for ...improving the social and economic conditions of the ...weaker sections of our people. According to the ...Plan as mentioned in the Plan, our National Income is ...expected to rise by 25 per cent after five years. But, ...as the Finance Minister stated in the course of his ...budget speech, merely working out a statistical average ...of incomes will not do. We will have to take special ...care of the poorest sections of the society. From this ...point of view, the rise of incomes among the poorer ...sections of the population during the next five years ...will have to be much higher than the proportionate rise ...in incomes among the richer sections. This has not been the case during the first Five-Year Plan. For example, let us glance at the estimates of per capita income in Uttar Pradesh since 1948 :

Year	*Total*	*Rural*	*Urban*
	(In term of 1948-49)		
1948-49	149.4	200.9	550.1
1950-51	259.4	198.5	645.8
1952-53	259.5	198.0	649.2
1954-55	276.7	210.1	698.0

These figures have been taken from the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* issued by the Economics and Statistics Department of the Uttar Pradesh Government.

These statistics clearly indicate that there has been hardly any rise in the incomes of the rural people during the last seven or eight years, whereas there has been a definite increase in per capita incomes in the urban areas. This is surely disquieting. India is predominantly a country of villages and if your National Planning does comparatively much less good to the rural population, we cannot expect the millions of our people to be enthusiastic about our Plans and Projects. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to take special care of this aspect of economic development in the next Five-Year Plan. This could be achieved only if we develop small-scale, village and cottage industries on a co-operative basis throughout the country. Under the existing Plan even in the Community Project areas, the rich seem to be getting richer while the poor people hardly seem to get any tangible benefits. The order must be reversed now. Our plans should benefit the poorer sections much more than the richer sections. Our scheme of taxation and Public Finance should also undergo a radical change from this point of view.

The recent border raids by Pakistan on Indian territory are surely a cause for some alarm. It is surprising how, instead of expressing any regrets, the Pakistan Government and the press have been telling the world that it is India which has been raiding the Pakistan territory. It is, indeed, extremely difficult to deal with a neighbour country when even elementary canons of truthful behaviour are not observed. At any rate, we should utilise these border incidents for serious re-thinking in regard to our Defence and Development programmes. National development, however, does not mean mere economic development. Without proper development of national character side by side with economic well-being, it would be impossible to build up our national defence on a sound footing. The values of money and power seem to be most attractive to most of us. The values of life must undergo a definite change. It is high time for us to realise that the real values of life are essentially moral and spiritual. As the Prime Minister observed, our real Defence would depend upon the 'spirit' of the people. That is why Mahatma Gandhi always told us the real answer to the Atom Bomb was the *Atmik Shakti* or spiritual power.

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Book Reviews

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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE BOMBAY DOCKYARD AND THE WADIA MASTER BUILDERS: *By Ruttonjee Ardeshir Wadia. Published by the author, Thakur Nivas, Jamshetji Tata Road, Bombay-1. Pp. xx + 401. Price Rs. 22-8.*

This is a work of considerable study and research. The author has utilised a large mass of very valuable material comprising not only printed works and files of old journals but also unpublished papers from the Records of the Bombay Secretariat and the India office in London (the last two being arranged under four and eleven heads respectively). The work consists of two Parts. In Part I, the author after a preliminary sketch of the early history of Bombay Island and the early ship-building activities of the Indians reviews the early history of ship-building at Surat and Mazagon, and he more particularly traces the development of the Bombay dockyard from the construction of the first dock in 1693-94 onwards. In Part II, the author deals with ship-building in Bombay with special reference to the activities of a distinguished Parsi family, the Wadias, who filled the office of master-builders in the Bombay dockyard for a century and a half (1736—1884). The most important period in the history of ship-building at Bombay opened in 1798 when the East India Company's Court of Directors gave orders for the construction at its dockyard of the first ship for His Majesty's Navy. The author quotes extensive facts and figures to prove that "the vessels built at Bombay by the Parsi Master-builders whether for the navy or for private owners were vastly superior to anything built anywhere else" at that time. This, however, was not permitted to be recognised "largely because of the potential effect of such recognition upon British and European shipyards." Thanks to the policy of the British Government, ship-building at Bombay after reaching its zenith with the fifth Master-Builder of the Wadia family the great Jamshetjee Bomanjee (died 1821) and dragging on a short period of existence thereafter, entered upon its decline with the retirement of the sixth Master-Builder in 1843. The end came when the Indian Navy was abolished in 1863 entailing with it a considerable curtailment of the Bombay dockyard establishment. The book is illustrated by a large number of photographs as well as some maps and plans, five Appendices (including a list of vessels built in the Bombay dockyard and another list of vessels built at Bombay for the Royal Navy together with the years of their construction and their short descriptions) and an Index. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President of India, contributes a short foreword.

The paper, print and general get-up of the work are excellent. We have noticed two misprints, Conti (p. 15) and Brahmani King (p. 16), rected in the list of errata at the beginning work.

U. N. G.

THE BRAHMARSHI'S GOSPEL or cendental Bases of Vaidik Religion and Sc *V. K. Palekar. Published by the Director of Sanskritika Bidyapith, Durganibas, Hy Deccan. Price Rs. 7-8.*

This book contains a brief biography valuable thesis of Sri Anna Saheb Patwardh the late Lokmanya B. G. Tilak revered as Sri Anna Saheb was a great figure in the regime and worked for the regeneration of try under the inspiring guidance of Sri Saraswati Swami Maharaj. His remarkable was a unique combination of political and genius. Dilating like a learned professor of and comparative jurisprudence that he was ceeds to prove in this thesis that the found Vaidik Society and criminal law are near tion than western parallels.

Another point made in this thesis is th language is still unpolluted and the efficacy mantras still undiminished and verifiable experiments. He has adduced plenty of evidence to show that the Vedic langua fluenced and modified other languages such as Tamil and Telegu, as well as T such as Greek and Latin. He claimed th corrupt Tamil and Latin is corrupt Teleg important part of his gospel, however, deals aims and objects of *yoga* which in its com sense is called by him transcendental scienc fifty distinguished authorities, Indian and f cited and used in this thesis.

It is a pity that the get-up and paper lar, of such an important work is much ordinary. It is certainly a discredit to the who has written a preface to this book and the author of a book on the science of Yo

SWAMI JAGADISWA

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA RENCY: *By Dr. K. N. S. Nambudiri Ph.D. Published by Continental Prakash Sadashib Peth, Tilak Road, Poona-2. Pp. Price Rs. 7-8.*

As the name implies this is a short his Indian Currency and Exchange since the the Act of 1833 introducing uniform curren The subject has been divided into 22 ch the circumstances leading to the appoint different committees and commissions and

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ve been given in some detail for the benefit of The Herschell Committee (October, 1892), ing of minis to free coinage of silver (1893), er Committee (July, 1899), the Gold Exchange the Chamberlain Commission (April, 1913). Keynes on a Central Bank for India, Indian during First World War (1914-18), the ratio controversy, the Babington Smith (May 1919), the Hilton Young Commis- 1925), the great world depression, esta- of Reserve Bank of India (1935), Second (Sept., 1939 to Aug. 1945), Exchange con- War. Post-War Exchange Control and International Monetary Fund, India's in- Monetary Policy, Nationalization of the Bank of India, Sterling Balance Agreements, Dollar Shortage, Devaluation of the sterling, been discussed supported by illuminating tables. The author has spared no pains to book authoritative by quoting profusely alists, also by supplying statistical figures books.

TRIAL DEVELOPMENT—A New Ap- Susil Dey, I.C.S. Published by Messrs. and Co., Ltd., 3 Esplanade East, Pp. 82. Price Rs. 5.

former Development Commissioner of states in brief the case of all-round rural as envisaged in the Community Projects the State Governments all over India. Kulkuri is an authentic record of such a in competitive industrial world, the on a small scale on the basis of mutual understanding has a prospect an assured place in the country's by the story Mr. Dey depicts so Mr. Joan Robertson, the noted Econo- admits of the possibility "on the between the shortage of cash in villages dollars in Europe."

book will be an eye-opener to those who have still doubts about the Community Projects. What is wanted is for work from village level with the villager to economic and moral work up in co-operative and mutual and collective benefit.

A. B. DUTTA

(The Story of Lord Buddha): *By Illustrated by Nena von Leyden. Blackie and Son (India) Ltd. Post Box 285, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta-12. Pp. 119. Price Rs. 4-8.*

a timely publication on the eve of ration of the Buddha Jayanti this of Lord Buddha, one of the greatest of the greatest religions of the world, narrated by the authoress in a lucid, which will not only delight the juvenile the general public but also students and its numerous illustrations beautifully Nena von Leyden in the Ajanta style the readers. The story is told in 14 the beginning of each chapter are quoted taken from the *The Light of Asia* by Arnold. The paper, get-up and cover of reflect the credit of the well-known pub-

AMIDST THE CHINESE PEOPLE: *By Prof. Jagadish Chandra Jain, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Atma Ram and Sons, Kashmere Gate, Delhi-6 Illustrated. Pp. 152. Price Rs. 5.*

The author was formerly a Professor of Peking University, China. With his first-hand experience of the country and its people he is well-fitted to present the Indian reader with a book about China and the Chinese people, full of exhaustive and informative facts and figures. Sri Mulk Raj Anand has written a prefatory letter to the author for his self-imposed task of interpreting China to the Indian people. In several chapters, *viz.*, Introduction, Towards China, On the Soil of New China, Peking, San Fan Movement, May Day, Health, Students, Universities, Schools of Peking, Chinese Language, Modern Chinese Literature, Chinese Opera, Cinema, Music and Dance, Chinese Painting, The Land Reform Movement, Co-operatives, The Working Class, Shanghai—The Centre of Trade, Religious Tolerance, Liberation of Women, The Communist Party, The Peace Conference, The Korean War, Sino-Soviet Friendship, etc, the author has described all about New China and its people. The book is illustrated with a good many photographs. Binding and get-up is good. The quality of the paper should be improved in the next edition.

B. K. SEAL

BLOWING UP INDIA: *By Philip Spratt. Prachi Prakashan, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2 (3sh. 6d. or 50 cents abroad).*

Mr. Philip Spratt, an ex-Comintern Emissary, came to India in 1926 and was for a time an important figure in the Communist Party of India. He was one of the accused in Meerut Conspiracy Case, which started in 1929 and cost more than twenty lakhs of rupees to the Indian exchequer. Mr. Spratt was sentenced to a term of imprisonment.

Mr. Spratt has since abjured Communism and in common with all neophytes he is bitter against all his erstwhile 'comrades' and near-'comrades.' The U.S.A. and India are both bitterly criticised—the one because it is not *sufficiently tough* with the Communists and the other, for its *pro-Communist* foreign policy.

The author concludes his long tirade against Communism, which the volume under review is, with the following words: "India is being led rapidly and almost unresistingly into, or at least dangerously near the Soviet bloc . . . It is time for the public to make up its mind and assert itself." Not many in India, we think, will take Mr. Spratt seriously.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

ON A FORBIDDEN FLIGHT: *By Satyanarayan Sinha. Bhavan's Book University Series No. 31. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1955. Pp. 121. Price Re. 1-12.*

In parts, this modest little book reads like an adventure story out of the world. The author is the Chief Whip of India's Parliament and his own forty-five short years of life has itself been a rare, thrill-packed existence. Dr. Sinha took time off from his heavy official duties and flew off in a battered old tramp plane towards what was still largely a *terra incognita* over the bewildering knots of mountains that straddle across India's north-western frontiers. In these rugged regions, Dr. Sinha found likable, lovable and friendly people, belying all the complacent and meaty generalizations of the conventional travel books. Dr. Sinha's narrative style is unpretentious and simple and is tempered besides by humour

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and understanding; he takes the reader into immediate and easy confidence. There is a short, but delightful, little western interlude which takes the author to some European cities, reviving fond and wistful pre-war memories. All in all, Dr. Sinha has given us a book that will earn for him new friends in this country as well as in other neighbouring lands.

RAMESH GHOSHAL

A CRITICAL STUDY OF RABINDRANATH'S 'CHITRA': *By K. S. Appaswami Ayyar. Chandra Publishing House, Mylapore. Madras. Price Re. 1.*

In this booklet on Rabindranath's 'Chitra' (Bengali *Chitrangada*) the author has given evidence of devoted study and power of appreciation. An outline of the story is followed by a short critical estimate. The picture on the cover of the book is definitely unsatisfactory.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

BENGALI

COMMUNISM O KRISHOK: *By Ramswarup. Translated into Bengali by Amalendu Das Gupta. Published from 12, Chowringhee Square, Calcutta-1. Pp. 242. Price Re. 1.*

This is the Bengali translation of the English book written by the author to prove that Communism and its methods did not help the tillers of the soil in U.S.S.R. The book is divided into four parts, *viz.*, Soviet Theories, Communistic Methods, World Communism and Its Programme and, Indian Agriculture and Its Improvement. At the end of each chapter a bibliography is given which will help the readers to know the sources of information and also to refer to the originals, if necessary. The book has been published with a view to challenge certain facts regarding progress of Soviet methods of agriculture. The book is well documented and as such will be of interest to those who want to know the other side of the picture.

KENO BANKE TAKA RAKHBO: *By Rabindra Nath Ghosh. Published by Debkumar Bose, 7-J, Panditia Road, Calcutta-29.*

The author is well-known as a writer on Economic subjects in Bengali and himself a bankman. It is not easy for a layman to select a bank for his deposits. The brochure under review will be helpful not only to a layman but to a businessman as well, to select a bank where money may be deposited with safety. The book deserves wide circulation among those who are interested in Banks as customers.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

SANYASI AUR SUNDARI: *By Yadavendranath Sharma, "Chandra." Published by Rampuria Prakashan, Calcutta-20. Pp. 191. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Around the Buddhist tale of Vasavadatta, the courtesan, and Upagupta, a disciple of the Enlightened One, the young novelist has woven a full-length stirring story, in which the perpetual duel between the love of passion and the passion of love is described in all its perversity and puissance, on the one hand, and candour and chastity, on the other. The courtesan's play and pleasure of sensuous love is only a veneer for her underlying cry for and claim to the heart of one, who would love her for her own sake and not merely for her physical charm and capacity for entertainment, as do her many rich and pleasure-seeking customers. Against all this, the self-con... Upagupta's love and reverence for her as an ind... entitled to appreciation and affection and este... her own right as a fellow human being is a b... light for all those who would tread the difficult... of Love. The author promises to be one of our ... rank novelists in the not distant future.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) KAKANO SANJAYA: *Price Re. 1-12.*
(2) MADHAV KAKA: *Price six annas.*
(3) KUNAL: *Price eight annas.*

All three composed by Chhotubhai Jo... Bhatt, "Shreya's" Juvenile class, Ahmedabad and ... lished by the Society for the Encouragement of C... Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

These three books are meant for young ch... and convey information on various subjects ... chatty style. The first book, for instance, gives ... that is worth knowing about the Nile Valley and ... Egypt. *Kunal* teaches grace and mercy. They ... illustrated.

(1) BALAKONO ACHAR, (2) BALAKO... ANAND: *By Somabhai Bhavasar. Published by ... Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Lit... Ahmedabad. 1950. Price As. 3 and As. 6.*

Both these small books are full of stories ... to delight children and guide them in the rig... correct path. There are pictures in them.

(1) INSAN MITADUNGA AND OTH... STORIES: *By Dr. Krishnalal Shridharani. P... Re. 1-4.*
(2) SONANO SURAJ: *By Pitambar P... Price Re. 1-4.*
(3) KOINE KAHESHO NAHIN: *By ... Rambha Behan Gandhi. Price Re. 1-4.*
(4) SWAMI SAHANJNI VATO: *By Sh... Jayavati Ashok Kaji, B.A. Price As. 6.*

All published by the Society for the Encou... ment of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

Dr. Shridharani even before he left for A... had been writing in Gujarati, verses and stories ... were of a high order. His residence in America ... him a noted writer of English. After he came ... to India, he has revived his interest in Gu... literature and the chief story in Book No. 1, *H... in you will be destroyed by me*, relates to the ... and unbearable experiences of a prisoner from ... time the police takes charge of him to take him ... till his release. This story and the others are ... a very popular way and sustain his position as a ... story-writer. Pitambar Patel's *Golden Sun* con... 24 stories told in his characteristic style, m... the uplift of the village, socially, sanitarily ... other ways. The other two books are writ... ladies who have mainly to deal with children. ... bha Behen's practised pen enjoins children, ... tell this to any one." The simple, short, int... dramas written by her, chiefly, as Radio ... and talks are likely to be popular with children ... Java entered into literature with the editing of ... told to children after supper in Prof. Dewan B... H. L. Kaji's family circle. They were publi... magazines by his daughter, Mrs. Tarusuki D... and are now collected and printed by this Soc...

K. M.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

The Eighth Year: *The Eighth Year* outlines the important achievements of the Central and State Governments between April 1954 and March 1955. Published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Secretariat, Delhi-8. Pp. 234. Price Re. 1-8.

Second Five-Year Plan—The Framework: The is divided into four parts. Part I deals with Plan-frame, Part II, Tentative Framework, III. Basic Considerations and Part IV, A Note Dissent. Published by the Publications Division, Secretariat, Delhi-8. Pp. 176. Price As. 12.

Education and the Plan: Published by the Publi- Division, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8. Pp. 44. As. 8.

Basic Education—Questions and Answers: Pub- by the same. Pp. 16. Price As. 4.

Children's Films: It discusses the importance and of producing films for the edification of and deals with the formation of a Children's Society for the production of films specially for Published by the same. Pp. 40. Price As. 8.

Minor Irrigation: It deals with the minor works which include wells, tanks, pumps, tube- and channels. Published by the same. Illustrated. Price As. 8.

Asian-African Conference (18-24 April, 1955): It Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's speeches concluding session of the Asian-African Conference at Bandung, April 24, 1955, and the Final Communique. Published by the same. Pp. 38. Price As. 8.

Tito Speaks (In India and Burma): Published by the Yugoslav Embassy, 13, Sundar Nagar, New Delhi. Pp. 120. Price not mentioned.

Nepal and the World: By Rishikesh Shaha. Foreword by Shri B. P. Koirala. It deals with the Genesis and Growth of Nepali Nationalism and Factors in Nepal's Foreign Policy, *e.g.*, Nepal and India, Nepal's Relations with Tibet and China and with other countries in Asia and the world. Published by the author on behalf of the Khoj Parishad, Nepal Congress (Natitonal Congress Associated), Kathmandu. Nepal. Pp. 54. Price Rs. 2.

See India—Banaras: Published by the Publications Division, Government of India on behalf of The Tourist Traffic Branch, Ministry of Transport, New Delhi. Illustrated with photographs and a map of the Banaras City. Pp. 20. Price As. 8.

See India—Simla: Published by the same. Illustrated. Pp. 24. Price As. 8.

See India—Dalhousie: Published by the same. Illustrated. Pp. 20. Price As. 4.

Malavyaji—His Life and Work: By Puran Batrea. Published by the Nath Publishing House, Rajamandi. Agra. Pp. 40. Price As. 12.

Ahimsa: By Kamta Prasad Jain. The author recommends Ahimsa as the right solution of the world's problems. Published by the World Jain Mission, Aliganj, Etah, U.P. Pp. 44. Price not mentioned.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Moral Imperative in the World Community

Dr. Philip Lee Ralph writes in *The Aryan Path*:

The absence of a reliable moral code governing the behaviour of nations in their relationships with one another has long been remarked and deplored. Centuries of social evolution have produced relatively effective disciplines for the individual members of organized societies, not only in such intimate units as the family but also in fairly large and impersonal communities. In spite of the fallibility and waywardness of human nature, moral sensibilities have been nurtured and made fruitful in the development of individual personalities. But there is a notorious gap between the ethical principles accepted by even the ordinary and passably good citizen of a civilized community and the principles which seem to underlie the policies of organized states. Since the days of Machiavelli at least, it has been debated whether the State is amenable at all to the moral imperatives that have become almost axiomatic in private life or whether the State is a law unto itself, bound only by considerations of calculated interest and the use of its own strength. Paradoxically, the growth of successful and powerful governments has exposed and augmented a state of anarchy between governments.

In modern times considerable effort has been directed toward the replacing of international anarchy with a system of international law. This highly commendable effort has met with limited success, not only because of the inherent difficulty of law enforcement over a wide area, but also, and more fundamentally, because of the lack of a tradition which would give such a law the sanction of universal assent. Within established communities, whether civilized or primitive, the greater part of law is not a conscious creation but the embodiment of custom. Parliaments and congresses grind out huge quantities of legislation every year without producing a very marked effect upon the basic law of the land. Barring revolution, legislation can modify but little the fundamental habits and relationships of the body of citizens. Similarly, a really meaningful international law cannot be created by fiat or by solemn resolutions. A formal renunciation of aggression does not put an end to war; neither does a judicial condemnation of international aggressors, even when it is carried out by victors who are in a position to enforce their sentence upon the vanquished. International law will be respected only when it appears as the crystalization of the experience of nations that have begun to share a common community life. International law can be no stronger than the moral sensitivity of the separate nations that support it. Unfortunately, there is no simple recipe for the heightening of moral sensitivity, but the need for such a transformation has become increasingly apparent.

The dichotomy between private morality and public morality is seen in traditional attitudes toward the stakes and techniques of diplomacy, the handling of international disputes and the problem of world organization.

While in the field of personal contacts, even with strangers and foreigners, it is natural to assume at least a fifty-fifty chance of finding mutual trustworthiness, it is considered the height of *naivete* to regard any foreign state (perhaps even one's own) as dependable and honourable except when its own immediate interests clearly impel it to be. Acknowledging the principle that states are naturally at enmity with one another, it is argued that any effective scheme for world government must incorporate a paramount authority with sufficient force at its disposal to coerce recalcitrant nations. And the schemes die in embryo because no powerful nation is willing to surrender its sovereignty—which means, to put it bluntly, its right to act irresponsibly in a crisis.

No sane member of a civilized human society would dream of claiming sovereign independence for himself. To do so would be to jeopardize his most precious interests as well as to alarm his neighbours. Sovereignty is not to be confused with freedom. Actually, the more freedom is recognized and embodied in the *mores* of a community, the less will be the individual wish to burden himself with defences against the violation of his own personal rights. Enabled to take off his armour and lay aside his weapons, he becomes more completely freed for the business of living. True, there remains an organized power within the State to protect the individual against violence and to punish him if he resorts to crime, but under normal conditions this force is hardly noticeable or needed. The consciousness of belonging to a respected and purposeful community, the habitual acceptance of the norms of group behaviour, play a much larger part in shaping the conduct of the ordinary citizen than does the presence (or absence) of the local police force. Among nations, however, there is as yet no such community sense and no such established tradition of reciprocal respect. Hence the nations cling tenaciously to their sovereignty, even though it is a heavy yoke on their shoulders and a stumbling block to the realization of greater freedom.

The proverbially low estate of international morality is not attributable to any insurmountable defect in human nature or to the inherent limitations

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of politics. It can be accounted for historically by the fact that nations have been, until recently, generally isolated from one another, with only casual or traumatic contacts and little opportunity for discovering abiding common interests. In ancient times it was possible for an entire civilization to run its course and disappear without serious repercussions in other parts of the world.

Our own age is unique in having created a condition of proximity and interdependence among nations.

Because human progress is a spotty affair at best, it is inevitable that institutions frequently fail to accommodate themselves to changes in the environment or in the balance of social forces. We enter the age of jet planes while our political habits and concepts are still in the "horse-and-buggy" stage. The terrible secret of the atom, unlocked by erudite scientists, becomes a pawn in an international struggle where the prevailing code of ethics is no higher than that of the cave-man. Perhaps, it would be fairer to say that governments today in relationship to one another are in a condition analogous, not to the Stone Age, but to that of the frontiersmen living precariously on the edge of civilization. The frontier dweller is notoriously independent, quarrelsome and quick to avenge an injury, but he can also be friendly, generous and hospitable. He is an ambivalent kind of creature, half forerunner of a more expansive and freer culture and half outlaw. The frontier has a curious morality of its own, which is by no means entirely savage, but which is inadequate for the needs of a civilized state and a miserable foundation for an international code of ethics. And there is one significant and startling difference between the historic frontiersman and the modern nation state; the resources of the latter are by no means meagre or primitive. Frontier morality, hardly less than cave-man morality, is disastrously dangerous when its adherents are equipped with nuclear weapons.

Some contend that it is utopian to imagine that the nations can ever be brought to bind themselves with a rigid code of conduct such as applies to individuals in a community. Certainly it will be a difficult accomplishment, but it has never been easy to establish ethical standards, either for the group or for the individual. The taming of the ego, the instilling of attitudes of unselfishness and responsibility, has been the most formidable task confronting any society during its formative stages, but it has also been the most essential requirement for progress to a higher level of community life. The development of an ethical sense is never automatic but always the result of painful struggle, beset with anxiety and disappointment. In view of the diversity of opinion as to what constitutes desirable behaviour and in view of the refractoriness of human nature, it seems almost incredible that much moral progress could be achieved. Yet history bears impressive witness to the growth and maturation of conscience, to the displacing of the blood feud by adjudication, to the enlargement of the [illegible] of loyalty, and eventually to the discovery that [illegible] giveness is sweeter than revenge. A moral truth [illegible] projected by prophetic genius, becomes gradually [illegible] corporated into the social consciousness of a community as its utility is demonstrated by experience. [illegible] as the community gains in maturity and as the [illegible] of its contacts widens, standards of behaviour [illegible] examined objectively and broadened or refined [illegible] ingly.

The great question of our day is whether the nations can manage to replace their [illegible] consciences with a world conscience before [illegible] destroy one another, along with every hope [illegible] a viable international order.

Will they be able to make the big [illegible] jump in time to prevent World War III [illegible] World War IV? If so, the lead obviously will have [illegible] be taken by the most powerful nations, because [illegible] are the ones who hold in their hands the means [illegible] wiping out civilization and reducing the world [illegible] chaos.

For too long the advocacy of international-mindedness has remained almost exclusively the [illegible] cern of idealists, even visionaries, as if the cause [illegible] a work of extraordinary merit, hardly to be [illegible] passed by the ordinary citizen. Tribute is paid [illegible] concept of world government as an ultimate [illegible] earnestly to be desired—like the Kingdom of [illegible] —but likewise indefinitely postponable. Meanwhile statesmen concern themselves with more immediate and "practical" issues, above all with the question of national security.

The irony of the situation is that in the present state of military science and technology there is [illegible] such thing as security, there are no impregnable defences, there is no immunity from the death-dealing fires and poisons of the laboratory. The only safety for any nation now lies in self-imposed restraint [illegible] in the institution of measures directed to the [illegible] of all. For the first time in history the fate of

For COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIO[illegible]

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...ed world has become a single one. If the nations ...not live together, they will die together. The ...ry which is feverishly sought in a race for ...ority in devastating weapons is like the des-...perity of a gangster who has holed up in his ...ate security of a gangster who has holed up in his ...way, determined to "shoot it out." It is the ...e security which grimly fulfils the scriptural pro-...: they who would save their lives will lose them. Beyond the fact that the projection of moral ...ards into the internotional sphere has become a ...ssary condition of survival rather than a mere ...s dream, there is a deeper reason why the task ...t be undertaken. Private morality cannot be ...tained independently of the moral standards ...ised by the organized groups that predominate ...world affairs. Moral and ethical codes, whether ...tive or advanced, always have relevance to the ...ty in which they operate. Their efficacy grows ...s and dwindles with neglect. But no longer ...y society a self-contained experimental labora-... The technological revolution of the last fifty ...s has drawn the nations together, whether they ...s or not. The actions of individuals, as well as ...tions, have effects beyond the borders of their ...state and will be judged in the court of world ...n. Unwittingly and unwillingly, we have all ...e our brother's keeper, and our neighbour is an ...whom we never expected to meet. Hence, time-...ed codes of national interest suddenly appear ...l and parochial, insufficient to serve as main-...s of action in a community which encompasses ...rience, the needs and the aspirations of the ...human family.

...e gap between private ethics and public ...has begun to put an unbearable strain ...he individual.

...e stumbles against and is frustrated by the ...standard. He is thrilled by an unending ...m of scientific marvels, proof of the triumph ...ree intellect and forecasting a fabulous era in ...man may conquer time and space. Then he ...at scientists are bullied into silence by sus-...e governments or bought and sold on an inter-...l black market. His religion—whether Eastern ...Western—impels him to accept the Golden Rule ...the brotherhood of man; but he sees these pre-...ples ignored from affairs of state and learns that, ...n a nation may be anxious to dump its surplus ...abroad, morality is not for export. Struggling ...s his children to be unselfish, generous and ...he must send them out into a world where the ...tion of millions of their fellow human beings ...at any instant, become the order of the day. It ...wonder that people are breaking under the ...accumbing to neuroses or feeling themselves ...to a spiritual vacuum.

...moral and spiritual values which give mean-...vilization and to life itself will atrophy and ...e will shrivel within us unless we inject and ...these values in the entire sphere of public, ...and international relationships. This is a ...order, but it is not sentimental altruism. Upon ...ess of the undertaking depends, ultimately, ...ety and sanity of every individual. There is ...ger a question of having one world or several; ...ady have one world. The choice, and one ...our power to exercise, is between a co-operative ...and a blighted planet.

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Guru Gobind Singh

A Versatile Personality

Gobind Singh writes in *The Sikh Review* :

Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Guru of the Sikhs, is generally regarded as a soldier, a warrior *par excellence*, a leader who defied the power of Aurangzeb. Very few people know that he was a versatile genius, a many-sided personality. He was a patriot, a nation-builder, a poet and a thinker. His versatility is an index to the rich gifts he possessed and which he used in the service of humanity.

A Patriot

Installed on the *gadi* at the tender age of nine (1675), Guru Gobind Singh began preparations to challenge the Mughal power. After-all, the Mughals were foreigners. They had come from Central Asia to exploit the resources and people of India and had no roots in the soil. Guru Gobind Singh desired to end this occupation. Moreover, Aurangzeb was a bigoted and power-intoxicated ruler. None could muster up courage to oppose him. The Guru threw the gauntlet to the despot and united the *rajas* of the Simla hills to join him. But they were afraid of Aurangzeb and helped his army in opposing the Sikhs. Single-handedly the Guru succeeded in defying the Mughal power.

A Nation-Builder

Guru Gobind Singh desired to create a strong and self-respecting community. He inspired the Sikhs with courage, hard work and simplicity. Once he burned all costly clothes at Anandpur and threw a considerable treasure into the Sutlej River to teach his followers the folly of hoarding property.

He also started an arms factory at Anandpur for the manufacture of swords, arrows and lances needed for his soldiers. The Sikhs were encouraged to make offerings of horses, weapons and uniforms in place of money. Once when the *brahmins* insisted that he should worship the goddess Durga in order to win victory in battle, he agreed to do so and kept up the farce till nothing came out of it. At the crucial moment, the Guru unsheathed his sword, exclaiming, "The sword is the Durga which will give us victory over evil-doers."

On Baisakhi day in 1699, Guru Gobind Singh fulfilled his life mission by the creation of the Khalsa. Five Sikhs responded to his call and expressed their willingness to die under his orders. They were baptized with *amrit* and were called *panj piyare*. This was the beginning of the community of warriors—the Khalsa, —which was the spearhead of the defence of the weak against aggressors and evil-doers. Within eight years the number of the Khalsa rose to 80,000.

A Sanyasi

Renunciation does not lie in wearing the saffron-coloured robe or givig up family life. True renunciation implies giving up evil and desire. One must live in the very vortex of life but remain unattached to worldly things. Guru Gobind Singh described renunciation thus: "Oh, my soul, practise renunciation in this way: consider thy house a forest and yourself an ascetic in it. Let continence be thy matted hair and communion with God thy ablutions; instead of growing long nails, pray daily; exert for the acquisition of divine knowledge; instead of rubbing ashes on the body, repeat His name."

Guru Gobind Singh was a real *sanyasi*. He offered his all in the service of humanity. He pressed his father. Guru Tegh Bahadur. to offer his life as a saviour of the Hindu community. He sacrificed his sons for the vindication of truth and justice. When the news of murder of his two sons by the Nawab of Sarhind brought to him, he stood up and offered a prayer thanksgiving to the Almighty: "Today I have charged the trust (sons) committed to my care. life of my children has been sarificed for the faith

A Poet

From childhood, the Guru drank deep at the fo of Hindu scriptures and folklore. At his court were 52 poets. He himself wrote soul-stirring po

There are two main themes of his poems—the fication of God and the value of arms in inc courage and heroism. The Jaap is a collection of expounding the glory of God, written in a variet metres, requiring deft and artistic handling. Zafarnama is a poetic epistle in Persian addressed Aurangzeb. It is not only a plea for justice and play but also a song of the glory of God who th small ants kills thousands of tyrants. It contai message of hope add cheer. The Dasam Granth monumental anthology bearing testimony to the g of the Guru and the talents of his court-poets.

A Saint

It is difficult to find an example of such a w saint in history. Even on the field of battle the insisted on prayers. The morning and evening were held in the theatre of war. Once a Sikh, ca news of the approach of the Mughal army, came ning to the *divan*. The Guru did not stop He completed it as usual and then faced the enem

The Guru held that prayers must have pre over fighting with the enemy. Devotion came fi resistance to evil next. It is devotion which determination and courage to face evil and suffe

The Guru showed sympathy to his enemies. H not pursue the defeated foe but, on the contrary, him food when he was in need. That is because he fighting against evil and bore no ill will to his nents. He was an apostle of love and peace w into practice the precept, "fear naught, fe naught."

On the auspicious occasion of his formation Khalsa let us search our hearts and do a sort of taking and find out how far, both in words and we have followed the footprints of the great This sort of introspection will help us spiritual enable us to make some progress on the road nity.

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Housing in the Second Plan

Bharat Sevak writes editorially :

Sardar Swaran Singh, Union Minister for works, ...sing and Supply, said that though no final figures ...d yet been decided, the allocation for housing under ... Second Five-Year Plan was expected to be about ... 120 crores—more than three times the provision ...r the First Plan.

The effective utilisation of the sum would largely ...nd on the enthusiasm evidenced by the State Govern-...ts for housing was primarily their responsibility ...r than of the Centre. He added that in respect ...housing in the Second Five-Year Plan the Govern-...'s policy "will have to be conditioned by the basic ... that housing cannot be divorced from our general ...dard of living." It must bear a closer relation to ... people could afford to pay for it and must not be ...ted to the physical and material resources at ... command.

INDUSTRIAL HOUSING SCHEME

...ferring to the *Industrial Housing* ... he said that to date the ...ment had sanctioned Rs. 21 ...s for the construction of 73,000 ...s 85 per cent. of which would ...been built by the State Govern-... 13-1/2 per cent, by the ...ers and 1-1/2 per cent, by the ... co-operatives. During the ... Plan all these three agencies ...ave to redouble their efforts ... to provide houses for the ... workers.

LOW-INCOME GROUP HOUSING SCHEME

...the *Low-Income Group* ... *Scheme*, about Rs. 21 crores ...been sanctioned to State ...ments, for disbursement as ... individuals. The scheme had ... operation for a year now.

...Second Five-Year Plan will ... beginning of what has been ...ed as the middle-income ... housing. The scheme envis-...ans advanced by Government ...rance companies to indivi-... up to the extent of Rs. 25,000 ...ge, or 80 per cent of the cost ... house, whichever was less.

SLUM CLEARANCE

...g the need for slum clear-... re-housing of the displaced ...ers, the Minister said that ... the State Governments ...asised that they could not ... any work in this field with-...ntial aid from the Centre. ... opinion is now almost un-... that a beginning must be ... the matter of slum clearance ... next Plan period and that a ...h, however modest, should be ...de for dinbursement as loan ...bsidy to the State Governments ... purpose of clearing the slums. ... clearance is where Govern-... must itself step in, in order to ... an evil of long standing, ... entering into fine calcu-... about whether the rent-paying capacity of slum-dwellers would justify giving them better surrounding and better dwellings," he said.

RURAL HOUSING

On rural housing the Minister said: "We must evolve and set the pattern of rural housing in the country within the context of what the community as a whole can reasonably expect to spend on it during this Plan.

"Experiments are being carried out even now on setting up with the aid of local labour, initiative and resources, a few model villages in the countryside, in order to test the economics of the operations. If such model villages could be set up, even on a modest scale, at selected sites, we will have succeeded in evolving a pattern which can be followed to improve the standards of rural housing throughout the country. The Second Plan should see an intensification of our efforts in this direction."

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Jefferson—Freedom Was His Creed

In the history of mankind's struggle toward political democracy and freedom, the name of Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States, will always be in the forefront. On April 13, America will observe the 213th birth anniversary of this great leader.

Americans honour him not merely because of the important part he played in shaping the destiny of the newly-formed nation but also because he stands forth as the timeless embodiment of the freedom of the human spirit. A forceful and original thinker, Jefferson was, in addition, a great statesman, architect, and scholar.

Born in 1743 in colonial Virginia, Jefferson, as much as anyone, influenced the institutions of the U.S. Government. He was the author of the American Declaration of Independence, champion of the "Bill of Rights," and the founder of the present-day Democratic Party. He embodied the ideals of the Great American Revolution—its economic individualism, and its conviction that through political democracy the lot of the common man could be made better.

Jefferson had an abiding faith in the ability of man to choose good over evil when permitted a free exercise of his reason. He regarded the best government as the one in which its citizens have the most freedom. His faith in the dignity of man found powerful expression in the Declaration of Independence, which opens with these words:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Individual liberty and social freedom formed the cornerstone of Jefferson's idea of democracy. Equal justice to all men, the right of the people to elect and control their government, popular education, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press these were the principles he considered fundamental to a democratic form of government.

His own words, inscribed on the white marble Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C., are the key to his philosophy. "I have sworn upon the altar of God," he wrote, "eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Equal opportunity is another aspect of Jefferson's philosophy, which has stood the test of time. The key to equal opportunity, according to Jefferson, is education. He had complete faith that a people enlightened by education could under democratic institutions govern themselves better than under any other system.

He was the founder of the University of Virginia, a role of which he was proud.

Jefferson's views on religion will be of special interest to India where religious freedom is a constitutional right. He devoted [illegible] life toward the eradication of religious bigotry and coercion, whether by state or church. During his term as Governor of the State of Virginia, he wrote and finally got passed the famous Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, the first charter for complete religious liberty in the America, a model for other states and for the [illegible] Constitution. To him the religion of any man was a private matter, like his family life, and nobody else's business.

Jefferson was third President of the United States and served two four-year terms (1801-1809). His public career also included service as envoy to France under George Washington, as Secretary of State under Washington, and as Vice-President under John Adams. Before the colonies established their independence and after, he had served Virginia in all capacities from justice of the peace to governor.

As an architect he drew the plans for his home called Monticello, which is today one of America's cherished national shrines. The rich genius of Jefferson, the timeless quality of his spirit and philosophy are perhaps recognized more today than in his own time. His words have spanned the decades, but they are still quoted everywhere. And he remains a perennial inspiration to all those who cherish the dignity of man and his inalienable right to political and religious freedom.

—*American Reporter*, April 11, 1956.

1955 : Spinoza Brought Up to Date

The following article of David Gittlemacher on Spinoza in *Unity*, November-December, 1955, is worth reading :

What was it in particular that turned the Rabbinical scholar anathema to his dogmatic yet well-meaning community, made him change his name from the [illegible] Hebrew Baruch (Blessed) to Benedictus, forced him to accept the hospitality and solitude of an alien Christian household, finally to emerge the God-[illegible] cated seeker after truth and wisdom, whose [illegible] soars with the passing of the centuries?

Benedictus de Spinoza (1632-1677) was a pioneer of humanity, a spiritual and ethical rebel who sought to re-evaluate accepted standards, using the [illegible] stick of free research and reason. His aim was to understand, to ennoble, and to strengthen the character and ethical content of living man so as to make it possible for the growth of a humanitarian dynamic spiritual discriminations. He looked upon as a product of omnipresent godliness, with unlimited capacities for high idealism and noble [illegible] disciplined by logic and a will-to-do-good. He realized that man will never be true to himself until he actually lifts himself above those abominable practices which degrade his innate human and [illegible] dignity. He was a lover of peace and freedom. His inquisitive mind and yearning soul could not be appeased with ritual or mere freedom of the [illegible] He felt that nations can be steered by means of

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and moral training to follow things that would to personal and universal edification. Well aware man's wavering multiple personality and the recur breakdown in the moral leadership of organized he held fast to the Talmudic adage that know- (Torah) is greater than priesthood and the royal and he proceeded in bold strides to glean the from the dry compost of a strife-infested past bedabbled by its own contradictions and ill practices. Spinoza himself epitomized Lao-tse's principle in namely, that though he who overcomes others he who overcomes himself and his own environment is indeed mighty. He could evidence that within the mind of mortal man there latent immortal divine ideas and aspirations capable inevitably revolutionizing human society, and thus bring down closer to earth the prophetic vision Kingdom of a Loving God within reach of joining the contemporary visionary, Spinoza would plead that if it is possible for a man to out to the universe and draw down power to our cities and homes, why can we not reach the same universe and draw out spiritual to illuminate this world, to drive away the shadows of fear, prejudice, war, and economic

The humble polisher of lenses saw with his inner joy and love and beauty in the mechanics of the and wanted us all not to miss this thrilling of living a richer and nobler life trium- The Dutch philosopher would sympathize with verdict that the tragedy of life is not that or lack the means, but that they cease a sacred sentiment which is being replaced humorous parody flashed as an ill substitute on screen. It was the late Santayana who from his ivory tower that man is not made life, but to love it. It is to Spinoza's he labored to fuse both understanding and the service of his fellow men for the greater an omnipresent creative godliness. For in his he replaced book-religion and church-religion Life-religion or, as he himself phrased it—"the the mind knows, the better does it under- its own strength and the order of nature; by self-knowledge it can direct itself more easily down rules for its own guidance and, by increased of nature, it can more easily avoid what is . . . the less men know of nature the more they coin fictitious ideas."—(*On the Improve- the Understanding*). This bold approach to subject of cherished norms and prejudices by a righteous zeal which formed the very his monumental *Ethics*. Enlightenment is a carries its own rewards.

ethical rebel challenged his elders and the of the seventeenth century with the provo- declaration: "Man thinks."—(*Ethics*); and he to fuse phenomenal reality into an all-embracing moral pantheism. "Men who are governed by he went on to explain, "that is, who seek what to them in accordance with reason— desire for nothing which they do not also desire for of mankind, and, accordingly, are just, faithful honorable in their conduct." Of course, the author knew well that from the days of hoary anti- reaching out to the tragic much too plausible of fratricide with the murder of Abel, *homo* has been a wolf to man—(*Homo Homini Lupus*); his contention that faith must be more than a appeasing ritual of ancient custom. Religion must be steeped in the daily workings of fellowship, mutual helpfulness, and justice. For Spinoza the words "Do unto others as ye would men should do unto you" had a positive meaning, reflecting the actual way of life —the Will of God dedicated to the moral good of all mankind. In fact, he himself was permeated with Hillel's admonition: "Do not unto others what thou wouldest not they do unto thee." He thus pitched his warrior's tent in open battle against all tyranny, injustice, force, and dogmatic opinion. Aiming to sanctify and humanize the lot of mankind, he set the example by refusing to sell his own integrity for a conventional mess of pottage when tempted to do so.

Now, in the year of our Lord 1955, we hear again the familiar cry for the stronger arm; and the dreadfully ominous race is on—men and nations build power, more power, and are in a mad rush for a mightier balance of power. Spinoza, too, had a word for it. But his conception of "the stronger man" points to a course that would avert calamities and strife and would actually usher in the saner order of peaceful co-operation and mutual aid. Says Spinoza: "He that is strong hates no man, despises no man, and least of all things is proud . . . he strives before all things to conceive things as they really are and to remove the hindrances to true knowledge, such as are hatred, anger, envy, derision, pride and similar emotions . . . he endeavours —as far as in him lies—to do good, and to go on his way rejoicing."—(*Ethics*).

How up-to-date was the Dutch philosopher? It was for good reason that one of our greatest contemporary novelists has penned his sincere tribute to our subject when he confessed in his self-revealing soliloquy: "I look upon my first reading of Spinoza," says W. Somerset Maugham in *The Summing Up*, "as one of the signal experiences of my life. It filled me with just that feeling of majesty and exulting power that one has at the sight of a great mountain range.." Indeed, to the thoughtful reader of today, Spinoza's course or blueprint to Utopia is no product of wishful thinking and fuzzy-minded optimism. His ethical aspirations and logic are in line with the aspirations and reasoning expressed by the foremost thinkers of modern times. "In a rational ethic," says Bertrand Russell in *Conquest of Happiness*, "it will be held laudable to give pleasure to anyone, even to oneself, provided there is no counterbalancing pain to oneself or to others. The ideally virtuous would be the man who permits the enjoyment of all good things whenever there is no consequence to outweigh the enjoyment."

COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS

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Spinoza's humanitarian sentiments are best expounded by the ultra-modern Aldous Huxley in his Introduction to *Bhagavad-Gita* when he warns us that "there will never be enduring peace unless and until human beings come to accept a philosophy of life more adequate to the cosmic and psychological facts than the insane idolartries of nationalism and the advertising man's apocalyptic faith in Progress towards a mechanized New Jerusalem . . ." While the renowned British historian Arnold J. Toynbee place the seal of approval with a profound summation in effect that "it is our moral plight in our small atom-bomb haunted planet that makes our physical weapons dangerous" (*New York Times Magazine*, May 1, 1955), and again, that "mankind's success in bringing human conduct under the rule of ethics in practice has, so far, been very unequal in human affairs; in international relations we are living in a primitive age of anarchy."—(*New York Times Magazine*, May 29, 1955). But, as Professor Toynbee's distinguished countryman assures us in his credo, there is no room for pessimism. "Science can, if it chooses, enable our grandchildren to live the good life by giving them knowledge, self-control, and characters productive of harmony rather than strife."—(Bertrand Russell: *What I Believe.*)

Thus, throughout the ages, unbound by man-made frontiers and prejudices, there is a "network of loyalties held in common" which is dedicated to the Better Life, and which by its very nature is not utopian and cannot be diverted, destroyed, or halted by tyrannous assaults and misrepresentations. It is well at this point to recall the gentle words of the ancient sage: "Man is born good, but ignorance makes him bad; he knows no better. Let us have patience, let us teach him and make him better. Then we will have a better world." Even the great Disraeli had a word for it in his *Sybil*: We are all born for love. It is the principle of existence and its only end.

It is conceivable that Spinoza would agree then that the real dilemma of our twentieth century and what this Atomic Age now needs most is not bigger material structures of puffed-up pride, but more respect for the dignity of the humblest of human lives: more concern for the sacredness of all mothers' sons throughout this inhabited world; not more awe-inspiring mechanical monsters and gadgets and man-made heavenly satellites, but more security, more human kindness, more individual and collective happiness and peace

Such was the faith and the vision of the prophets the world over, of the Nazarene, of the saintly Gandhi; such was also the faith and the vision of our own Founding Fathers, who braved to dream and dreaming boldly labored to bring closer to materialization a peace-loving Brotherhood of Free Men. It is left to the guardians of today and a revitalized unified religion of tomorrow to accept the challenge of this Atomic Age.

Killers of the Insect World

A tremendous toll of death and disability is still levied each year by plague, sleeping sickness, yellow fever, malaria and a host of other diseases spread by flying and crawling insects, and there is no present prospect of eradicating these scourges, reports Dr. M. G. Candau, Director General of the World Health Organization, in the current (April 1956) issue of the *Unesco Courier.*

Fleas and lice, mosquitoes and flies have influenced the rise and fall of civilizations; they have determined the outcome of military campaigns and shaped the course of history. The diseases they carry have enfeebled whole sections of the human race, depopulated food-producing tracts, and held down man's level living particularly in the tropics but also in temperate climates.

"Despite the strides that have been made in our own day towards the control of many of these scourges, Dr. Candau writes, "there is scarcely one which does not still represent an actual or potential danger to large numbers of human beings."

In the past fifty years, the *Unesco Courier* reports, plague has killed more than 12,5 million people. The plague smoulders in many countries among wild rodents whence it can easily spread to common house rats in towns. The parasite that causes the dreaded sleeping sickness exists permanently in wild game in Africa and constantly threatens to infect men and cattle through the tsetse fly.

Yellow fever has been eradicated from most of the Americas, yet it is known to be firmly entrenched in the jungles among monkeys and other animals. The wave of this jungle yellow fever has been moving slowly but steadily up through Panama and Central America since 1948. Now, the *Unesco Courier* reports, yellow fever threatens to invade Mexico "probably in the next few months and almost certainly within a year," according to Dr. Fred. L. Soper, Director of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau in Washington. Dead or dying howler monkeys infected with yellow fever have been officially reported in Guatemala, and the disease is now only 75 to 80 miles from the Mexican Guatemalan border and 800 miles from the United States border where the whole southern third of the country is classified as a yellow fever "receptive area."

After the discovery of modern insecticides, DDT it was generally believed that any insect-borne disease could be conquered rapidly by exterminating the insects. Insecticides have proved amazingly effective in controlling malaria. in strangling the threat of typhus during and after the last war, and preventing the spread of epidemics in many parts of the world. But the insects are not yet conquered.

"It would be a serious mistake," Dr. Candau warns in a frank editorial, "to underestimate these age-old enemies of mankind. It is already clear that modern insecticides, powerful weapons though they be, cannot provide the final answer to the disease-carrying pests. Nor is there at present any prospect of eradicating the diseases that have become permanently established among the domestic and wild animals. There they remain, a constant threat calling for constant watchfulness."

According to a report published in the *Unesco Courier*—devoted in its entirety to the "Struggle of the Insect World" on the occasion of World Health Day on April 7—a super race of insects resistant to all types of insecticides is now developing and has already been noted in 32 countries. Some 35 species of insects are already involved including those that spread some of the world's most dangerous and widespread diseases.

Malaria-bearing mosquitoes show immunity to DDT in some areas of Greece, Lebanon, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Panama and Mississippi (USA). Bodies spreading typhus can no longer be controlled in Italy. Fleas which are responsible for plague are manifesting resistance in certain parts of South America.

These warning signals have led scientists to seek new methods in other directions and to seek new stimulus to solutions. They have served as a great stimulus to research and in many instances have revealed ignorant scientists still are of disease carrier

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thus no scientist can yet say with certainty what causes death when insects are exposed to insecticides and what the physiological and chemical bases of resistance really are. As Dr. B. de Meillion, of the South African Institute of Medical Research in Johannesburg, writes in the *Unesco Courier*: "More research is being done than ever before because of the gaps that have been revealed in our knowledge through studying the effects of DDT."

This World Health Day on April 7 this year will, it is hoped, serve to make people everywhere realize that through the insect-borne diseases are increasingly held back, they are a long way from being conquered. To achieve that final victory," Dr. Candau has said, "we will need all his intelligence and resourcefulness. We will need to act in concert, for this group of all, he will need to act in concert, for this group of diseases is one of the greatest challenges to international health action."—*Unesco Science News.*

Bhakra Project Enters Final Phase

Nangal, Punjab.—Today, out of the rugged foothills of the Himalayas Indian and American engineers are making a new era of prosperity for India. For here, 200 miles northwest of Delhi, despite the most difficult and precarious conditions, is fast nearing completion the Rs. 159-crore Bhakra-Nangal River Valley project.

Prime Minister Nehru, in November, 1955, threw a bucket of concrete in the Bhakra Dam thereby signifying that the project had entered the final phase of construction, that is concreting.

The project is one of Asia's most ambitious and gigantic schemes to harness and utilize her huge water power resources. By damming the swirling Sutlej in a narrow gorge at Bhakra, the project will, through a vast network of canals, irrigate some 10 million acres. The result will be dependable production of 2 million tons of food grains, cotton, sugar, and cotton annually.

Second Highest

At the same time, the Bhakra Dam—which will be 740 feet high, second in the world only to the Boulder Dam in the United States—will provide 400,000 kw of power. This cheap power is expected to attract factories and industries, including a new fertilizer plant, and help transform northern India into an industrial stronghold.

From the start the United States has been closely associated with this biggest river valley project of India. American experts on high dams like A. J. Wiley, J. Savage and F. A. Nickell have been giving guidance on the complex problems arising from time to time. A board of consultants consisting of distinguished U.S. engineers has been set up to whom problems are referred.

The Bhakra Dam is similar in design to the Grand Coulee Dam, the design of which was also prepared by Savage. The construction of the dam is now being carried out under the supervision of M. H. Slocum, who is assisted by about 40 American technicians and 300 Indian engineers. The thorough mechanization of all operations, the proper servicing and maintenance of all machinery, and the highly efficient and orderly manner in which work is being carried on clearly bear out the impress of the American way of doing things.

It may be mentioned that on no other river valley project in India is mechanization so thorough as at Bhakra Dam, and this change for the better is mainly due to the American influence. The United States has also helped in supplying all the necessary machines and spare parts required on the project, such as shovels, Euclids, bulldozers, cranes, and belt conveyors.

The construction of the Bhakra Dam has proved to be a very tough job. It has sometimes presented problems of unprecedented nature, more complex than those encountered on the high dams in the United States. But for the guidance given by the American engineers, it would have, perhaps, been not possible to achieve the progress so far maintained on the project.

The construction work at Bhakra has now entered the last phase, that is of concreting. It is estimated that 51 lakh cubic yards of concrete will go into the building of the dam. This quantity is next only to that used on the Grand Coulee Dam. A very efficient and elaborate construction plant based on the models of those used at Shasta Dam and Grand Coulee Dam has been designed and set up at Bhakra for concrete formation. This plant is the first of its kind in Asia.

The construction plant at Bhakra has been designed to make available 400 tons of ready-made concrete every hour. A four-mile-long belt conveyor designed to carry sand and gravel at the rate of 750 tons per hour, from the quarries to the dam site, has been laid.

Best Concrete Used

Extreme care and vigilance are being exercised to see that the best concrete is used and in the manner calculated to ensure strength and stability of the dam. A fully equipped research laboratory has been set up in order to determine the best quality of concrete available under local conditions.

The concreting operations will continue for four years when the dam is expected to be completed in 1959. The greatest advantage will be that Indian engineers, while working under the guidance of the American experts, will gain the necessary training and experience in high dam construction. This will be a standing monument of Indo-U.S. co-operation.—*American Reporter*, November, 1955.

Baroda Prepares Edition of "Ramayana"

Dr. S. N. Vyas contributes as follows in the *American Reporter*, December 7, 1955 :

The *Ramayana* of Valmiki, the first national epic of India, somewhat comparable to, but older than, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, will have its first critically prepared edition within a few years.

The huge task of screening and collating manuscripts, scattered in the libraries of home and abroad, has been undertaken by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, with the co-operation of Indo-logists of Europe and America. The ambitious scheme will cost Rs. 8,25,000 and is expected to be completed in 1960.

The *Ramayana* is generally ascribed to a period earlier than 500 B.C., but it depicts the events of a still earlier epoch, the reign of Rama who ruled about 1600 B.C. It was composed by Valmiki, from ancient ballads lauding the glory of Rama and his age. It consists of 24,000 verses.

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As writing was then not much in vogue, rhapsodists sang the epic to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument before enthralled hearers. A lot of additional matter crept into the book by way of interpolations, some of them added by clever poets and some by Sanskrit scholars. These interpolations were considered good and useful by them who desired to propagate ideas of their own or who thought that the original epic could be made more beautiful and fuller in detail in certain parts.

The interpolators did not feel that they were deceiving anybody, because they thought they propagated sound ideas. The larger the copy was the greater the respect shown by devout students, for it was generally thought that the original was very big and many parts had been lost. Some people came forward to supply "re-discovered portions," doubtless valuable but belonging to different periods to the time of Valmiki.

Several Recensions

The oral transmission of the epic gave rise to several recensions and versions of the text in different parts of the country, each preserving its own peculiarities.

This was a great handicap in the critical study of the book. Some eminent Western scholars of the last century felt the urgency of preparing a critical edition of the epic, as they thought that no scientific generalization of any kind was possible on account of the admixture of the old and the new in the text.

Several editions of the *Ramayana* have been published since 1806 A.D., but none of them can be said to enjoy the status of a critical edition.

The preparation of a critical edition of the other epic, the *Mahabharata*, by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, under the chief editiorship of Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, a pupil of the late Prof. C. R. Lanman of Harvard University in the United States, highlighted the need for a similar edition of the *Ramayana*.

The Oriental Institute of Baroda University, at the instance of several eminent scholars and institutions, decided to take up the work. In 1951 its Ramayana department was started. It has prepared a descriptive catalogue of about 2,500 *Ramayana* manuscripts with the help of all the printed catalogues of the manuscript libraries of the world.

Manuscripts Collected

Two hundred and thirty-five manuscrips of the *Ramayana* have been collected from different parts of India and the world. A photostat copy of the oldest manuscript from 1020 A.D. and preserved in the Bir Library of Kathmandu (Nepal) has also been obtained at great expense. Prof. Filliozat of Paris supplied a a photostat copy of an old complete Bengali manuscript belonging to the 16th century A.D.

Each of these will be judged on its own merits, and that form of the text which commends itself by its documentary probability and intrinsic merit will finally accepted.

A strong editorial board of Indian scholars, Prof. G. H. Bhatt as the general editor, has been constituted. Besides, some foreign scholars will be consulted for reference and guidance, such as Dr. V. Kirfel, Dr. W. Ruben, Berlin; Dr. L. Renou, Paris; V. Pisani, Milan; and Dr. F. Edgerton, Laramie, Wyoming, U.S.A. Dr. Edgerton is well known in for his critical edition of the famous Indian book of fables, the *Panchatantra Reconstructed*.

The *Ramayana* has engaged the attention of a few American Indologists. Prof. C. R. Lanman was in the early twenties of this century an Indian student, S. K. Belvalkar, in critically translating the *Love of Rama*, a drama of the eighth century A.D. by Bhavabhuti based on the *Ramayana*. The most [illegible] contribution to *Ramayana* studies was made by E. Hopkins. He devoted a considerable part of his and energy to a critical and comparative study of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, which together constitute the storehouse of the wisdom of ancient India. discussed the important problem of the interrelation the two epics in his *The Great Epic of India* (London and New York, 1902). He also contributed a scholarly paper on the *Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India* in the *J.A.O.S.* (Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 13, 1888, pp. 57–[illegible]) drawing his material largely from the *Mahabharata* the *Ramayana*.

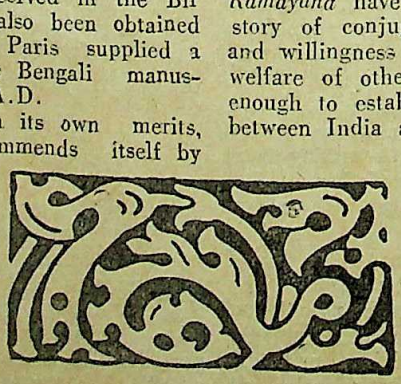
Notable Papers

Among other notable papers of Hopkins on the *Ramayana* are the following:

Phrases of Time and Age in the Sanskrit (*J.A.O.S.*, Vol. 23, Pp. 350-7); *Epic Chronology* (*J.A.O.S.*, Vol. 24, Pp. 7—55); *Allusions to the Story in the Mahabharata* (*J.A.O.S.*, Vol. 50, pp. 103); the *Oath in Hindu Epic Literature* (*J.A.O.S.*, Vol. 52, pp. 316—33); *Parallel Phrases in the Epics* (*American Journal of Philology*, Vol. [illegible] 138-51); *Proverbs and Tales Common to the Two Epics* (*American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 20, pp. [illegible] 39); and *Magic Observances in the Two Epics* (*Proceedings of American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 49, [illegible] 24).

All these studies will be greatly helpful in the preparation of the projected edition being undertaken at Baroda.

Indeed the Western studies and translations of the *Ramayana* have proved that the epic, with its story of conjugal love, paternal devotion, [illegible] and willingness to sacrifice one's interests to secure welfare of others, has got a universal appeal, enough to establish a bond of affinity and [illegible] between India and other countries of the world.



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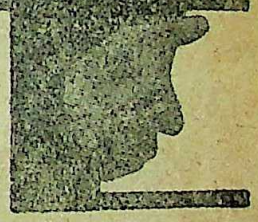

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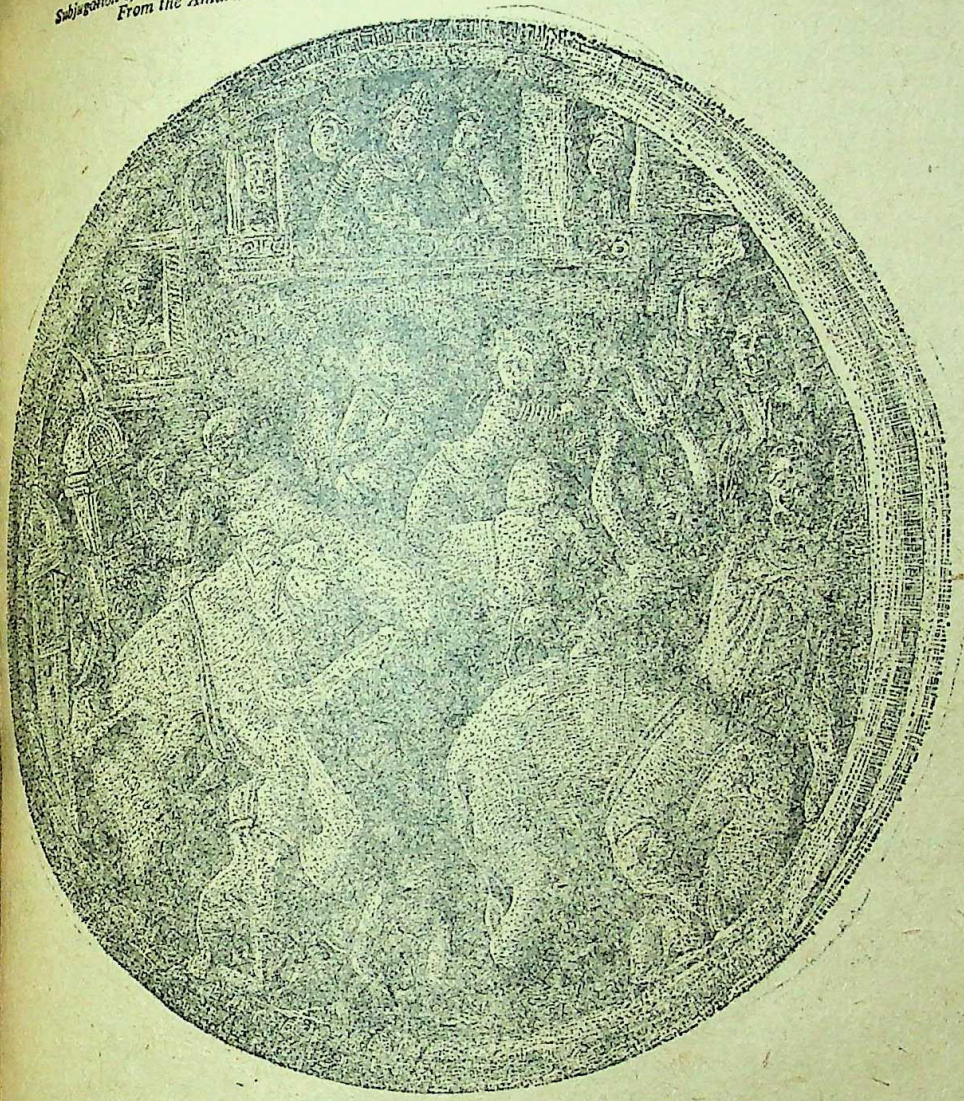

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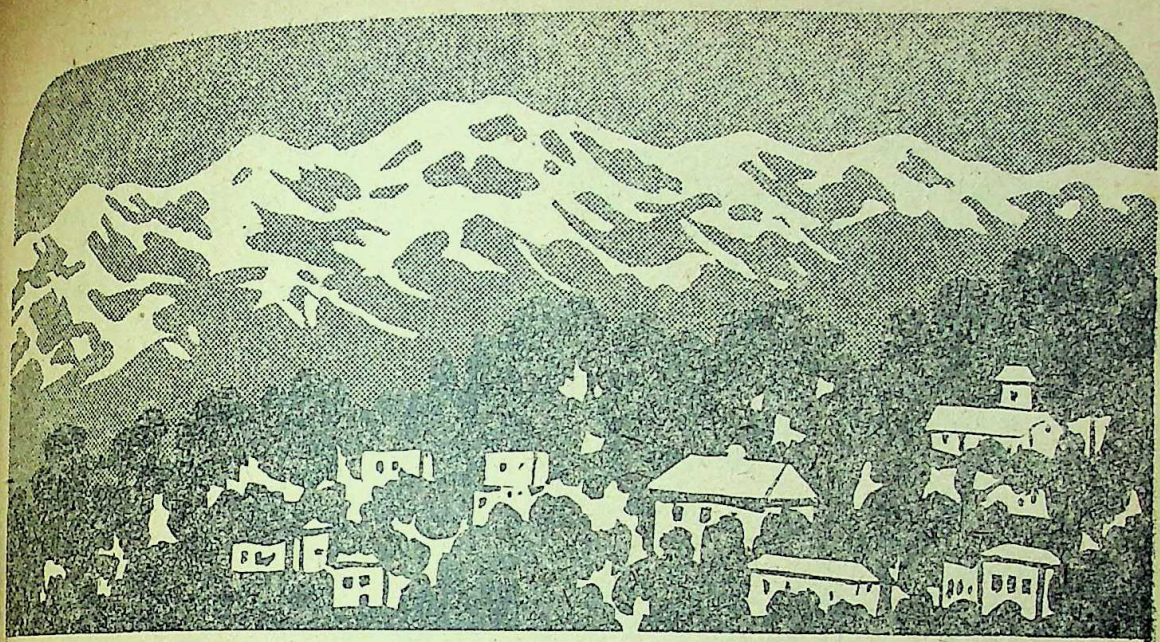

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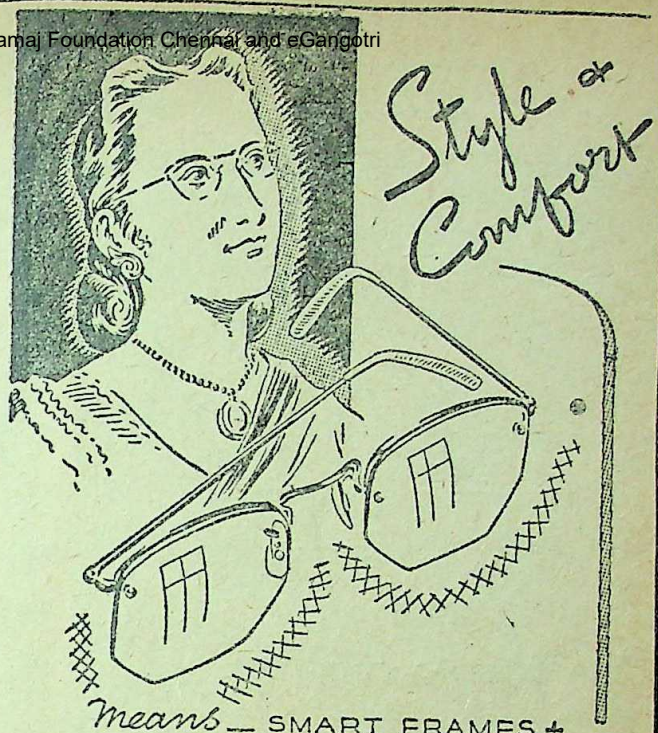

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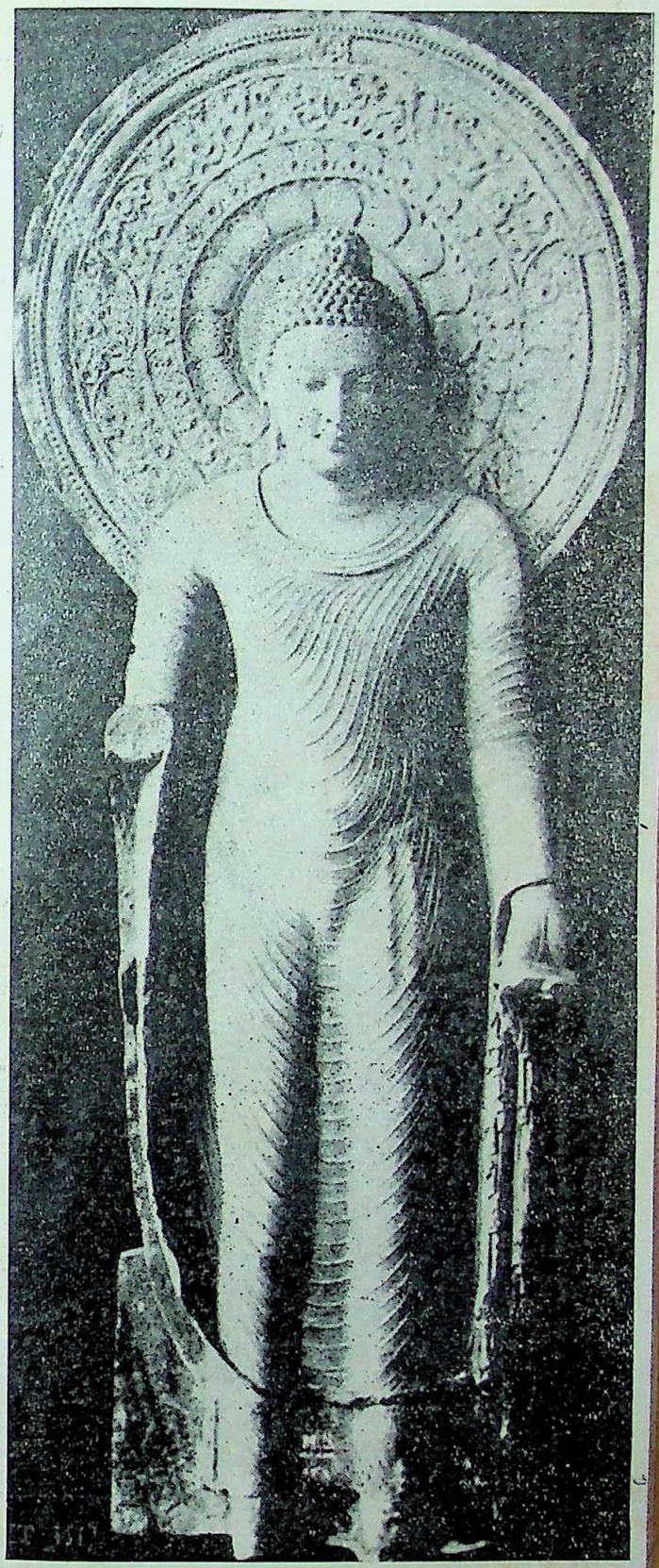
Buddha figure seated in meditation in *stucco*, Taxila, 5th century A.D.



Buddha (*stone*), Mathura, Gupta Period, 5th century A.D. (National Museum, New Delhi)

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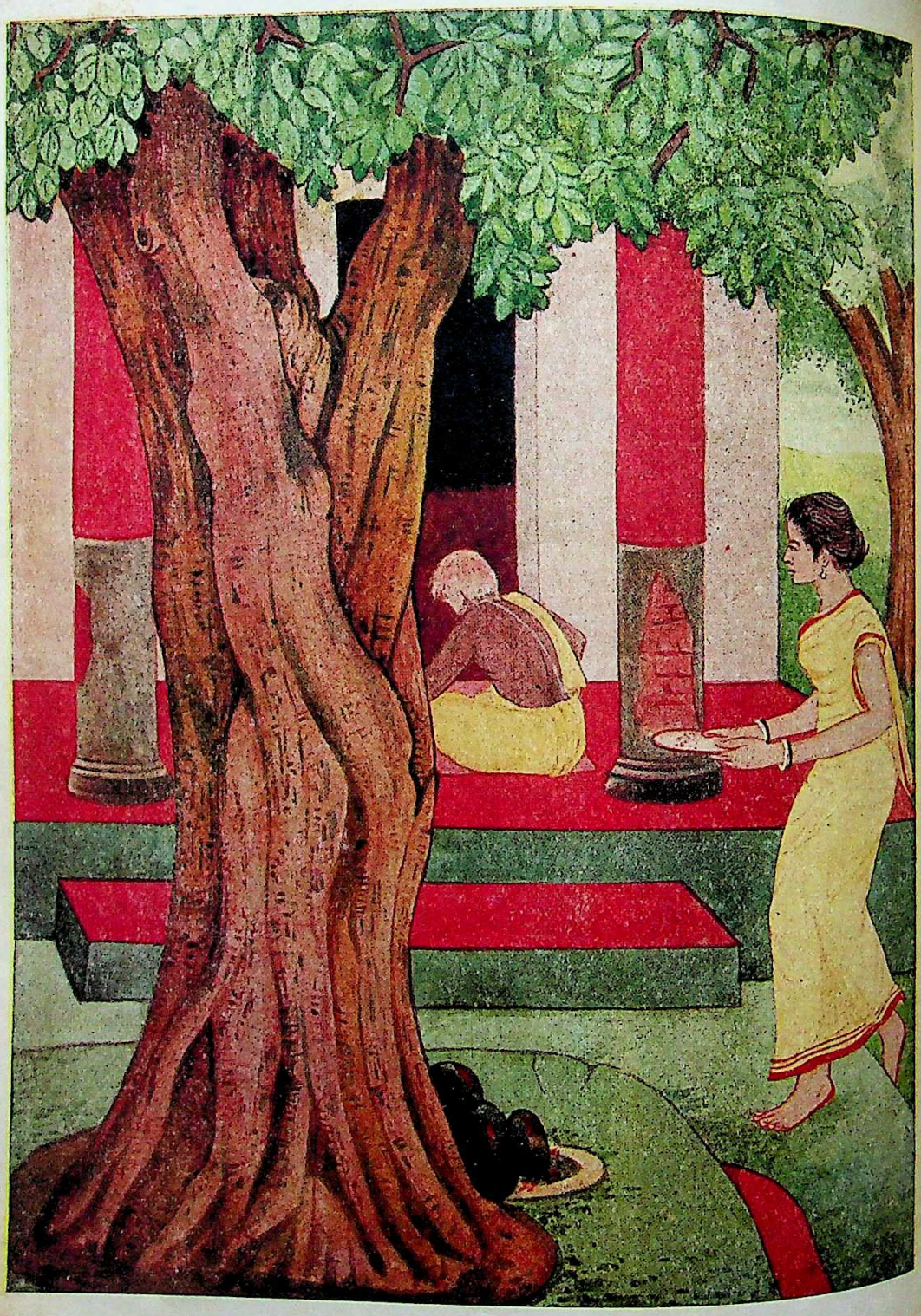

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Moral Values

The Congress Working Committee, which is the executive committee of that extension of the Congress Governments at the Centre and in the States, called the A.-I.C.C. for short, has been greatly exercised over "the increased tendency in the country towards violence, indiscipline and the lowering of standards of public life and behaviour." It has framed a resolution, which we shall discuss in due course, for passing before the All-India Congress Committee and for passing for public consumption with the spurious stamp of the All-India Congress which is *in extremis*.

We have all along pointed out in these pages that the perilous lowering of moral values, all round, is endangering the life of this country. As our satraps are not only self-deluded, but are also arrantly intolerant of criticism, we have no doubt that our writings have failed to reach their eyes. Nevertheless we would make bold to remark that the incidents at Kharagpur and Kalka have not come as a surprise to any one excepting our Rip Van Winkles of New Delhi, and their satellites in various States. If the so-called All-India Congress Committee contained anyone besides bureaucratic myrmidons and their claqueurs and camp-followers, then it would have been struck with force on the crania of our Tinpots that Kalka and Kharagpur are but the surface indications of the festering sore that is veritably rotting the vitals of the Nation.

Has anyone in the high and mighty circles cared to determine the etiology of this disease? We think not, else the wording of the resolution, which we quote *infra*, would have been a little less Pecksniffian, and there would have been a note of *mea culpa* underlying the ebullitions of the supermen.

Arrogance at home and a show of humility abroad, extreme intolerance of criticism from one's own people, and sanctimonious sermonisation of foreign peoples, holding up of Mahatma Gandhi's principles of *ahimsa* and *anasakti* in public, and intrigue, parochialism and intense nepotism in private, these are the besetting sins of our public men of today, whether in power or out of power. Indeed, the speeches of the High Command are standing examples of the Hindi saw about elephants' teeth, "*khaneka ek, dikhaneka aur*, one set for show another for masticating." and this divergence between example and precept is getting more and more glaring as the days pass.

The bureaucracy under the Congress is fast becoming as soulless and inhuman as in the worst days of British rule. Corruption is rife in the Police, the Railways and in all other public services it is slowly spreading far and wide. How can moral values be maintained by the common man, under the circumstances, when all the aid he can expect in his travail is hot air from the A.-I.C.C., in itself an effete body containing a large number of persons whose standards of morality are notorious?

Violence is becoming a part of the every-day life of the man in the street. For example, there have been two robberies, with murder, in Calcutta, within the last week. In one, a man was shot dead, in broad daylight and in a most crowded area of the city, and a bag containing about a thousand rupees taken away, by three

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highway robbers. In the other about twenty dacoits broke into the house of a merchant in the early hours of the morning, stabbed to death one occupant of the office-room and severely wounded others. Then they lifted an iron-safe weighing seven maunds, on to a lorry and departed with some twenty thousand rupees worth of loot. The police arrived half an hour after they had been telephoned but, needless to say, the dacoits had departed. In the first instance, the people of the neighbourhood gave chase to the armed highway robbers and one man was caught.

These are but outstanding cases, but in the main life and property of the law-abiding is getting increasingly unsafe, due to the most lax control over the executive and the Public Services, such as the Police. The main trouble is that the corrupt executive, to say nothing of the lax and the inefficient, get scot-free under the Law and the Constitution, as framed by the Tom-noddies of the legislature.

The "Violence" Resolution

We append below the text of the Working Committee draft of the resolution against the mounting tide of lawlessness :

"The All-India Congress Committee has noted with grave concern the increasing tendency in the country towards violence, indiscipline and the lowering of standards of public life and behaviour. India, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi set the unique example of peaceful and disciplined revolutionary action with discipline and sacrifice and the maintenance of high moral standards of public behaviour that gave strength to her people and enhanced her reputaton in the world. Mahatma Gandhi always laid stress on the importance of means to achieve any objective. It is in the measure that we adopt right means that we shall achieve right objectives. Any other methods are improper, and can only injure and weaken the nation, apart from resulting in the lowering of moral standards and values.

"In recent months mounting violence has been witnessed in connection with the controversies relating to States Reorganisation and also in some industrial disputes, notably concerning the Railways. Some students have also been misled into wrong directions. However the policies of different organisations or groups might differ, it should be common g among all that for the working of a dem system peace and order are essential. more so are they necessary for a fulfilm the Second Five-Year Plan on which nation is launched.

"The Congress has always stood fo advancement of the Working Class in the try and has helped in the organisation strengthening of the trade unions. The str of a trade union lies in unity, discipline responsible leadership. Adventurist tactics violence do not strengthen the workekr o union. Recent examples of such action by some railwaymen have alienated public s pathy and have brought no credit to the to their organisations. They have also c considerable loss to the country.

"The progress of a country and indi civilization is not measured merely in ter factories or even greater production and sumption, important as these are. Every zation is based on certain moral values, every nation has to maintain certain standards of behaviour. If these are lacki a nation or a people, then all the advan science and technology, which we wish to our own, will avail little. A people raise selves ultimately by the moral qualities possess and the civilized behaviour to they are accustomed.

"India has stood for peace in the wor has laboured to that end. But if we be professions and do not function peaceful with restraint, then India's voice would for little.

"The A.-I.C.C., therefore, appeals nation and every party and organisation, country to work to overcome these tend towards violence and indiscipline and turism. These, if not ended, may well democracy and progress."

We have no doubt that the above tion will receive the A.-I.C.C. stamp a be publicized accordingly. But what th

The Congress itself, inclusive of the C.C. and the Working Committee, is with many people whose record will not scrutiny, wher service to the nation, in and the ethics of moral values are con It is incumbent on Shri Dhebar to cle own house first.

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The Incidents

We append below the news of the violent incidents at Kharagpur and Kalka, and part of the Lok Sabha debate, from the reports published in the *Statesman*:

"Sixty-three people were injured at Kharagpur Station shortly after 6-30 a.m., on Saturday, when a train, started by a mob of persons, ran without its crew into the dead-end buffer at the station, mounted the platform and hit a building before coming to a stop.

"According to a Press Note issued by the Railway authorities, the train was carrying employees of the Railway workshops. As it stopped, according to schedule, at the 'passenger halt' near the down outer signal off Kharagpur, a mob surrounded it, assaulted the driver, the fireman and the augwalla and pulled them off the engine's footplate.

"The engine was then started by some members of the mob who jumped off after having done so. Before coming to a stop on the platform the engine had dragged the first bogey off the track.

"Of the injured, 58 were railway employees travelling in the train, one was a civilian passenger and four were men standing on the platform. Five of the injured, all railway employees, were admitted to hospital.

"The South-Eastern Railway Administration expressed its regret over the 'unfortunate incident occurring as a result of mob violence.'

"About 10,000 of the 15,000 employees of the Railway workshops and the loco-sheds at Kharagpur have been on strike for the past 20 days demanding classification of certain types of employees.

"The strikers and their sympathizers—including women and children—who had gathered near the gates of the workshops in the morning, to stop willing workers who were proceeding to work, a group of workers were also attacked at the 'passenger halt.'

"As a result of these assaults, 64 persons, including a Deputy Superintendent of Police, were injured, 23 of them seriously. The Chief Medical Officer of the Railway, who was on his way to Calcutta by the Bombay Mail, detrained at Kharagpur and attended the injured in hospital."

"New Delhi, May 28.—A two-hour discussion on the Kharagpur train smash in the Lok Sabha today revealed that the Government was engaged in a far-reaching reappraisal of its policy towards trade unions.

"Quoting with approval the similar views expressed by the I.N.T.U.C., the Railway Minister said he was thinking of making an assurance that they would not call a strike during the second Plan a condition for recognizing unions.

"In response to interruptions from the Communist benches, he explained that this meant that no union should call a strike until all avenues of negotiation and arbitration had been exhausted.

"The Government's grave concern over the train smash and the incidents preceding it was clear from the fact that the Prime Minister took part in the discussion and the Ministers for Labour, Home Affairs and Defence were present throughout.

"Both directly and indirectly, the Communists were repeatedly implicated in the strike, though no one blamed them for the smash. The fact that the only speakers to defend the strikers (although they also deplore the accident) were two Communist members added fuel to the criticism.

"Mr. Shastri stated quite plainly that several of the strike leaders held pro-Communist views and still believed in coercion and violence. Amidst mounting protests from the Communists, he also insisted that they were attempting to infiltrate into trade unions and warned them that if they followed their previous methods they would injure the cause of the workers."

Ambala, May 29.—Four workers of the Kalka railway workshop were killed and seven others injured when police fired this morning on a crowd of violent railway demonstrators at Kalka Railway station.

The incident was referred to in the Lok Sabha this afternoon and the mob excesses that forced the police to fire were described by the Home Minister, Pandit Pant, as "even more monstrous" than the letting loose of a crewless train at Kharagpur last week-end.

A Press Note issued by the Northern Railway in New Delhi said that the police fired after demonstrators had assaulted the Station House Officer at Kalka, tried to snatch his revolver and injured a number of policemen by stone-throwing.

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The Northern Railway gave the following account of the incident:

When the Chairman of the Railway Board Mr. G. Pande, arrived at Kalka on his way to Simla, his carriage was surrounded by a crowd of railway workers who had gathered at Kalka station to present certain demands to him. A list of demands was handed over to Mr. Pande who told the workers that the matter would be examined. The workers, however, "insisted on getting an assurance regarding the fulfilment of their demands.

"The crowd moved to the narrow gauge railway line and tried to obstruct the movement of a rail-car and the shunting of rolling stock on to the platform. The first rail-car left 17 minutes late. Stones were hurled at this rail-car, which was carrying 12 passengers, and as a result several glass panes were damaged.

"The police advised the crowd to move away from the track and to allow the train operations to proceed. The crowd, however, grew violent and assaulted the Station House Officer and tried to snatch his revolver. They pelted the police with stones, injuring a number of policemen and also the Assistant Superintendent of Police, who was present on the spot. The police thereupon had to fire.

"Information received so far shows that four persons were killed and seven injurd. Arrangements were made for the civil and railway medical officers to attend to the injured. Police reinforcements led by the D. I. G. of Police, Ambala, proceeded by road to Kalka at 10-25 a.m."

Problems of Public Expenditure

In a Welfare State where the State assumes a large share of total expenditure in the country, the problem of regulating and controlling public expenditure is of considerable difficulty. In pre-independence days, it was the problem of spending only about Rs. 400 crores by the Union Government; but now it is the problem of spending nearly Rs. 5,000 crores and to spend this huge aomunt in a regulated way. Irregularity in public expenditure in this country has become an inevitable feature of our economy and it has become so very common and widespread among the Government departments that the reports of irregularity in public expenditure do not raise any public consternation. As though the people and the Government take it that it is merely a question of public expenditure, and it does not raise question as how to spend, and it is of no con able significance whether the expenditure has incurred with regularity or irregularity. T two terms have almost become synonymous our Government in so far as irregular expend by officials does not invoke any punishment, it may be that the authorities think that the gularity in expenditure is so widespread the offihialdom that infliction of punishmen irregular expenditure would spare nobody, so better to spare everybody for that alleged offe

The Central Audit Report, Part I, on accounts of 1953-54, presented to the Lok Sa on May 23, 1956, gives many instances of irr lar expenditure by the Government departm and officials. The report has been prepared by Comptroller and Auditor-General of India. report draws attention to a number of impor financial irregularities involving losses, extr gant expenditure, infructuous lease of buildi uneconomic use of Government funds, uneco purchases, irregular utilization of Governm funds for private purposes and abuse of exch facilities. We are giving below several insta of gross irregularity in public expenditure order to show that how, when the Governme progressively increasing its burden of taxa the public money raised by taxation, is sq dered away by official inadvertence or otherw

The report says that with a view to estab ing an Ebmassy in a foreign country a resi tial building was taken on lease in 1950 f years at an annual rental of Rs. 9,800. The ing has so far remined unoccupied. The e diture up to March 1955, was Rs. 68,133 there is a recurring liability at the rate of 9,800 per annum for the next 10½ years in tion to charges for repairs, rates taxes, rance, etc.

An infructuous expenditure of Rs. was incurred on rent and maintenance of resi tial accommodation reserved for the occupa of the Charge d' Affaires of a certain Indian sion. The premises had remained unoccupied they were considered unsuitable for occup even by the First Secretary of the Mission.

In another foreign country, a building a vacant plot of land attached to it, was chased at a court auction for Rs. 5½ lakhs addition to the purchase price, a sum of 1,08,850 was paid to two intermediaries as

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...sion, etc., though the Government of India had been informed earlier that no commission for any intermediary was being paid. One of the major consideration which influenced purchase of the property was that residential buildings for the Embassy staff would be constructed on the vacant plot. But before the purchase was effected, the consulting architect had expressed doubts that the building regulations of the country permitting of the construction of residential buildings on the vacant plot. Nevertheless the purchase was made. It has since been found that the architect's doubts had proved to be real.

The report further says that an officer of the foreign service drew advances for the purchase of motor cars on three occasions within a space of four years from March 1948 to March 1952. The cars were sold each time without the prior approval of the Government who afterwards regularised the deals by *ex post facto* sanctions. The amount of these advances was drawn without sanction and it was drawn in sterling by the officer's wife when the officer himself was stationed in Paris. The car itself was transferred to a relative of the officer and was not used by the officer for even a single day. There were various other irregularities in these transactions. It says that the officer brought away with him a silver set from an Embassy, and left behind his own silver set. This incident indicates that inventories of Government property are not being maintained in sufficient detail for purposes of identification of Government property.

The report says that on as many as nine occasions, a permanent officer of the foreign service, serving in various Indian missions, withdrew Government funds to the extent of thousands of rupees in excess of the amounts which were actually found due to him. Some of these amounts still remain unrefunded.

All these instances do not merely indicate lapses; in legal terminology, they amount to laches or negligence in performing legal obligations. These examples are examples of fraud and theft sufficient enough to throw the persons responsible in prison for several years, instead of roaming and romping freely as any other free person who is not guilty of any such offences. Had another person misappropriated Government funds or exchanged his old good for a more valuable Government good, certainly he would have been a fit person for being sent to prison. The officer who took away the Government silver set leaving behind his own betrays the elementary principle that it is simply a case of theft to take away other's property without permission. And strange it is that these are the persons who hold high offices and represent this country abroad. But stranger it is that such persons are condoned by the Government of India or their responsible officers who should have been convicted for complicity in such gross offences, not to speak of their holding and continuing still in high offices. The foreign department of the Government of India contain these septic elements that drain away country's valuable funds by theft and fraud bearing the stamp of official sanction, *ex post facto*.

Our Government boasts that in this country there is the rule of law, the same law being applied to all. There is equality before the law and all persons are treated equally. But that is far from the truth. In India a worse form of administrative law has developed that is invoked to condone officials guilty of heinous offences by issuing official sanctions, *ex post facto* or otherwise. The people of this country certainly deserve to know what steps have been taken by the Government to bring the persons concerned to task for above laches mentioned by the Auditor-General in his report. Why the persons in the Delhi Secretriat lent their seal of approval to these laches? And these instances show that the Government departments require thorough overhauling because it is rotten. The Auditor-General has rightly stressed the reorganization of the administrative machinery of the Government of India with appropriate delegation of financial powers, consistent with responsibility at all levels to prevent chronic lapses of funds.

We cited the above instances with a view to stressing that the Government of India is not at all alive to the danger of misuse of Government funds, notwithstanding widespread lapses within and outside the country and detection of such lapses. Two recent instances will be adduced to prove our contention that the authorities do not view seriously the misappropriation of Government funds and hence they simply amuse themselves by blinking over such incidents. The State Bank Act and the Insurance Corporation Act betray Government's reluctance in getting their lines washed before the public. It is common knowledge that misappropriation or misuse of Government funds is the order of the day with our officialdom. The

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Indian Parliament can keep itself informed about the state of public expenditure in this country through the reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General. The said high official is responsible to Parliament for keeping it informed regarding the expenditure of Government funds and as such he does not owe anything to preferment's door. But unfortunately, he has been excluded from the audit of the State Bank of India and also from the proposed Insurance Corporation. During the passage of the Life Insurance Corporation in the Lok Sabha, members vehemently urged upon the Government to make the Auditor-General auditor of the proposed Corporation. But the Finance Minister turned a deaf year to all these requests. The Union Finance Minister reiterated his views that if the Auditor-General was made responsible in any way for auditing the Corporation's accounts, it would hinder its development. But he favoured the constitution of a third committee which, he felt, could ensure a positive achievement audit instead of the negative type of audit undertaken by the Auditor-General.

The Finance Minister's above statement calls for much enlightenment. What does he mean by negative audit and positive audit? What is positive audit? Audit simply means official examination of accounts, that is, whether the funds have been lawfully expended. We assume that by positive audit, the auditor will not point out the Government lapses, but will simply whitewash over all such lapses. Of course, he is bound to do that because his next time appointment shall depend on the will of the authorities and hardly the auditor shall dare to incur the displeasure of the authorities concerned by putting negative type of audit as is being done by the present Auditor-General whose only fault is that he discloses in his report all the incidents of irregular expenditures for which the Government feel themselves discomfited. The opposition members in the Lok Sabha rightly demanded that the audit of the Life Insurance Corporation should be entrusted to the Auditor-General, otherwise how the Parliament could exercise its control over the funds of the Insurance Corporation? The Auditor-General is responsible only to the Parliament and not to the Executive and as such his is the proper machinery for being entrusted with the audit of the Government institutions and trading concerns.

In India, illegally legal expenditure is so rampant among the Government departments that the entire system of auditing should be overhauled so as to check unauthorised expenditures which are, in other words, illegally legal expenditures. Just to cite an example of such expenditures which drain away a huge amount of Government funds raised by taxing the people. In West Bengal, under the Publicity Department there is a network of publicity arrangements in the districts and for the last few years radio sets are supplied in the villages at the Government expense for publicity work. So far that is good. But now the Department has decided that the first radio sets should be replaced by sets of higher voltage. The former radio sets are hardly two or three years old and no useful purpose would be served by a change of voltage. To replace these old sets by new ones will involve a heavy expenditure and who will be benefited by it? Of course, the fortunate producers whose products will be purchased. And, who else will be benefited? That shows the inefficiency of the Government department in its failure to decide upon the right type of voltage in the initial stage. Anyway, this is an example of illegally legal public expenditure for which public funds are squandered away.

Gandhi Smarak Nidhi

The inaugural issue of the quarterly bulletin of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, an organization formed with leading personalities of India "to assist in a small way . . . some of the activities which Gandhiji initiated in his life-time as also preserve and popularize his writings" has just come to our hand. The bulletin is designed primarily to provide information on the work of the Nidhi and increasingly to activise its own members. The first issue contains some account of the various activities carried on by the Nidhi—including the museums, the films, anti-leprosy work, collection, preservation and proper utilization of the vast correspondence of Gandhiji, constructive work, etc.—on Central and State levels.

The Nidhi proposed, among other things, to establish four *sangrahalayas* (museums) in the country—at Delhi, Madurai, Wardha and Sabarmati—to contain articles and objects of importance and of sentimental value associated with Gandhiji. These museums would also collect books, letters and other literature by and about Gandhiji for study and research

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But we find no mention of any attempt ther to revive the *Harijan* or to bring out in place another weekly which would be totally dependent either of the Governments or of advertisers. This was one of the most signi- nt and valuable services rendered by hatma Gandhi, and there is urgent need for now.

lcutta's Homeless Population

The *Statesman* reports: One per cent of tta's population has no separate room in ch to live, according to a socio-economic vey undertaken by the Department of Econo- s, Calcutta University. The survey was started the instance of the Planning Commission in 1954. It is stated that these homeless people, prising mostly migrants, live in the grounds of other people's houses and on foot- s.

The findings of the investigators, who d 5,000 households distributed in each of the city, reveal that 37 per cent of these holds have no separate room to themselves: are one room with other families. The household' means one family unit that own cooking arrangements. About 68 per of these households live in overcrowded and 47 per cent do not have separate bath- More than two adults to a room means rowding here. Ten per cent of these house- have no latrine at all while 77 per cent latrines with other families. Forty-six per of the households do not have electric lights.

ani Venom

The *Bombay Chronicle* in an editorial nt on May 14 draws attention to the ani practice of officially reprinting n propaganda slandering India's policy lers for distribution. More often such l material did not contain any praise stani policies but mainly concentrated cking India. This was distinctly pur- writes the *Chronicle*, since the motives h action by the Press Information Depart- of the Government of Pakistan were pure . The *Chronicle* refers to a recent hand- distributed by Pakistan which carried the ment of the *Tribune* of Minnesota contain- 109 words of extremely prejudiced and icious criticism of Mr. Nehru. "Not one of these words quoted by Pakistan," the *Bombay Chronicle* points out, "was in praise of Pakistan, and as such we should like to know what purpose the Karachi Government had in mind in publicising such slanderous material against a neighbour . . ."

Concluding, the newspaper writes that it was one thing for a government to propagate other's praise of its policies; but it was "quite another—and objectionable—thing for it to quote some obscure foreign paper which makes a mean attack on another government. Not that it will have any deleterious effect on anybody but this sort of thing merely exposes the Pak policy of malice toward some and goodwill for few. How can an American paper's attack on India please Pakistan."

Pakistan's Debt to India

The recent Indo-Pakistan financial talks in New Delhi led the *Hindu* of Madras to examine the question of Pakistan's debt to India in an editorial article on May 13. Tracing the history of the matter the *Hindu* notes that though Pakistan was bound by agreement to repay her share of the debts of undivided India, for which India had graciously assumed the entire responsibility, in fifty annual instalments beginning from 1952, nothing had been paid by Pakistan up till now to meet her estimated debt of Rs. 300 crores to India.

"Pakistan's obligations under the partition settlement are clear and unmistakable. Even if there are minor differences over some items, there can be no doubt that there is a very large amount owing from Pakistan, well in excess of Rs. 250 crores, the burden of which India is now bearing. The longer Pakistan postpones sterling repayment, the greater is the burden on India. India, it should be realised, need not have assumed all these obligations at the time and she could have legitimately demanded that the assets transferred to Pakistan should be limited to the liabilities she was willing to take over. The fact that this was not done just because India wanted to facilitate the transfer of power and to give a fair start to Pakistan should not be taken advantage of for wriggling out of a basic obligation," the *Hindu* writes.

The newspaper refers to the reported Pakistani acceptance of liability to the extent

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of Rs. 240 crores and remarks that there were other obligations in regard to Pakistan's share of various unfunded debts. It asserts that Pakistan should reasonably begin repayment from now without prejudice to the final settlement of all the items.

Referring to Pakistan's recent claims for a share in the sterling balances the *Hindu* points out that at this time of day this was an amazing claim because the sterling balances had never formed part of the assets of the Government of India and Pakistan "cannot lay any claim to a share in them on the ground that they are such assets. Actually the sterling balances constitute the external reserves of the Reserve Bank and Pakistan has received her share of the gold and sterling securities in proportion to the volume of Indian currency circulating in Pakistan. Beyond that she can have no claim on the sterling reserves because they constitute the backing for the notes in circulation in India. The claim about sterling balances, if seriously advanced, is obviously another of the typical Pakistani dodges for postponing a settlement."

Presidents' Rule in East Pakistan

Eastern Pakistan has been experiencing a political crisis since the 1954 general elections in which the Muslim League party was trounced by the United Front. Immediately after the elections the United Front showed signs of strain. The crisis deepened with the dissolution of the Huq Ministry and the United Front was disrupted with the defection of the Awami League from it. The re-instatement of the Huq Ministry and the installation of the Sarkar Ministry could not overcome the strain which became more acute with the accentuation of an unprecedented food crisis in East Bengal.

In this background of a heightening political tempo the Assembly met on May 22 to consider the provincial budget presented by the Chief Minister, Shri Abu Hossain Sarkar, who also held the Finance portfolio. Political observer had forecast that the session of the Assembly was going to be one of the liveliest and they were not proved far wrong. On the very first day of the meeting of the Assembly the Speaker, Shri Abdul Hakim, ruled that the Ministry had no authority to move the budget in the Assembly. The Speaker gave his ruling on points of order raised by two Opposition members—Sheikh Mujibar Rahman of Awami League and Shri Goolam Hafeez Ganatantri Dal.

The two Opposition members had contended that the Sarkar Ministry had no authority to introduce the provincial budget because the Ministry had been holding office illegally. The Ministry, it was further contended, had illegally spent the provincial revenues during the past months because the Budget estimates certified by Mr. Shahabuddin, the then Governor of East Pakistan, on March 24, 1955 under the 92A regime, had been rendered null and void when that section had been amended in November, 1955.

According to the reports published in the *Statesman* on May 23, the Speaker, giving his ruling, had held that Section 81A, which had been introduced under the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted to Pakistan, by the Constituent Assembly in February 1956, authorizing the Government of East Pakistan to set aside the Budget for two months till May, had suspended the operation of Chapter III of the Act and had thereby suspended the provincial Legislature itself. As such the Ministry which took its life from the Legislature could not exist, especially as recourse had not been had to Section 83 of the old Act which had been nullified by Section 81A.

The *Statesman* report adds that the Speaker "also agreed with the Opposition contention that the Ministry's failure to put forward new budget estimates after replacement of Sec 92A of the Act by Sec 93 in November made the expenditure of public resources by them an illegal act. When a Government member intervened to state that legal opinion had been taken, the Speaker replied curtly: 'Legal opinion was taken after the act was committed.'"

"The Speaker contended that he had not been consulted in fixing the time-table for the discussion of the Budget. He also clashed with the Government on the question of M.L.As who were detained as security prisoners. He declared that detention did not mean that they had forfeited their membership. If this was the Government's intention, it should have declared their seats vacant."

The Government party was highly critical of the Speaker's ruling disallowing the Ministry

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ry to move the budget in the Assembly and ld that the Speaker's action was illegal, *ultra* res and a deprivation of the fundamental ghts of the members of the Legislature to dis- ss the budget.

The Awami League members, who were at st not quite sure of the consequences of the eaker's decision, welcomed the prospect of vernor's rule in the province.

Giving the reactions of political circles in ca the *Statesman's* Staff Correspondent te on May 23:

"The imposition of Governor's Rule and the missal, suspension or resignation of the istry and the certification of the Budget for 57 by the Governor before May 31, are n for granted. It is to watch what is to en thereafter and who is to be up to form Government. This uncertainty is also a vivid ation of how the Speaker's decision has ted a solution of the great riddle that has this province into two camps during the past eks, namely, who commands the majority e legislature. Both sides lay extravagant s to such majority, the Awami League g that it can back its claim with signatures. Many were surprised today by some of the mes of the United Front M.L.A.s who had ced their decision late last night to with- their support from the Front and remain ependent. They include such stalwarts of the as Mr. Kafinuddin Chowdhury and Mr. ngari. The Awami League also claims four other United Front M.L.A.s have joined party."

The Governor, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, ned the East Pakistan Assembly on 24.

The Speaker's unexpected ruling ensued a manoeuvres among the various political towards the formation of a coalition ding a majority in the Assembly. Most of such moves was an effort by the League and several other opposition to a joint front on a five-point common me. Those five points were: joint ate; handling of the food and flood pro- on a war-time emergency footing; cancel- of all public safety Acts; restoration of liberty; curtailing the rising cost of rnment administration; and the adoption of active measures to stop the exodus of minorities from Pakistan into India.

Mr. Suhrawardy figured prominently in these talks of a political coalition. He was reported to be in correspondence with President Mirza over the future political set-up in East Pakistan and the latter had reportedly assured him of his sympathetic consideration.

As the only logical step after the Speaker's ruling, President Iskander Mirza, in a proclamation on May 26, suspended the operation of the constitution in East Pakistan. The President, in a notification on May 29, authorized expenditure from the revenues of East Pakistan for a period of three months with effect from June.

At the time of our going to press, President's rule was withdrawn from East Pakistan after about six days of working.

East Pakistan Survey

We append below a special report, from the *New York Times*, on the background of the President's rule :

"Karachi, (Pakistan), May 26.—President Iskander Mirza, advocate of 'controlled democracy,' assumed complete control today of the province of East Pakistan. Abu Hussain Sarkar, Chief Minister, and his twelve-man cabinet were dismissed for inability to conduct the Government.

"The proclamation followed what has been described as the demoralization of civil service in the face of a threat of famine among the 44,000,000 inhabitants of East Pakistan.

"President Mirza's decision to end the seven-month-old Sarkar regime was taken after the Central Government Cabinet had held a four-hour emergency session for the second consecutive day to discuss one of the worst food and political crises in the delta province on the Bay of Bengal.

"Foreign government observers had informed General Mirza yesterday that people were dying of starvation in inland villages of the province following a desperate shortage of rice owing to two years of monsoon floods and extensive devastation of crops by insects.

"As long ago as last fall, United States agricultural experts warned provincial government officials that famine was inevitable unless emergency supplies of rice were imported. The United States donated 60,000 tons of rice six

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weeks ago and since then more than 30,000 tons of United States rice have been delivered to the port of Chittagong.

"However, inland distribution of the grain was thwarted by a breakdown in the river, rail and road transportation systems attributed to rising flood waters and 'gross inefficiency of distribution agencies, coupled with graft, corruption and nepotism by provincial government officials,' according to Central Government investigators.

"In addition, numerous cases of black-market profiteering have been reported. The price of rice has risen in the last two months from the Government-controlled price of 11 rupees for eighty pounds to 50 rupees. The rupee is worth 21 United States cents.

"Dismissal of the provincial ministry marked the second return of Central Government control since June, 1954, when General Mirza, then Secretary of Defense, was ordered by Ghulam Mohammed, then Governor-General, to govern the province. His assumption of control followed a series of labor strikes in which more than 600 persons died.

"General Mirza was recalled to Karachi in September, 1954, and appointed Interior Minister. Central Government control continued under two other appointees until last October, when Mr. Sarkar was named Chief Minister.

"Prior to General Mirza's appointment as Governor, the Chief Minister was Fazlul Huq. After serving two months, Mr. Huq was dismissed for publicly advocating that East Pakistan should become an independent State. He was dismissed by Mohammed Ali, then Prime Minister, who now is Ambassador to the United States.

"The administration was returned to the United Front party last October when Mr. Huq, leader of the party, nominated Mr. Sarkar as Chief Minister. Mr. Huq was taken into the Central Government Cabinet as Interior Minister last August. He was appointed Governor of East Pakistan two months ago. He will continue as Governor but will act under direct orders and instruction of President Mirza."

Ferment in the Middle East

Of late the ferment in the Middle East has assumed world-wide importance and who knows that the spark of the future world war does not lie hidden in the Gaza strip or desert sands of Buraimi Oasis? There goes saying that "he who controls the Middle E controls the world." The great figures in his from Alexander to Napoleon are reported have said to that effect. Ever since the of Crusades, the Middle East has been battle ground of conflicting civilizations, jealousies and rival ambitions of Europ nations. With the decline of the Otto Empire, mastery of the Middle East becam major object of the great Powers. Catherine the Great, Napoleon, Nelson, Canning, Ca reagh and others tried their hand at controlling it themselves or at preventing o from doing so, but nothing conclusive has occurred to settle the matter once for all.

The Middle Eastern countries today divided—Iraq and Iran have joined the Ba dad Pact and are definitely with the side the USA and the UK, while Arab Le countries including Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Sy Lebanon and Yemen have joined forces in demonstration of Arab unity unpara since the Crusades. The Arab League originally created essentially with British piration. It was devised to supply a Br Empire progressing towards a paterna Imperial system with a convenient po structure in which, through an Arab re organization of pro-British governments, Br strategic, political and commercial inte could be served. The British installed Ha mite dynasties in Iraq and Jordan; a gr Syria and Lebanon freed from the French nation, and a corrupt party governing E could all be expected to supply the pro-Br faction on the Arab League Council wi overwhelming voting majority.

But the calculations were much too mistic in so far as they failed to see the tide of Arab nationalism that has now pletely swept away the political plans British. The Arab League today is the instrument of Arab unity with a voting rity on its Councils of five votes to two. H mite Iraq and Jordan, where British in were strongly entrenched behind British governments, alone resisted and alone to serve a receding British position. The tine War further strengthened the Arab with the ever-growing sense of nationali

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During January, 1956, Jordan, a small Arab State, became an arena of stormy events. They were prompted by Western attempts to draw Jordan into the aggressive Baghdad Pact. Situated in the heart of the Arab world, Jordan has strategic importance. Jordan's neighbours are Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria and Israel. The USA and UK expected that Jordan would join the Baghdad Pact in view of the strong British positions in Jordan. The alliance and mutual assistance treaty imposed in 1948 on Jordan by Britain provided for the latter's right to maintain military bases and armed forces in Jordan. In the Jordan army—the Arab Legion there are many British officers, and its Commander-in-Chief until recently was Glubb Pasha, an Englishman. The Turkish President Celal Bayar visited Jordan in early November, 1955, to persuade Jordan to join the Baghdad Pact; but he failed in his mission. Early in December, 1955, there came to Jordan General Sir Gerald Templer, Chief of the British Imperial Staff, and Mr. Michael Rose, Chief of the Levant Department of the British Foreign Office to pave the way for Jordan's membership in the Baghdad Pact. As a reward for joining the Pact, General Templer offered Jordan a large sum of money, heavy arms, fighters, and munitions for the Arab Legion. The General also promised that some of the clauses of the Anglo-Jordan Treaty would be revised in Jordan's favour. He also extended the threat that if Jordan rejected the offer, Britain would withdraw her financial aid to that country.

General Templer's proposition met with strong opposition from the Jordan Government and Parliament. As a protest the Government headed el Mufti resigned and El Majali was entrusted to form a new government. Majali was a supporter of Jordan's participation in the Baghdad Pact. General Templer thought that the Jordan problem was now solved and she would join the Baghdad Pact. The people of Jordan, however, put up strong opposition and as a result the supporters of the Baghdad Pact in that country had to change their plans. On December 16, 1955, stormy popular demonstrations took place in Amman where they were joined by many parliamentary deputies, and in other cities also popular demonstrations were made. The people demanded the resignation of Majali Cabinet. The Government resorted to the police and Arab Legion to suppress the popular opposition. A wave of mass arrests swept the country. A state of emergency was proclaimed and demonstrations and meetings were prohibited. But mass demonstrations continued unabated and finally Prime Minister Majali had to resign. On December 19, 1955, the King dissolved the Parliament and Majali Cabinet fell. There would be a fresh parliamentary election and Ibrahim Hashim formed the Cabinet in order to conduct the parliamentary elections. But the supporters of the Baghdad Pact became afraid of the new elections and accordingly, on January 5, 1955, the Constitutional Court announced the decree on the dissolution of the Parliament to be null and void. The result was that the Hashim Government had to resign. A new wave of popular protest broke out all over the country. A new general strike started in Amman on Janary 7 of this year. Sami el Rifai formed a new cabinet on Janary 9. On assuming office Rifai published a statement in which he particularly emphasized his Government's opposition to Jordan's participation in any foreign groupings.

The Anglo-American block now realized that Jordan was not going to join the Baghdad Pact and continued to exert pressure on Jordan in this direction. Premier Sami el Rifai summoned the British Ambassador and the Iraqi Minister at Jordan and protested against their interference in the internal affairs of Jordan. Subsequently Glubb Pasha was dismissed from Jordan's army and that indicated that Jordan had parted way with the Anglo-American Block. The dismissal of Glubb Pasha has generated popular opposition against the Prime Minister Eden as it indicated the failure of his Middle East policy. The scandal over secret shipments of British arms to Egypt and Israel *via* Belgium, provided one of the grounds for attacks on the British Government's Middle East policy.

The Buraimi Oasis dispute has estranged Saudi Arabia from the Anglo-American Block. On October 26,1955, armed British forces acting on orders of the Home Government captured a large area of territory in Eastern Arabia, and further during this forcible military occupation two Saudi Arabian officials in

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Buraimi were wounded. The Saudi Arabian Government was shocked by the arbitrary action taken by the Government of the United Kingdom in resorting to military force against the Saudi Arabian Oasis of Buraimi. Eden defended the action in the British House of Commons stating that the attack on Buraimi was sanctioned from London in order to restore the control of the British protectorates of Abu Dhabi and Muscat over the Buraimi Oasis and the district west of it. Some British papers reported that the Abu Dhabi ruler lays claim to the Al-Qimi, Hili, Al-Quttara, Al-Muwaikil, Al-Mu'tarad, and Al-'Ain settlements in the Buraimi district, while the Sultan of Muscat claims the settlements of Hamasa, Sa'ra, and Buraimi.

Buraimi is an oasis in the shifting sands of the Rub'al Khali Desert. It consists of several watering places and nine settlements scattered in palm groves. Buraimi settlement, the biggest in the district, is a small trading centre for adjacent Bedouin tribes who have been for the last 150 years regularly paying taxes to the Saudi authorities. The desert territory of about 39,000 square miles surrounding the oasis is one of the richest oil-bearing areas in the world. The British Papers made no secret of the fact that it is not so much a matter of Britain defending the interests of her vassal protectorates of Eastern Arabia as a struggle of the oil monopolies. Commenting on the developments in Buraimi, the London *Times* admitted that the only reason why the British Government was seeking to include the oasis in the British colonial empire was to meet the demands of the oil companies. Delineation of the political frontier between Saudi Arabia and Oman would define the boundaries of the concessions of rival U.S. and British interests.

The British claim that in 1869 Al-Buraimi was occupied by the tribes of the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi and the Sultanet of Muscat and that the situation changed in 1949 when the Saudies claimed authority on it. But the fact is otherwise. Saudi Arabia in support of her claim has drawn world's attention to the treaties of Jeddah and Alaqair between Britain and herself whereby the UK recognised that what belonged to the Saudi Dynasty always belonged to the Saudi Sovereign. The Buraimi dispute may be traced to 1935 when an American oil company began to entrench itself on the territory of Saudi Arabia. The Anglo-Saudi negotiations over the frontiers between Saudi Arabia and the Muscat and Abu Dhabi British protectorates continued from 1935 to 1938 and were resumed in 1949. In July, 1955 Saudi Arabia and the UK agreed to submit the dispute to an independent and an impartial tribunal for arbitration. The tribunal was composed of representatives of Britain and Saudi Arabia, and legal authorities from Belgium, Cuba and Pakistan. Sheikh Yusuf Yaseen presented Saudi Arabia and Sir Reader Bullard represented Britain. The arbitration tribunal met in January 1955 in Nice and in September in Geneva. The tribunal took evidence, collected documents and noted complaints and grievances and when the tribunal was about to announce its final judgement—the fate of the Buraimi—then suddenly Sir Reader Bullard resigned his seat and retired from the tribunal. It may be stated that both the Governments had nominated their own representatives and they in turn selected their three neutral colleagues and that indicated that they had complete confidence in these neutral members of the tribunal.

The aggression in Buraimi has enraged the people of Saudi Arabia. The incursions of colonial forces in the oasis are also a form of putting pressure on Saudi Arabia because of her refusal to join aggressive military blocs. During the latter half of 1955, Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia entered into mutual defence agreement. Political leaders in these countries have been protesting repeatedly against the Baghdad Pact which is being regarded as a pact for pursuing aggressive aims. The Baghdad Pact is viewed as an instrument in the hands of the Anglo-American block for the sole purpose of making colonial expansions in the name of international peace and security.

The Governments of those Arab countries which are against the Baghdad Pact claim that the organization of defence in the Middle East is their own affair. Prime Minister Nasser recently declared, "The defence of the Middle East concerns only the countries of the region and we reject the guardianship of any country or group of countries. We are fully resolved to defend our freedom with our armed forces. The conclusion of Arab defence organization

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without the participation of either the UK or the USA hampers the expansion of the Baghdad Pact and the adherence of other Arab countries to it.

Iran has joined the Baghdad Pact and is objected to it. By joining the Baghdad Pact, Iran has placed herself in opposition to the Middle Eastern countries that condemn the military alliance of aggression. Iran's decision is regarded in Egypt, Syria, the Lebanon and Saudi Arabia as a step running counter to the interests of Iran and harmful to peace. Accession to the military pact means for Iran greater dependence on the imperialist powers and militarization entailing large additional expenditures. Iran is compelled to spend 40 per cent of her budget for military purposes. Joining the military pact, Iran is thus spending on the army her entire oil revenues. This reminds us of the position of Turkey. Owing to her participation in Western military blocs the economic situation is grave and getting worse daily.

Hitherto the Middle East was the preserve of the United Kingdom. Since the end of the World War, Britain's influence has been on the wane against the growing influence of Russia in this region. It must be admitted that the post-war British policy on the Middle East has been a total failure. The peoples of this region have got their independence and are now free from the clutches of Britain. Britain failed to rise to the occasion to keep the Middle Eastern countries into confederacy. She failed to realize that the old colonial policy is outmoded and unworkable today in the Middle East. The failure of the British policy has paved the way for the growing influence of Russia with whose help the Arab countries are arming themselves.

The United Nations-created Israel is the apple of discord and it has become a bone of conflict between Arab countries on the one hand and the Western countries on the other. The Arab world united as never before and armed with Russian assistance is prepared for a final showdown with Israel. Also relying on Western help is no longer prepared to face the situation. So long the Russia was more or less a mute spectator in this part of the world. But realising on the onset of British might, and the growing influence of Russia, President Eisenhower pledged that the USA would oppose any aggression in the Middle East.

Through American Eyes

We append below three reports, taken from the *New York Times* to illustrate the position in the Middle East:

"Cairo, May 24—Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser accepted today an invitation to visit Communist China in the near future.

"Government sources said he also had decided to invite Chou En-lai, Chinese Communist Premier, to come to Egypt to attend the celebration of the third anniversary of the Egyptian revolution July 23. The sources added that Jawaharlal Nehru, Indian Prime Minister, and Mohammed Daud Khan, Premier of Afghanistan, also were expected to visit Egypt on that occasion.

"The Communist Chinese also have invited Gen. Abdel Hakim Amer, Egyptian Commander-in-Chief, to send a military mission to Peiping and General Amer has accepted.

"According to Egyptian Government sources, plans have been made to send a special envoy to Peiping to carry Colonel Nasser's invitation to Mr. Chou.

"An official spokesman released today the letter Colonel Nasser had written to Mr. Chou accepting the Chinese Communist Premier's invitation."

"Tripoli, Libya, May 23—United States and British diplomats in Tripoli are becoming alarmed over extensive efforts by Egypt to woo Libya away from her staunch pro-Western position.

"In promoting the neutralist 'anti-imperialist' policies of Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser, the large Egyptian representation in Libya has in effect turned to the extraordinary measure of openly sponsoring Soviet penetration in the country.

"So far the Egyptians have had little or no success except in the propaganda field. However, the fact that the Libyan Government of Premier Mustafa ben Halim has done nothing to curb Egyptian maneuvers has created tension and anxiety in a country that had been considered the most solidly and reliably pro-Western nation in this turbulent area. Libya is the major Western military base for guarding the Mediterranean and the Middle East."

"Beirut, Lebanon, May 22—The change of government in Jordan is a definite loss for the

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Western powers, according to Arab opinion here.

"It might be a prelude to basic changes within Jordan.

"Said Mufti, the new Premier, who was sworn in today, announced yesterday that he would ask a revision of the defense treaty with Britain.

"The new Premier succeeded Samir el-Rifai, who resigned for reasons of 'health.' Mr. el-Rifai took office four months ago after the Government, then headed by Mr. Mufti, fell when it split over moves to align Jordan with the British-sponsored Baghdad Pact.

"Up to now Jordan has resisted pressure to join the neutralist bloc headed by Egypt on the ground that she could not legitimately abrogate the 1948 treaty with Britain.

"One practical reason for clinging to the British treaty is that under it Jordan gets a defense subsidy equivalent this year to $25,642,400, about 60 per cent of her total national revenue."

Algerian Independence Movement

Algeria in North Africa is very much in the news at the moment. The country has a settled European Community mostly French numbering about a million. The Arab Community number about eight million. Between these two communities there is no equality. The Europeans have monopolized all the best lands and all the good jobs in mining and the utilities —the principal industries. Arab standard of living falls much below that of the Europeans. Politically the sparsely populated desert area of Southern Algeria is ruled as a French colony. The coastal strip is considered an integral part of metropolitan France. The heavily outnumbered Europeans enjoy voting parity with the Arabs and occupy all the key positions in civil and military administration.

The Algerian-French relationships were marked for a long time by the absence of any friction. By 1954, however, nationalist sentiments developed sufficiently and the demand for national independence began to be voiced. At the same time a National Liberation Army was formed whom the French termed Fellaghas or outlaws. The 15000-strong guerilla army reportedly operated from its headquarters at Cairo and established a military base in the mountains of eastern Algeria.

The first reaction of the French Government at Paris at the outbreak of nationalist revolt in Algeria was to crush the nationalist movement by the force of arms. About 30 French soldiers were despatched to Algeria. But the reign of terror let loose by the French apparently failed to have any appreciable effect on the Algerian nationalists so that within a day the intensity of the nationalist movement began to spread through wider areas. The fighting with which the two sides were fighting can be gauged from the following figures of casualties given by *Reuter* which says that according to reliable sources the rough estimate of casualties on both sides between November 1, 1954, when the insurrection began, and May 10, 1956:

French forces—900 dead, 2,000 wounded and 350 missing.

Nationalist forces—8,000 dead, 500 wounded and 3,500 captured.

European civilians—190 dead, 120 wounded and 70 missing.

Muslim civilians—1,500 dead, 1,000 wounded and 500 missing.

A *Press Trust of India* dispatch from Cairo dated the 20th May says that Ben Bella, reportedly in command of the Algerian Nationalist Army, indicated his willingness to negotiate with France, if the French accept Algerian independence in principle.

On May 22, Prime Minister Nehru presented in the Lok Sabha five proposals for peaceful settlement of the Algerian situation. The proposals were summarised by the *Hindu man* as follows:

1.—The atmosphere of peaceful approach be promoted by formal declarations by both sides of the substance of their recent statements in favour of ending violence.

2.—The national entity and personality of Algeria be recognized by the French Government on the basis of freedom.

3.—The equality of the peoples in Algeria irrespective of races be recognized by all concerned.

4.—Recognition that Algeria is the homeland of all the people in Algeria, irrespective of race, and that they shall all be entitled to benefits and share the burdens arising from recognition of the Algerian national entity, personality and freedom.

5.—Direct negotiations based on the

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ideas and in accordance with the principles the U.N. Charter be inaugurated.

Pandit Nehru expressed the Government India's concern at the continued hostilities Algeria. "The conflict, it must be recog- he said, "is one in which basically all urges, the passions, the hopes, the aspira- and that mass upsurge of peoples which to make the great movements of rising nalism, are engaged. Too often are such ements and their consequences regarded as challenges to constituted authority which and must be suppressed. The result has violent conflicts and mounting hatreds render peaceful settlements of them more each day and less fruitful, when they at last be reached.

"The conflict in Algeria is part of the great of national upsurges that have swept Asia Africa in the last two generations. Whatever we may take of particular aspects of the Algerian situation and however much we recognize, as we must, the practical and complexities involved, we and all may not fail to recognize this basic

the position taken by the Government of regard to all such movements for liberation, and specifically with refer- Algeria, has been repeatedly stated. It adopted by the Government of India, with the other independent Governments and Africa, at Bandung last year when in declaring their support of the of the peoples of Algeria, Morocco and to self-determination and independence, appealing to the French Government to about a peaceful settlement of the issue delay. This approach has two essential which must be always remembered—our to freedom movements and our adherence ceful approach."

Pandit Nehru praised French statesman- the generosity of all concerned in about a solution of the problems of and Tunisia and expressed the hope same attitude would also be displayed with the Algerian issue also. He re- the "special factors and complexities Algerian situation" but considered that factors called all the more for negotiation accommodation. While there was increasing evidence of the realisation in France of the need to meet the claims of Algerian nationalism the presence of a large number of French troops in Algeria was a grim fact. The immediate suspension of violence and bloodshed was the first step to any settlement of the outstanding issues, he said.

Shri Nehru said: "The House will recall that in Indo-China the first step towards termination of a long conflict began with the cessation of hostilities, and that a similar appeal as the present one evoked the unanimous approval of the House and helpful responses elsewhere.

"It is our hope that in a situation no less fraught with danger to the parties and to international peace than the war in Indo-China, now happily ended, this fervent appeal will reach the friendly ears of the parties to the present conflict, both of whom we regard as our friends and for whose co-operation and friendship with each other and with ourselves we are dedicated."

The French Government was interested in the proposals put forward by Shri Nehru for the re-establishment of peace but found them not to be in accord with their viewpoint, a spokesman of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs said on May 25 in Paris.

Mendes-France Resigns

It is not all Frenchmen who can tolerate the dragooning of the Algerians into submission with tranquillity, as the following news indicates :

"Paris, May 23—Pierre Mendes-France, Radical party leader, resigned today from the Cabinet in disagreement over Government measures to counter the rebellion in Algeria. In his letter of resignation to Premier Guy Mollet, a Socialist, M. Mendes-France expressed his conviction that the Government's failure to accompany its massive military effort in Algeria with political action designed to restore Moslem confidence in French intentions would lead to the loss of Algeria.

"I should like at least that my resignation should have the effect of a new anguished appeal for the Government to take the necessary decisions, however difficult they may be,' he told Premier Mollet."

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U.S. Attitude to Bases in Ceylon

The declaration of the newly-elected Premier of Ceylon, Shri Bandaranaike, that he would seek for the withdrawal of the British military bases from Ceylon at the earliest opportunity has apparently not been received with much sympathy in the United States political circles. In an editorial article entitled "Bases on Ceylon" the *New York Times* criticises Shri Bandaranaike's stand as being "unsound both economically and strategically" and expresses the earnest hope that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers at their forthcoming meeting in London would put "all reasonable pressure upon their colleagues from Ceylon to modify his position on the British bases there."

The *Times* says that the removal of the military bases would deprive "quite a few Ceylonese" of a useful living and would "break a link in the chain of Commonwealth Defense communication." The existence of the bases, the *Times* continued, did not constitute any denigration whatever of Ceylonese sovereignty because the British had never used the bases as instruments of political pressure nor intended to do so.

"What the Commonwealth Prime Ministers can and ought to make clear," the *Times* concludes, "is that these are not 'British' positions but Commonwealth positions. They exist for the good of all the Commonwealth, of which Ceylon is a part, and for the good of the defense of a free world. It is not wise or right to forget that for the sake of a local political campaign."

Highly critical of the position taken by the *New York Times*, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes that the *New York Times*, the unofficial spokesman of Washington, had not allowed the ink on the recent $5 million U.S. ("No strings") aid to dry before asking for pressure to be put on Shri Bandaranaike to change his stand. "For a country which aims at girdling the world with its bases and dancing on the brink of war it will be difficult to appreciate the stand of nations who want to promote world peace by keeping out of armed camps and jealously guard their newly-won freedom from infringement whatever the pretext," the *Chronicle* writes.

The *Chronicle* refers to the fact that even the British Government seemed to be enough to recognise the justness of the taken by Bandaranaike and they portedly planning a new base at M "In such circumstances when the Ceylonese problems are likely to be settled, American interference would be mischievous and unwelcome."

Refuting the arguments put forward *Times*, the *Chronicle* writes that in case faced danger in the future she could invite British help. "If the Commonwe feels Ceylon is strategically important as well hand over the naval base and station to the island itself and help it them under its own command. It is United States realized that it cannot force bases on unwilling countries and maintain in the face of strong opposition. This is to win friends or maintain world peace," *Bombay Chronicle* concludes.

President Soekarno in USA

President Soekarno of Indonesia arrived the USA on May 16, on a 18-day tour invitation of President Eisenhower. On the following his arrival President Soekarno addressed a joint session of the United States Congress a "hard hitting" speech delivered in "clear vigorous" English President Soekarno urged a better U.S. understanding of Asian aspirations. He said that Asia and Africa were passing the phase of nationalism. "Nationalism may an out-of-date doctrine for many in this for us of Asia and Africa, it is the main of our efforts. Understand that, and you the key to much of post-war history. Fail understand it and no amount of thinking torrent of words, and no Niagara of dollars produce anything but bitterness and disillusionment." The striving of the Asian and Afr peoples for the achievement of their independence required sympathy and standing of the rest of the world. "We ask to understand," the President said, "our struggle, and we ask you to sympathize with We ask you to understand and sympathize the fact that our national struggle is still plete. How can it be complete when millions our people in Asia and Africa are still colonial domination, and are still not free? can the national struggle in Indonesia be

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...e when part of our own country [West Irian] ...d part of our own nation are still unfree?"

He strongly attacked colonialism and said, ...e are told that the people of West Irian are ...t ready for a change from their colonial ...ers, and that they need the continued gui... ...ce of the West to train them for the tran... ...n to liberty.

"We know this 'guidance,' we have had ...rience of this 'training'! It left us, after ... years with an illiteracy rate of 94 per cent. ...ft us without sufficient doctors to treat even ... who are sick unto death. . . ."

President Soekarno said to the congress- "I tell you in all solemnity. In the eleven ...s of our independence the Indonesian ... has made more human progress, and has ... the scene of greater human happiness, than ...l the tens of generations of colonialism ...went before. . . . The figures are available ...ists of schools built, of infant mortality ...ed."

President Soekarno said that Asian nations ...d American help for their development. ...the USA had granted aid liberally that ...d brought variable results—good some... ...d doubtful benefit elsewhere. He said that ...y aid was no substitute for Asian stabi... ...h which Asian nations needed political ...nomic development. For the development ...r economies Asian countries would gladly ...d assistance from whatever sources it came, ...d: "But, from whatever quarter of this ...d globe that assistance comes, we are ...ned that no material advantage will buy ...s any part of our hard-won freedom. for ...freedom is more dear to us than the pro... ...h which any country can give or sell."

...rno's Visit

...give the following extracts, from the ...k Times, to show the American view-

...last week Sukarno paid his first visit to the ...that furnished him with many of his ideals ...United States. He arrived in Washington ...day on a state visit, transported from ...aboard President Eisenhower's private ... At National Airport he was greeted by ...egation including Vice President Nixon and ...tary of State Dullles. From all that Washington had heard of Sukarno, it expected a man of great charm, eloquence and erudition—and it got him. Sukarno capitivated official and unofficial Washington.

"The highlight of the week was his address on Thursday before a joint session of Congress. Observers characterized it as one of the most forceful statements of the Asian point of view that the capital has heard. Sukarno pulled no punches; he criticized the American approach to the question of foreign aid in Asia ('Military aid is no substitute for Asian stability'); he said Asians rejected assistance that would force them to relinquish their independence. And he made an eloquent defense of Asian nationalism:

"'For us, nationalism means . . . . the effort to provide equal esteem for our peoples; it means the determination to take the future into our own hands. . . . Nationalism . . . is the mainspring of our efforts. . . . Fail to understand that, and no . . . torrent of words, no Niagara of dollars will produce anything but bitterness and disillusionment. . . . We ask you to understand and sympathize with the fact that our national struggle is still incomplete. How can it be complete when millions of our people in Asia and Africa are still under colonial domination ?'

"The Congressmen interrupted him frequently with applause and when he finished, they gave him a standing ovation.

"Despite the impression Sukarno made, he is not likely to get much concrete United States backing for his position. The colonial powers Sukarno attacked are the United States' allies and for reasons of friendship, security and international politics, Washington feels it cannot abandon them. Specifically, Sukarno would like American support for his demand that the Netherlands relinquish West New Guinea, which Indonesia claims as part of its territory. (Australia holds the rest of New Guinea.) But Dutch control over the western part of the island is considered strategically important; Washington is reported to feel that evacuation by the Dutch would weaken the West's defenses in Asia."

British Press Criticized

Two publications were reproached on May 1 by the General Council of the Press,

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watchdog of British newspaper ethics, for having intruded on the privacy of others, reports *Reuter*. The Council, which did not possess any disciplinary powers, criticized the magazine *Woman* for publishing a series of articles by a former official of the royal household and asked for the Queen and her family to be allowed to lead their home lives in privacy. The *Daily Sketch of London* came in for sharper criticism for the "callous intrusion" of the newspaper in having telephoned to Cyprus to talk with the widow of an army sergeant within twenty-four hours of his murder. The *Sketch*, however, rejected the criticism of the Council as "unfair and unjust."

It seems to us that the old newshound's tenet of "news at any price" is again gaining ground in Britain. Here in India, this system of yellow journalism is the rule of the day in all papers, with the honourable exception of a few.

Crabb Affair

Commander Lionel Crabb was a retired underwater expert of the British navy. On April 29, the British Admiralty issued a brief statement that Commander Crabb had not returned "from a test dive which took place in connection with trials of underwater apparatus in Stokes Bay in the Portsmouth area, about a week ago," and that he was presumed dead.

The disappearance of frogman Crabb caught the attention of the press and the public in Britain right from the beginning and there was widespread speculation that Commander Crabb had been sent by British secret service authorities to spy upon the Soviet cruiser, "Ordhzonikidze," which had brought Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khruschev, anchored in Portsmouth. Five days after the Admiralty announcement, it was said by an unidentified Soviet diplomat that a frogman had been seen to surface for a few seconds and then disappeared near the "Ordhzonikidze." The Admiralty refused to say anything on that news.

Mr. John Dugdale (Labour) raised the question of the frogman's death in the House of Commons. But the Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden refused to say anything on the matter adding, however, that while it was the practice for Ministers to accept responsibility, he thought it "necessary in the special circumstances of this case to make it clear that what was done was done without the authority or the knowledge of Her Majesty's Ministers." He said that appropriate disciplinary steps were being taken against the persons responsible.

Mr. Dugdale declared: "This is one of the most extraordinary statements ever made by a Prime Minister. He criticized that the Prime Minister's refusal to give any details was a complete evasion of Ministerial responsibility.

In response to another question from Shinwell, a former Defence Minister, Sir Anthony refused to say anything against what disciplinary action was being taken or what action was being taken for defiance of authority or for not cinsulting the Ministers.

The Speaker refused a Labour motion on May 9 for an immediate emergency debate on the frogman mystery on the ground of a previous ruling that a debate could not be held when a Minister refused to answer a question for reasons of public interest.

The Labour Party tabled a motion of no confidence against the Prime Minister by putting forward a motion seeking a cut in the Prime Minister's salary. The motion was lost.

Meanwhile, according to the *New York Times*, the *Times* of London had found that Commander Crabb and a friend named "S" had registered at the Sallyport hotel in Portsmouth the day before the Soviet Cruiser arrived, but that the pages of the hotel register covering that period had been removed by police order. The hotel staff had been asked by the police not to discuss the matter.

On May 12 the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* reported that Britain had apologised to the Soviet Union for the fact that frogman Crabb had swam without authorisation near the ships which had carried Mr. Bulganin and Khruschev to Britain.

The *Bombay Chronicle* editorially deplored the frogman affair because the incident is certain to add to international distrust and tension. The newspaper notes that the Prime Minister's silence "is likely to imply neither the Admiralty nor the Secret Service which seem to have collaborated in carrying out a piece of espionage without the sanction or knowledge of the Ministers. If it was

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Sir Anthony would not have talked of disciplinary steps or contradicted the earlier statement of the British Admiralty that the frogman was merely testing, under orders, a new diving apparatus."

It says: "If a civilized nation like Britain can allow its secret service to sink to such a depth what must be the standards followed by other nation? As the London *Times* points out, the inevitable conclusion the public will draw from the incident that 'the decision to use the visit of Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Khruschev as an opportunity of making a close and further underwater inspection of the Soviet cruiser, while she was in Portsmouth Harbour, was an unwarrantable breach of hospitality and an act of reckless folly'. . . ."

The *Bombay Chronicle* recalls the tragic incident of the "Kashmir Princess" in the British controlled airport of Hongkong and says that, "Owing to lack of vigilance and prompt action the culprit got away to Formosa and feeble efforts to extradite him have failed miserably. However necessary the peacetime espionage may be those who swear by peace and democracy must observe rules of decency in international relations."

The Deserters

A conference was meeting in New York under the auspices of the United Nations to deal with the problem of heads of families who fled from their native lands to escape their obligations. Sir Ernest Gunewardene of Ceylon was elected President of the conference.

Opening the conference the chief legal officer of the United Nations, Mr. Stavaopoulos referred to the problem of wives and children left without support by husbands and fathers who had moved to another country and said that the existing conditions it was for all practical purposes wholly impossible to bring erring husbands and fathers to book.

The Conference would draft an international convention dealing with the problem.

Fadeyev Dies by Own Hand

Alexander Fadeyev, noted Soviet writer, committed suicide on May 13, says a communique issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The announcement of Fadeyev's death was made on the 15th May—two days after the event. Mr. Fadeyev was Secretary of the Board of the Union of Writers of the U.S.S.R., alternate member of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. His works were translated into many languages of the world. A *Tass* report says: "The findings of the medical commission says that A. Fadeyev has committed suicide in a state of mental depression caused by an attack of a severe disease."

Fadeyev's suicide reminds one of Mayakovsky, the greatest Russian poet of the Soviet era, who had also killed himself in the early thirties.

Colonial Britain

The following extract from the *New York Times*, shows that the die-hard mentality is still present in Britain:

"London, May 21—The British Government's unswerving allegiance to a firm policy, including the use of force when necessary, to hold Cyprus, Aden and Singapore was emphasized by Selwyn Lloyd today.

"Speaking at a Conservative party rally, in Newark, Nottinghamshire, the Foreign Secretary declared it would be a 'breach of faith' for the Government to 'cast away those overseas possessions which are vital to our strategic interests.'

"The speech was delivered in the midst of increased questioning and criticism of the Foreign Ministry's policy toward Cyprus and Singapore, which are Crown colonies seeking self-government, and Aden, which includes a colony and a protectorate.

"There was no sign of a policy change in Mr. Lloyd's speech. He declared maintenance of the strength and influence of Britain and the British Empire was one of the main purposes of the Conservatives' foreign policy.

"Mr. Lloyd condemned what he called the 'dastardly' crimes of Cypriote 'terrorists.' He asserted that Cyprus was vital to Britain to carry out her responsibilities under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to maintain her position in the Middle East and 'to honor our great obligations there.'

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"The Foreign Secretary bitterly assailed Laborite speakers, including Earl Attlee, former Prime Minister, who have said the number of attacks on British soldiers in Cyprus had increased since the deportation of Archbishop Makarios, leader of the Greek Cypriote church in March to the Seychelles Islands in the Indian Ocean.

"These attacks have been going on for nine months, Mr. Lloyd said. One of the reasons for the breakdown of the negotiations with the Archbishop was his 'refusal to denounce terrorism,' the Foreign Secretary declared."

Nehru and American Labour

The *New York Times* gives the following report, which shows the latest reaction to labour leader Reuther's report.

"The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America charged today that John Foster Dulles was 'unfit' to continue as Secretary of State.

"The demand for new leadership in the State Department was made in a resolution adopted by unanimous vote at the closing session of the convention.

"Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the 400,000 member organization, and other top officers were renominated by acclamation for new two-year terms. Their formal election will be by referendum this summer.

"The convention's resolution on foreign policy took indirect issue with the stand taken by George Meany on India.

"In a speech in New York six months ago, the head of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization said that Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India and President Tito of Yugoslavia were 'aides and allies (of Communist nations) in fact and in effect, if not in diplomatic verbiage.'

"Without referring to the Meany statement, the Amalgamated said: 'Communism is making a desperate bid to conquer the entire continent of Asia. The bulwark of our successful defense against that threat must be the strengthening of the people and the Government of India.

"Two years ago at our last convention we said: 'We must not ask conformity . . . the building of a free and independent India is a far greater military and political asset than we could purchase in the bargain basement of power politics.' This statement is equally true today.

"The wording of the section on India went through three redrafts in the resolutions committee before agreement was reached. The Amalgamated was anxious not to add to the rift that has developed between Mr. Meany and Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, on the Indian issue.

"Mr. Reuther, who heads the A. F. L.-C. I. O. industrial union department, made no secret of his sympathy for the Nehru government on a recent trip to India. This had raised a question over who speaks for the Union movement. The issue is scheduled for discussion by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Executive Council at a meeting here June 5. Mr. Potofsky, a vice president of the merged group, is expected to seek a peaceful resolution of the issue.

"The principal theme of the foreign policy declaration was an assertion that three and a half years of Republican rule had seen the decline of this country's international prestige and leadership.

"It said: 'Secretary of State Dulles has demonstrated, through repeated major blunders, that he is unfit to hold an office calling for decisions on which the fate of our nation and the fate of the world may rest.

"'To regain American leadership in the fight for peace and freedom, we must have an administration which will pursue a foreign policy which accords with America's traditions and meets the needs of our times.'

"Renominated with Mr. Potofsky were Jacob Rosenblum, secretary-treasurer; Hyman Berman, executive vice-president, and seven other vice-presidents."

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INDIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS—PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS*

By GRAYSON KIRK,
President of Columbia University, New York City

must be frank and admit at once that I am an expert on matters relating to India or -American relations. This past winter I have the opportunity to spend a trifle less a month in India, and I did visit many s and many universities, and I had the lege of talking with many political, as well pademic, leaders. But, as you realize, a h's stay is too long if I had planned to a book and far too short for me to have ed enough about that vast and diverse ontinent to speak about it with any autho- to you tonight. All that I can do, there- is to pass on to you some of my observa- and impressions, coupled with the warn- that you should weigh them against your knowledge and experience. All that I ask that you do not weigh them against your ities, of which we have already a God's in the world.

Recently, we hear a great deal, perhaps , about the low temperature of Indian- n relations. We hear that the Indians like us, that Americans are badly d in India, and that Indian officialdom upon our foreign policy with a distaste genuine hostility and antagonism. In papers, we read statements from nent men to the effect that Prime Minister is a quasi-Communist or that he is, at very least, overly sympathetic toward unism and overly critical of us. It is believed that India, despite official ations, is so favorably oriented toward unism that the country is destined to slip behind that metal curtain from which ny has yet emerged.

the outset, let me say quite frankly did not encounter any experiences which rify the charge about Indian hostility Americans. In thousands of miles of across the country and in scores of conversations with Indian leaders, I encountered, not merely exquisite courtesy, but genuine friendliness and warmth as well. I found complete frankness of opinion, which was frequently and honestly critical of this country, but I did not find any of that bitter and vindictive antagonism which, I must confess, I have found on occasion in many a country of western Europe. One university scholar, and only one, was "correct" rather than friendly in receiving me, but, as mutual friends hastened to tell me, his attitude was colored by his personal experiences. He had been invited some time ago to give a series of lectures in one of our great universities, but this long-hoped-for first visit to the United States had failed to materialize because we had denied him a passport visa on the grounds of an alleged affiliation with some suspect organization in the past. Who would not have been bitter over such an experience?

I must add also that even student audiences, and I had many of them, proved far less of an ordeal than I had been led to anticipate. Many were badly informed about the United States but no more so than many of our student audiences are about India. I was far more impressed by their almost desperate eagerness for information than by any evidences of hostility or antagonism.

My visit, however, did leave me with the feeling that our two peoples do have serious misconceptions about each other. These relate to a great many different facets of our relations, and they should be examined calmly and objectively; otherwise, they might fester dangerously in an environment of ignorance and misunderstanding. With your permission, I should like to select three of these for our special attention.

Perhaps we might begin with what one might call the American misconception about the orientation of Indian foreign policy. In the last eight years the United States has made strenuous efforts to bring the non-Communist States of the world into various forms of political and military association which, in the aggregate, would present a bulwark against further Communist expansion anywhere. In pursuit of this policy, which I would prefer to

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*Special text of the Second Vivekananda Memorial Lecture, by President Grayson Kirk of Columbia University at the University of Chicago, at 8-15 p.m., May 1, 1956. The Vivekananda Lectures were established by the Taraknath Das Foundation to promote India Studies and to foster understanding between the people of the United States and India.

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call organized and united resistance rather than containment, our government and our people have been impatient with other peoples who, though they profess to be non-Communist, have been unwilling to side openly with us in what we familiarly call the "defense of the Free World." Our irritation over such a position has led us to the overly-simple conclusion that all those who are not willing to join with us must, in point of fact, be against us whether or not they are willing to admit it openly.

With this conclusion, the Indian disagreement is complete. Their view is that we ask too much when we say that all those who would be our friends must agree that they will regard as their enemies all those whom we regard as our enemies. They are quick to point out that their policy of friendship for all nations, and alignment with none, was adopted at the very outset of their independent existence and was actually announced by their leaders even before independence was achieved. Their position, therefore, is not a covertly pro-Russian response to our overtures, but an expression of the most firmly-held and long-standing principle guiding their foreign policy.

The reasons for this Indian policy of obstinate neutrality are not difficult to discover. Indian leaders point out that their greatest immediate need is to build up and to develop their country. They need industrialization; they need roads; they need schools; they need hospitals; they need land-reform; they need as rapidly as possible to up-grade the standard of living of several hundred million human beings, so many of whom still exist in the squalid poverty endured by their ancestors for a hundred generations.

If you ask why this need is more imperative now than at any time in the past, the answer is that India, now free at last to determine her own destiny, is eager to show by demonstrated accomplishment and in the shortest possible time her fitness to be regarded as a great, as well as an independent power. Many a government official will tell you with pride—and with complete assurance—that there will be but four Great Powers in the world of tomorrow. These are the United States, the Soviet Union, China and India. It is my observation that there is another reason why the Indian leaders are determined to hurry their people into the modern world. For the first time in [illegible] the present generation of Indian citizens [illegible] genuine awareness of the differences [illegible] their standards of living and those of the [illegible] of many other more fortunate countries. [illegible] creased travel, motion pictures, illus[illegible] magazines—all the media of mass inform[illegible] have had an effect not yet fully felt in [illegible] the level of popular expectation of what [illegible] to be provided by government. If this is [illegible] it follows that a government which fails [illegible] show significant results will be replaced [illegible] another whose leaders are more extravagant [illegible] their campaign promises.

An American visitor is also remi[illegible] firmly but not too pointedly, that the pre[illegible] day Indian need to avoid external commit[illegible] and obligations in order to concentrate [illegible] domestic development is closely comparab[illegible] our own situation in the early post-indep[illegible] dence decades of American history. And [illegible] point out that, in this respect, our his[illegible] policy of neutrality and isolation grew [illegible] the same national need as their own. They [illegible] inclined to argue that, without such a po[illegible] the United States would never have grown [illegible] such world power in such a short time. [illegible] recognize the differences in the two situa[illegible] chiefly those which arise from an over-p[illegible] lated India versus a vastly under-popu[illegible] infant United States, but they are firm in [illegible] view that India must follow, as we once [illegible] Jefferson's policy of ". . . peace, com[illegible] and honest friendship with all nations—[illegible] ling alliances with none." As one high g[illegible] ment official said to me:

> "You should at least be willing to [illegible] India to follow for a few years a po[illegible] which you followed for a century [illegible] half."

The same official gave me another re[illegible] this time from the field of domestic po[illegible] why Indian neutrality is so imperative at [illegible] time. He was quite firm in his view that [illegible] Indian alignment with the West would [illegible] been impossible so soon after India had [illegible] herself from the political domination of [illegible] the Western powers. With the memories of [illegible] struggle for independence so fresh in [illegible] minds, any proposal, less than a decade [illegible] freedom's attainment, to become closely [illegible] ciated with the Western powers, including

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mer ruling power, would have been regarded too many people as being tantamount to a ding of part of independence and a return political subservience. I do not know how urate such a political judgment may be, but suspect that Americans would not have friendly, a decade after the Revolution, rd any alignment with a group of foreign ers which would have included Great ain.

The natural American response to any presentation of the Indian position on ality is that it is based on an unrealistic of the Communist threat to the outside I should like to direct your attention problem for a few moments because I e that it is a second major difference of between our two peoples. Indian and can leaders are very far apart indeed in estimates of Russian intentions in the field eign policy. The important thing to re- however, at the outset is that because ians do take a different view, we are not to jump to the conclusion that they pro-Communist in their political

first observation is that one does not er, in or out of official circles, in India of and hostility toward the Soviet so generally prevalent here at home. For ere are many reasons. Because India have the same deeply-rooted traditions ividual rights, there is not the same sense ge over Russian disregard of individual particularly when that disregard is not understood. Also, the vast majority of possess so little material wealth, whether money, or goods of any kind, that they easily be moved to fear of Communism of its rejection of free enterprise. In rds, the Indians simply do not view policy from the same perspective as

ese, of course, are broad generalizations e all such general statements they are to endless qualifications when one s to apply them to such a vast and ly diverse country. Obviously, what I just said would not at all apply to the e classes and still less to those of the r classes. But the right to vote is not ed to persons of education or substance.

If I may hazard another observation, I would say that the Indians lack a fear of Russia because they do not share our view that Russia is likely to undertake the spread of Communism by military conquest. They do not believe that the power of the Russian army and air force is likely to be unleashed against them or anyone else in the foreseeable future. They do not approve of Russian militarism; they regard it as a factor making for world tension and apprehension, and I fear that they have exactly the same view of our own military policy and activities.

There remains the danger of subversive activities. Here, the Indian reply to an American questioner is that the Indian Communist party is numerically small and that Nehru frequently has had more Communists in jail than could be found in the jails of any Western country. One has the impression of full awareness of the subversion problem, but one does not find any tendency to lapse into the acute fear, even hysteria, which at times seems to sweep this country. It may be that the Indians would do well to be more alert to this danger. All I can do is to report to you that I did not find anything among governing circles except confidence in their ability to deal with these activities to whatever extent circumstances might make necessary.

Finally, I should report that the Indians sometimes indicate overtly, sometimes by implication, that they are better able, as Asians, to understand and appraise Russian motives and policies than we of the West. In taking this position, they tend to think of the Russians as fellow Asians and not as Europeans. Whether there is such a thing as an Asian mind, and whether, if so, the Russians are, in fact, Asian rather than Western in their thinking—these are matters about which I am not competent to speak. Personally, I am more inclined to accept the view that differences among national groups arise from linguistic and historical influences than I am to be receptive to such a notion as an Asian mind which has a common characteristic separating it from the West even though those who share it have had no language kinship and no very extensive historical association with each other until modern times.

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A third source of misunderstanding is related closely to the two which I have just mentioned. This is the Indian impression of the American attitude toward colonialism. In today's India colonialism is still perhaps the most detested word in the English language. We must understand that to them colonialism is far more of a bugbear than Communism. The Indians all have had experience with the one but not with the other. To them, a State which practises or even condones colonialism is a greater enemy than a State which advocates Communism. Not enough time has elapsed since attainment of independence for these people to take a calm and historically objective attitude toward colonialism. One must remember that the major leaders of present-day India have served jail sentences, some for many years, because they opposed British rule. One could not expect them to remain indifferent to the striving of other peoples to end even the vestiges of alien political domination.

In consequence, the Indians are generally impatient with the failure of the United States to take a more clear-cut stand on this issue. They point out that our country by its historical experience ought to be firmly opposed to colonialism. They respect the record of this country in the Philippines, but they deplore our silence, or at least our ambivalence, with respect to the colonial issues of today. Since they do not share our apprehensions about the Soviet Union, they do not understand why we have felt that we must not "rock the boat" in our associations with Britain and France by supporting the aspirations of their subject peoples for complete independence. They are disappointed in us and their view is that, for diverse reasons, our leaders fail to express in policy terms the real and enduring attitudes of the American people. We may reply that this view is shortsighted, but, as I have said, it stems both from the fervor of their own feeling and from an entirely different estimate of Soviet intentions. From this brief analysis, it is easy to understand why Secretary Dulles' famous statement last winter on Goa should have produced such an explosion of nuclear proportions throughout the length and breadth of the country. That it should have been a joint United States-Portuguese statement, and not a unilateral one, was even more galling.

At this point one may ask if Soviet [illegible] are mainly responsible for these Indian [illegible] tudes. My answer would be in the negative and I believe that what I have been saying sufficiently explanatory as to the reasons [illegible] this conclusion. Nonetheless, we ought not [illegible] underestimate the Soviet danger in India. [illegible] poses a formidable threat to India and [illegible] West, and I think we would be ill-advised, [illegible] pite bland official assurances to the contrary, [illegible] to cling to the belief that we are meeting [illegible] Russian challenge effectively and successfully. I disagree flatly and completely with the [illegible] that the great shift in Russian tactics was [illegible] victory for the West and an admission of defeat by the Kremlin. The new Soviet policy is based upon great self-confidence; it is being conducted with skill; and it presents a greater threat to the long-range interests of the West than [illegible] did the tough militarism of Stalin. I was tempted to say "the unlamented Stalin," but I suspect that, before long, we may wish that Stalin were still alive and at the helm.

The reasons for my concern about Russian tactics in India are not based on any lack of confidence in the patriotism or intelligence of Indian leaders. My fear is that current Soviet tactics may create in time an attitude which the successors to these leaders may not be able to counter even if they wished to do so.

Let us not overlook the fact that the Russians are reaching the Indian masses. I fear, we are not. I will grant that my view may be colored by the fact that I was in India immediately after the visit of Bulganin and Khruschev. But, even so, one cannot overlook the impact of that visit upon the hundreds of thousands of Indians who saw them and listened to their speeches. Let us remember that most of these people are illiterate. To them, the visit was one made by leaders of a great and powerful neighboring State in which a new social order, created for the benefit of the common people, was producing successes in the benefits which they, the Indian spectators, hoped to have one day for themselves. While laboring the point, I ask merely if we of the West have reached these same masses in any direct or meaningful way. My own conclusion on this point is completely negative. I say this in no criticism of our American Ambassador in India who is a man of the highest ability

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who deserves the lasting gratitude of our people for his intelligence, courage, and devotion. My apprehension is that our efforts to date to check Soviet infiltration have not made a significant impact upon the masses.

A second reason for my apprehension is that the Russians are profiting skilfully from the embarrassment over the heritage of colonialism. The Indians are unduly, but naturally, sensitive in their dealings with the West. They remember how a short time ago they were ruled by so many peoples of the West as colonies. They remember their treatment, not at the hands of those who were crude and brutal, but even more painfully, their treatment at the hands of those who were condescending as a parent is to a child. Since the Indians still have a chip on their shoulder in this respect, they continue to look for evidences of colonialism or discrimination in their dealings with the West. Occasionally, they find them where we, too, have not entirely freed ourselves from this corroding heritage of the past.

This sensitivity can be illustrated by a passage in a major foreign policy address by Prime Minister Nehru in the Indian Parliament on March 29, 1956. Referring to the failure of "some great countries" to recognize the existence of China, he went on to say: "It is not merely a question of China. It is a question of the outlook on all Asian problems and the idea that, as previously, they are to be settled by the great powers whom we respect, hardly taking into consideration what the people of Asia might feel about it. There has been a change, and the countries of Asia are somewhat afraid about it, or, maybe they have even been asked to sit in the corner of the council chamber. The fundamental fact, this basic conception, still stands—that it is the duty, the responsibility, and the right of those great countries of the Western world to carry the burden of the world, of Asia and Africa like weary Titans they face all these problems and bear this burden of Asia when progressive Asia does not want them to carry that burden."

The Russians have no such Old Man of the Sea on their backs. They flatter their Asian colleagues; they treat them with enthusiastic equality. If at times they seem to lack finesse in dealing with sophisticated, cultured Indians, they make up for this omission by the warmth of their praise for Indian accomplishments in the post-independence years. If they have ever criticized Indian neutrality or the moderate socialism of the present regime, I have never discovered it. *They* do not say that because Nehru is devoted to neutrality, he must be secretly favorable to capitalism and, therefore, hostile to Communism.

By such tactics and by open statement, the Russians have gone very far successfully to identify themselves as the leaders of all Asian peoples against the colonialist-imperialist West. The Indian masses know little or nothing about Soviet imperialism, but they know from experience about Western imperialism, and they are not overly critical about the Soviet claims. Worse still, one suspects that they are led by this prejudice to accept at near face value the Soviet interpretation of Western policies of the present-day.

Against these clever tactics of identifying oneself with the aspirations of a people, praising their accomplishments, flattering their leaders and their intellectuals, and offering to be helpful in any needed way, what have we done? As I have indicated, I do not believe we have reached very many people at the mass level. I am equally concerned over the inadequacy of our other programs.

I know that much attention is given to projects of technical and financial assistance. I know that we have devoted men and women who are striving to build dams, improve health conditions, guide industrial development. All these things are good and creditable, and they should be continued and, where appropriate, expanded. But my fear is that we may expect these programs to yield more political dividends and at an earlier time than is altogether likely.

The underlying assumptions are that an improvement in living standards will help to defeat Communism because people will be less desperate in their political choices and because more of them will acquire a modest vested interest in the *status quo*. This is undoubtedly true, but one wonders, in view of the magnitude of the Indian problem, when it will be true. Can such a development possibly take place fast enough to meet the rising level of popular demand? The great danger is that the levels of expectation, even insistence, may rise, under Soviet encouragement, faster than the Indian Five-Year Plans, aided by outside technical

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assistance programs, can improve living standards.

Another source of concern, which applies to all our American overseas assistance programs, is that we may expect too many political returns, in the form of support for us against Russia, just as a matter of sheer gratitude for our generosity. Among nations even more than among individuals, gratitude for favors given is seldom a powerful motivating force. The donor state may believe that its motivation is sheer philanthropy, but the recipient is sure to look the gift horse in the mouth in an effort to locate the motive of national interest which he assumes, and with good cause, to be there.

As Mr. Nehru said at another point in the speech to which I have already referred :

> "The great powers . . . like to distribute largesse to the poor and needy and have not only the mental satisfaction of having done good but also that of knowing that the other knows that they have done good to it, and, may be, getting something in exchange."

Moreover, and with reference to those who represent us in these various assistance programs, it is important to remember that what we do is not more significant politically than how we do it. To be effective, our representatives must have rid themselves of the psychological impediment of the past. If they go to their posts filled with a burning zeal to bring the blessings of the modern age to a backward people, they are likely, unconsciously, to do more psychological harm than material benefit. If they are ignorant of the history and the culture of the people among whom they work, if they are ignorant of the religions and the customs, they, and we, would be better off if they remained smugly at home.

These observations lead me to a conclusion which I am sure you will share with me. Under the geographic, technical, and political conditions of the past century, we have failed to learn as much about the Asian peoples as we now need to know. It would be fair to say that the educated Asians know far more about the West than our educated classes know about the East. Our school system is oriented toward Western Europe. If we study history other than American history, we read the history of Western Europe. We study the art of Europe, its architecture, its philosophy, and its languages. If we know much of the East, our knowledge is usually confined to the record of our Western contacts with Asia. Of Asian thought, of Asian art, of Asian culture generally, we know far too little. We are still in the toils of that archaic notion that the "heathen" peoples of the earth may deserve our sympathy but not our serious study.

In a day when our national interests were not concerned by events of the outside world, save for Europe, such a point of view could be held without any injury to us except to our cultural development. But today it is a crippling millstone about our necks. In a shrunken divided world, the strong powers no longer dominate the weaker ones; they are more likely to be dominated by their weaker neighbors who will have tasted the joys of playing off the powerful ones aganst each other and of allowing each to vie with the other for possible favors. Also, in days when strategic concepts have become global rather than regional, there are no events of importance in any country in the world which fail to have genuine significance for us. Our world, now so small and growing so much smaller with the whistling of jet planes and the dread menace of intercontinental guided missiles, is filled with states all of which live politically in a chain-reaction relationship to each other.

In such a world, it behoves us to move with every possible speed to improve our understanding of other peoples. While there will always be larger and smaller States, we have no longer any room for notions about superior and backward peoples, for outworn concepts of racial and cultural superiority. We have room only for the basic view that the nations have greater areas of common interest than difference and that the commonality of interests must grow as the globe shrinks. The price of co-existence in such a world is for nations a willingness to allow others to live as they choose, to insist in every practicable way that the choice be a free one, and to refrain from all efforts, whether by violence or cunning, to impair that freely chosen status.

These are some of the considerations which lead me to place great stress upon the need for more cultural interchange between the United States and India. I do not advocate this merely because I think it will be a potent weapon

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which to combat Soviet infiltration in the subcontinent. I advocate it because I think it offers promise through a variety of means. It will provide a basis of future popular understanding because it has a possibility of mutuality of effort not to be found in financial or technical assistance programs. Its psychological benefits will be useful.

Through such increased interchange we will both rid ourselves of some of these misconceptions which I have sketched. Indians lose the notion that we are crass and materialistic and without true culture or philosophy. Through increased knowledge and understanding, we will find Indian culture less exotic, perhaps, but richly deserving of our careful study.

Understanding breeds tolerance and tolerance opens the way for soundly conceived and enduring political collaboration. I believe firmly that India is to become one of the great powers of the earth. It would be more than a pity, it would be a tragedy, if from these early days of Indian statehood our two countries were not to maintain those close ties, friendly and beneficial associations, which would give reassurance to the world that our differences will always be less than our agreements, and that we share a common determination to strive to bring to all men the fruits and not the terrors of the modern world.

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SOCIALISTIC PATTERN IN THE ANCIENT INDIAN ECONOMY

By NARAIN SARAN GUPTA, M.A., M.COM.

It is heard of Socialism these days specially in the countries which have been under the rule of foreigners, for they have begun to feel that the concentration of power or wealth in the hands of a minority in a community leads to exploitation of, and injustice to, the majority of people. This is not a new doctrine but even one as Plato (429-347 B.C.) advocates abolition of private property inasmuch as the passion or desire for private property inevitably corrupts the individual, obscures his moral and intellectual vision and makes him incapable of seeking truth and social justice. In other words it may be stated that

"Socialism is a body of teaching and practice resting upon the belief that most evils are due to excessive unequal distribution of material resources; and these evils can be cured only by the transference, sudden or immediate, total or partial, of the ownership of property and the means of production and distribution from private to public control."

This idea of socialism is somewhat different from Marx's Socialism which states that the history of society is but the history of the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and when the latter class is much oppressed, it will find in the course of time to acquire such centralization, organisation, international solidarity and effective revolutionary indignation to take over the whole economic system by removing the dwindling number of capitalists from their highly centralised position of control, thus at last obtaining the fruit of its labour in its entirety for its own use. Marx's Socialism may be called not actually Socialism but Communism although both these terms remained in a state of confusion up to this century.

On the other hand it is surprising to note that Socialism was prospering in India during the ancient times under Imperialism. Every institution had a socialistic background which may be examined from the following discussion.

ORGANISATION OF SOCIETY

In order to explore the possibilities of attaining equality regarding the distribution of wealth, which is the fundamental principle of Socialism, the whole society was divided into four sectors on the basis of qualities possessed by individuals and not on the basis of birth which is taken to be granted at present. According to the Geeta each sector of the society was allotted a different task although individuals were at liberty to change from one profession to another as Buddhist texts reveal that Brahmans and Kahatriyas tilled the soil and took up trade and did menial work, Vaishyas worked as tailors and potters, and Sudras took to other trades and professions which were not warranted under the caste division without any effect on their position in society. Brahmans were to acquire, learning and teach and preach,

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Kshatriyas to rule, Vaishyas to trade and Sudras to serve. This division of society was based on the socialistic line. The first and the fourth sectors were to depend upon the second and the third for their livelihood. It was a legal and moral obligation on the part of the Vaishyas and the Kshatriyas to give away a certain portion of their income to the Brahmans and pay the Sudras their appropriate share in exchange of services rendered by them. Kshatriyas mostly belonged to the royal families and were attached to them and maintained by royal revenues which were paid by the remaining caste, *i.e.*, the Vaishya, in terms of different types of taxes. The third sector was the only sector which was rich and mostly controlled the agriculture and the trade of the country.

Although Vaishyas were rich they had no such store of wealth as is found under the present capitalistic economy because they were morally and legally bound to pay from one-twelfth to one-sixth of their produce of agriculture by way of state revenues and much of the taxes in respect of trade and commerce together with about one-tenth of their total income to Brahmans by way of charities and other religious affairs as also some part to Sudras. Thus wealth could not be stored and possessed by any particular indivitual or a group of individuals belonging to a particular sector of the society. Besides this, kings and emperors were not greedy and had no craze for accumulating wealth, and they tried to make their subjects happy and discouraged capitalistic economy.

It seems Megasthenes has confused castes with classes as he mentions that the whole society was divided into seven classes. On the other hand, the thing was that since the advancement of society more divisions of labour came in which resulted in divisions in trades and professions and people belonging to the same trade and profession formed a separate class.

Agrarian Organisation

Either in the inscriptions or in other records there is no reference to landlords owning large estates, nor to beggers and very poor men in villages. Thus, society was prosperous and happy. It has already been pointed out that peasants and farmers formed the majority of the society and they followed the peaceful pursuit of agriculture. Besides a few cities and towns which were ports or seats of kings the whole country was divided into small villages. The administrative affairs of the peasants a village were managed by the village c under a headman who was selected by the c and not by the king of the country. It was headman, an important person in the vil who was held responsible for the co tion of State revenues. Revenues in the of grains were collected and stored in Go ment granaries in various parts of the coun a protection against famine or drought, w proves the generosity and benevolence of rulers. The peasants were generally a co lot and developed, along with a sturdy spirit, the method of co-operative life for the mon good. The Buddhist texts mention the able-bodied villagers co-operated together construct reservoirs, irrigation canals, roads fencing for the common benefit of the vil which is practised at present under the name Shramdan sponsored by the Government of

The other characteristic of the ancient rian economy was that there was the "pe proprietorship." Land was considered a valuable piece of property and the transfer ownership was not permitted till the consen fellow villagers or the permission of either town-council or village-panchayat was obta Practically this idea has a socialistic backgro The fallow or the waste lands belonged to State in theory but their disposal was made accordance with the wishes of local vill panchayats or town-councils. The state o a very small fraction of the cultivable land this land was called Rajyavastu, *i.e.*, the C land or the property of the state. Thus ge "the ownership of the cultivable land ve private individuals or families and not State." This further proves that the kings rulers had no craze for storing and accumula wealth. The villagers who possessed so land that it was difficult for them to manage to lease it to tenants and the latter in ret their labour used to get from 33 per cent per cent of the gross produce. It has al been emphasised that there is no mention in the inscriptions or in the Smritis abo modern system of Zamindari which remain vogue in Bengal till the other day.

From the above remarks it may be conclu that for the purpose of disposition the land considered as public property and the pur and the price were determined by the p In order to bring about a parity of wealth it was thought necessary th

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chaser should be determined by the society that one might not become the owner of so an area of land that he could monopolise th through the possession of the source of lth. Further, the state encouraged socialistic dencies by framing rules and regulations to effect in regard to the sale of land and its ership.

Industrial Organisation

Besides agriculture, which was the main ession of most people, trade and indus- also flourished on the same line. The nomic prosperity of the country was at a high and a great many arts, crafts and occupa- developed well. One of the characteristic es of the industries of those times was that were carried on by hand and were widely ed all over the country both in rural and n areas with a further dispersion from e to house. This tendency struck a heavy against the very motive of capitalism which ground by the concentration of industries particular area. In villages lived the ts, the ranchmen and the craftsmen. n were peasant-proprietors. Craftsmen not only in villages but also in towns in- as the whole of the country's economy was n small-scale and cottage industries. This that the whole country was industrially and the problem of rural industri- did not exist as at present. The industrial ity can be estimated by the fact that the ial structure consisted both of heavy and industries which were localised in towns and s respectively in view of the necessary s derivable from the factors arising out of alisation of industries.

ring that period there was no present-type system where hundreds of workers work building under one boss and the same ment, which in other words may be called alistic economy. Every worker was ent and was under no direct boss. He position to reap the fruits of his own The unit was very small. It was under and the factory unit did not go beyond members. It may rightly be said that type of organisation was on socialistic

, safeguard the interests of the craftsmen , avoid competition among themselves as attain the economies of a large-scale production, eighteen of the more important crafts were organised into economic corporations called Srenis or Pugas or guilds. Each craft had its own guild. Contemporary inscriptions and seals refer to the guilds not only of merchants and bankers but also of manual workers like weavers, oilmen, bamboo-workers, corn-dealers and artisans fabricating hydraulic engines.

The affairs of the guilds were managed by a President or Pramukh (Foreman) or Jyesthaka (Elder) or Sresthin (Chief) and a small executive committee of four or five members. "At Basrah, the ancient Vaisali, and the seat of provincial government under the Guptas, 274 sealings were found of the joint guild of bankers, traders and transport merchants having its membership spread over a large number of towns and cities in northern India."

In some places the guilds managed the affairs of temples. Guilds had a great reputation and status as they were autonomous bodies, having their own rules, regulations and bye-laws which were normally accepted and respected by the State. Disputes among the members of the guilds were settled by their own executive and not by the State tribunals. Guilds used to do banking business also by accepting deposits by guaranteeing a regular payment of interest, and grant capital and loans to those who required it. Such loans and capital were payable in easy instalments.

Under this industrial economy almost all the points of the socialistic economy were present. The ownership of the property was public and not private as it was vested under the guilds in respect of industries and crafts, and under town-councils and village-panchayats in the sphere of land and agriculture. When there was any possibility of concentration of wealth, ways and means were found and provided for transferring and diverting that wealth to the sector of society which possessed less.

It may be said that under such an industrial organisation the country flourished a good deal and civilisation attained its zenith. India in those days had trade relations with almost all countries of the East and the West. The ample gold coins issued by the Guptas and the large number of Roman gold coins found in the South prove clearly that India was filled with yellow currency, and since gold was coming from outside it may be concluded that it was towards the payment of the balance of trade.

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A NOTE ON GROW MORE FOOD CAMPAIGN

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By P. C. BANSIL, M.A.

The Second World War broke out in September, 1939. As it approached the Eastern borders of India in the closing months of 1941 and war with Japan began on December 8 the South-East Asian markets were totally shut off.

By this time, India had also become an important war base. Huge quantities of food had to be made available for the large concentrations of military and auxiliary services at various centres throughout India and adjacent countries.[1] All these factors combined together put the maximum pressure on the food resources of the country. At the same time short-staple cotton also lost its export market in Japan.[2] The condition of the cotton-grower came for discussion in the Central Legislative Assembly on October 27, 1941. This being the situation, the Central Cotton Committee suggested in January, 1942, that the land under short-staple cotton should be diverted to food crops.

The conditions were getting worse every day with the Japanese advances. Singapore fell soon after. The Advisory Board of the then Imperial Council of Agricultural Research realised the gravity of the situation. It passed a comprehensive resolution in February, 1942, stressing the need to grow more food. Burma fell next month and Rangoon was evacuated on March 7, 1942. This made the position worse.

Agriculture being a transferred subject the Central Government was unable to take any effective measure in that direction. It had to consult the Provincial and State Governments before anything could be done in the matter. The then Department of Education, Health and Lands thus convened a Food Production Conference on April 6, 1942, which was attended by the Provinces and States. The need to grow more food was unanimously accepted. It was also emphasized by the various representatives that the Centre should play a more active role in the matter. The idea of a Central Food Advisory Council which was set up later in August, 1942, was mooted at this Conference. The Council was "to pool information, plan food production on an all India basis and to tender advice with regard to production and equitable distribution."

Broad Outlines

This is how the scheme was launched not in a hurry. It took hardly a few months for the whole thing to be completed. Those were the days when public tension against the Government was maximum. Every action of the Government was looked at with serious doubt. The administration on its own side had no technical personnel. There was also very little cultivable land readily available. Although the scheme laid emphasis on both intensive and extensive cultivation, and the whole work was split up into 13 heads as detailed below, yet the chief plank was the diversion of land from short-staple cotton to food grains :

(1) Increasing the acreage of land under food grains.
(2) Emergency Irrigation Projects.
(3) Land Improvement and Minor Irrigation Projects.
(4) Agricultural machinery.
(5) Manures and fertilizers.
(6) Seed multiplication and distribution.
(7) Vegetables and vegetable seeds.
(8) Agricultural implements.
(9) Protection of crop grains.
(10) Fisheries.
(11) Fruit development.
(12) Live stock and dairying.
(13) Agricultural statistics.

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1. Some of the reasons were :
   (a) the presence of foreign forces in large numbers,
   (b) abnormal food wastages inherent in Government handling and war conditions,
   (c) complete cessation of imports,
   (d) need for some exports to Ceylon, etc.

2. Prof. M. L. Dantwala in his *A Hundred Years of Indian Cotton* gives details of the effect of war on the cotton trade of India with Japan. Before the War India had a flourishing trade with Japan and the Far East in cotton of say, five-eighth inch staple. Japanese purchases of Indian cotton had reached a record level of 2.4 million bales (p. 24). The July-August Broach contract on the Bombay Market for the year 1939-40 was Rs. 340 per candy (784 lbs. of cotton lint). [Broach is a cotton-growing area in Gujarat district. Cotton of this area was used as a standard for such contracts. Later on when Broach cotton could not be relied on for its purity, it was substituted by Jarila, a new introduction of the plant-breeders of the Bombay Agricultural Department.] As a result of export difficulties this came down to Rs. 180 per candy in 1941 (p. 107). All exports practically ceased after July 1941 when orders were issued by the Government of India on July 26 freezing the accounts of all persons or firms domiciled in the Empire of Japan and Manchuria (p. 25).

3. We are in this connection reminded of Lowes Dickinson's Immortal John Chinaman, who demonstrated so wittily and effectively that what an Englishman calls white a Chinaman sees black. (Quoted by Lord Irwin in his foreword to *Indian Village*—F. L. Brayne, Oxford Press, Eighth Edition.

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The first phase of the Campaign which ...ted up to 1947, consisted of a number of ...*hoc schemes*. No detailed plan was, in fact, ...ared. Only some specific lines of work ...e indicated and the cultivators as well as ...e Governments were promised certain sub-...ies. Some work was no doubt done by way ...new minor irrigation works and seed, manure ...fertilizer supply schemes. But the success ...ieved being rather meagre, no discussion of ...h head separately seems to be necessary. We ...confine ourselves to the first head—increas-...the acreage of land under food-grains—...h played an important role.

Increasing Acreage Under Food-grains

Double Cropped Area and Fallow Land

Various measures adopted by the Govern-...for increasing the acreage under food-...s were:

(1) Increasing the double-cropped area.
(2) Bringing fallow land under cultivation.
(3) Diverting land from non-food to food crops.

...tistical information is not available ...gard to the first two items. It would, ...er, be seen from Table I that there was ...crease in the area sown more than once ...e Indian Provinces and some decrease in ...llow lands.

Table I[4]

...llow Land and the Area Sown More than Once in Indian Provinces

(In thousand acres)

...r ...ge ...-37 to ...-39	Fallow land	Area sown more than once
...-39	36,072	26,786
...-40	36,861	27,235
...-41	35,213	26,435
...-42	35,733	23,980
...-43	35,296	28,496
...-44	33,648	29,327
...-45	33,671	29,621
...-46	36,275	29,906

...atever reliance can be placed on the ...given above, it shows that there was some ...e increase in the area sown more than ...and a decrease in the fallow land for the ...tion of the war at least. It can also be ...assumed that most of these increases were ...ed to food-grains, because as we would see from the following pages, the land already under cash crops like cotton and jute was being diverted to food-grains. The question of bringing new lands under cash crops would not have arisen under the circumstances. It is, however, quite difficult to assess the actual increase in the food potential as a result of these two measures.

Besides bringing additional fallow lands under cultivation, steps were also taken to lease Government waste lands to cultivators at economic or concessional rates of rent or fee (as the case may be) for the production of food crops. Some 9 lakh acres of such lands were distributed in the various provinces. It was expected that these waste lands would be able to add some two and a half lakh tons of food-grains to the stocks of the country. But it is not known as to how much of this land was actually cultivated and what addition to food did it make. Some details have been provided by Dr. Natarajan with regard to these waste lands in the case of Madras. He says:[5]

"Between 1942-43 and 1949-50, some area assigned free of cost to landless agricultural labourers, petty landholders, political sufferers, ex-servicemen and others had totalled up to 392,958 acres, of which only 175,386 acres or 44.63 per cent have been brought under cultivation. The rest about 217,572 acres, remains yet uncultivated."

This sorry state of affairs is attributed by him to either the assignees of lands lacking finance and belonging to non-agricultural classes or lands themselves being not easily cultivable. Whatever the case, the conditions in Madras can more or less be presumed to be representative of the country as a whole. And it can be safely assumed that much progress could not be made on this front either. It may be added that Dr. Natarajan made some calculations of additional production, adjusted to seasonal factors as a result of 285.75 thousand acres of land assigned and 169.8 thousand acres actually cultivated for the period 1942-48. The cumulative additional production calculated by him is of the order of three lakh tons of food-grains.[6] It would seem to be difficult to place much reliance on these calculations. Firstly, it is very difficult to find the actual

...timates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in Un-...ed India—1936-37 to 1945-46.

5. Dr. B. Natarajan : *Food and Agriculture in Madras State*, 2nd Edition, p. 163.

6. Dr. B. Natarajan : *Op. Cit.*, 2nd Edition, p. 86.

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additional area brought under cultivation and secondly, the yield from such area cannot be calculated. Table II will show that if adjustment is made with regard to the increases in the area sown more than once, there was hardly any increase in the total net area sown during the period.

Diversion of Land from Cash to Food Crops. Cotton Fund

Short-staple cotton having lost foreign markets, every possible effort was made to divert land from cash to food crops. The Government of India had imposed a duty of 1 anna per pound on the imports of raw cotton. The proceeds—known as cotton fund constituted on January 29, 1942—were intended to help the cotton-growers. It was now decided that grants would be given from this fund at a rate not exceeding Rs. 2 per acre of the area diverted from short-staple cotton to food crops. The rate was increased to Rs. 4 per acre later on in the case of Madras. The Central Government also offered to purchase Jowar and Bajra from the United Provinces, Central Provinces and Berar, and Madras at fixed prices, quite favourable to the cultivators. The various Provincial and State Governments promulgated certain Ordinances regulating the cultivation of crops like cotton, tobacco and jute.[7]

All this did have the desired effect. The success was no doubt due more to the fact that food-grains prices were attractive as compared with cash crops. The results for the Indian Union are shown in Table II.

Table II

Acreage Statistics

(In million acres)

Year	Area under all food-grains	Area under cotton	Area under jute	Area under groundnut	Total sown net
Average for 1936-37 to 1938-39	158.8	21.0	.86	8.0	171.
1939-40	155.8	18.2	.79	8.4	169.
1940-41	156.0	19.8	1.3	8.8	171.3
1941-42	156.0	20.5	.78	7.0	171.1
1942-43	164.3	16.1	.85	7.7	171.9
1943-44	166.3	17.5	.70	9.8	174.2
1944-45	183.0	11.4	.58	10.6	175.4
1945-46	177.9	11.6	.57	10.3	172.4

7. The Legislations passed were: The Cochin Proclamation of 1942, the Bombay Growth of Food Crops Act, 1944 and the Hyderabad Restriction of Cash Crops Cultivation Regulation, 1944.

It would be seen from the table above the net area remained practically stationary. There was not much of change even in the case of jute. The decrease in cotton was counterbalanced by an increase in food-grains and groundnut, another crop which fetched better price.

The whole of the success during this period was based on the pricing policy followed by the Government. After a fall in the cotton acreage in 1942-43, it went up by about million acres the next year. This was due to cotton prices having been pushed up as a result of speculation in the Bombay market. Forward contracts had actually been prohibited by the Government of India from April 30, 1943, the current as well as the next crop. Prices of the standard Jarila deliveries for May to July had been fixed at Rs. 565 and Rs. 3 per candy respectively. But the cultivator who had witnessed a big increase in cotton prices the previous year after harvest, could not be convinced about the utility of these orders hence an increase in area.

In order to counteract all this for the next year, the Government offered to purchase the 1944-45 crop of Jowar and Bajra at Rs. 5 and Rs. 6 per maund respectively in the markets of the United Provinces, Central Provinces, Madras, Punjab and Sind. It was also declared that no floor prices would be fixed for short-staple cotton and no transport would be provided for the same. Huge money was spent on propaganda for the purpose.

It may be added that such an economic incentive is not peculiar for an Indian cultivator. This is applicable to agriculture all over the world.[8]

Irrigation

Even the irrigated area remained practically the same in 1941-42, it was 38.4 million acres. Having touched down to 36.8 in 1942-43, it could hardly recover to 38.1 in 1944-45.

8. Economic opinion is divided on the issue of whether large divergence of area from non-food crops to food crops was the result of the Grow More Food Campaign. Excepting for Bombay systematic attempt had been made to bring about this diversion. Further, wherever such diversion was effective it was due to commercial causes. (Thirumalai: *Op. Cit.*, p. 32). Even in United States "throughout the war many farmers used seed, fertilizers, labour deferred from military service, and land to grow short-staple cotton, of which there was a surplus, melon and other low priority crops." (*U.S. Burden of the War, The United States at War*, 1946).

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million acres in 1945-46. This only shows some of the tanks and wells that might gone into disuse temporarily, were again into use after renovation. If, however, the ly of Madras[9] is to be given serious notice even this may not be true. Most of the s and tanks for which loans were sanctioned grants made did not actually come into ence.

The Effect

There is, all the same, no denying the fact the increase in the area under food crops to an appreciable increase in the available supplies in the country as would be seen Table III.

Table III

Production of Food-grains

(In million tons)

Year	Rice	Wheat	Bajra	Total incl. gram
1936-37 to 1939	19.4	7.0	2.3	43.8
1939-40	18.4	7.3	2.2	42.8
1940-41	16.6	6.9	2.7	41.9
1941-42	17.3	6.4	2.6	40.6
1942-43	18.1	6.9	3.4	44.2
1943-44	20.8	6.3	3.3	45.4
1944-45	19.8	6.8	3.3	46.1
1945-46	18.2	5.9	2.8	40.8

hough the cry all around has been that mpaign had failed, it would be seen that serve a very useful purpose during the eriod when the pressure on food was the ern.[10]

It is very difficult to make an appraisal of ffect of the campaign on food production country. The true facts were obviously ed by the various State Governments. xample, the original report for the year 3, for the State of Travancore, said:[11]

"The seasons were not favourable for impor- crops like paddy, tapioca, sugarcane, etc.," e slip pasted on this reads,

"The seasons were favourable for important crops like paddy, tapioca, coconut, sugarcane, etc."

Such opposing reports only support the view that no genuine effort was made to post the public with the factual position in the field.*

The promoters of the campaign launched it purely as a temporary measure[12] to tide over the difficulty during the war period and we cannot deny the fact that it did help to achieve this objective.

As regards the permanent effect on the food potential of the country, it was never envisaged by the planners. Those were the days when the nation as a whole was against the then ruling party. The 1942 Movement had set the whole nation astir. It was a folly under those circumstances for the then Government to expect any co-operation from the public in any of the schemes formulated by it. The various charges levelled against the campaign like that of lack of interest on the part of the authorities, absence of public co-operation and confidence, and inefficiency of the administration would, therefore, seem to be misplaced when studied in their real perspective. Nothing had, in fact, been done and nothing could possibly be done to win the co-operation of the farmer.

The Policy After the War

As the War came to an end on September 12, 1945, the fate of the GMFC came up for discussion. Food position in the country was deteriorating everyday and food imports were mounting. Our imports went up to 2.6 million

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Natarajan : *Op. Cit.*, p. 162. While describing the scheme he says: "There had been cases where old wells plastering were passed off for new wells, and cases that was paid by the Treasury by way of subsidy did not ryot. This shortcoming was remedied by the expansion operating staff in 1948-49 based on the standards in the Manual."

refer to the verifications made by the ICAR—GMFEC— pp. 16-18.

Refer to Foot Note 1.

Travancore Information, Volume V, December, 1944, p. 6. by K. C. Sivaswamy and others in *Food Famine and Nutri- Diseases in Travancore.* (1943-44), p. 127.

* There is evidence available that inflated figures were given even for fallow lands. The area under current fallows which had practically remained at the level of 1919-20 till the early forties, has registered an increase thereafter. Since this increase is reported to have been confined to the cotton-growing tracts, the official policy of discouraging the growth of cotton during the war period may have been partly responsible for the lands being left fallow. In the State of Hyderabad, there has been a continuous increase in fallows which has been explained away as somewhat of an exaggeration by a special committee of the Hyderabad Government which investigated the position. —(Thirumalai : *Op. Cit.*, p. 86).

This is confirmed by Mr. S. Kesava Iyengar who concluded on the basis of his enquiries that "the main reason for more and more land being shown as fallow, appears to be incorrect reporting on the basis of collusion between peasants and village officers, with a view to evade the burden of levy deliveries of controlled foodgrains." —(*Rural Economic Enquiries in the Hyderabad State*, 1949-51, p. 109).

12. *Report of the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee*, 1952, p. 42.

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tons in the year 1945-46.[13] The policy of the Government was announced on January 21, 1946, in a press note issued by them, which stated *inter alia* that

"The All-India policy is to promote the welfare of the people and to secure a progressive improvement in their standard of living. This includes the responsibility for providing enough food for all, sufficient in quantity and of the requisite quality. For the achievement of this objective high priority will be given to measures for increasing the food resources to the fullest extent, and in particular to measures designed to increase the output per acre and to diminish dependence on the vagaries of nature."

The Indian Central Cotton Committee in their meeting of February 1 and 2, 1946, realised that an increase in the cotton acreage was essential from purely cotton standpoint, but passed a resolution that

"The Provincial Governments and State Governments be required to take whatever steps are necessary to restrict the cotton acreage for the season 1946-47 so that it may not exceed the acreage sown in 1945-46."

"On October 1946 the Government of India appointed an Advisory Planning Board, which issued a preliminary report early in 1947. This report suggested that as regards cereals a reasonable target to be obtained by 1951-52 was an additional annual production of 4 million tons and that each Province and State should make plans for its share of such targets."

Second Phase

Partition

The country was partitioned into India and Pakistan on August 15, 1947. This created many more problems. The installation of the National Government was the only silver lining in this otherwise cloudy weather. The immediate problem before the national Government along with the settlement of the refugees, was the question of food. The national leaders who had first-hand knowledge of the countryside, were rather sore about the working of the GMFC and were quite keen to reorientate it. This created the necessity of putting the scheme on a permanent footing.

Food-grains Policy Committee

A decision had, in fact, already been taken in September, 1946, to continue the campaign for another five years on the basis of detailed targets of production fixed in relation to available resources. These targets were again revised in 1947 after partition and definite rules were laid down governing the grant of assis[illegible] from the Centre for Grow More Food Sch[illegible] The temporary nature of the campaign [illegible] already been given up. The Second Food-gr[illegible] Policy Committee was set up in Septe[illegible] 1947, under the Chairmanship of Sir P[illegible] shottamdas Thakurdas. The Committee w[illegible] included among its members prominent p[illegible] of all shades like Dr. Ram Manohar L[illegible] Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao and Thakur P[illegible] Singh, was charged with the duty of chal[illegible] out measures which can be taken to inc[illegible] domestic production along with important p[illegible] blems relating to food policy.

The Committee submitted its report [illegible] in 1948 and held the view[14] that

"The policy so far pursued has only resulte[illegible] reduced production and exports of jute and co[illegible] without corresponding gain in the food-grains."

Target put up for food production was [illegible] million tons, out of which 3 million tons w[illegible] to be achieved by the reclamation of abou[illegible] million acres of land. The effect of the C[illegible] paign on food has already been discussed. M[illegible] be that the increase in food production was [illegible] as much as the loss in cotton and jute, bu[illegible] say that there was no 'corresponding incre[illegible] is, perhaps, not true.[15]

The Committee which held that [illegible] measures which were undertaken were de[illegible] less in the right direction, but the objec[illegible] were too diversified, the effort was inade[illegible] and in most areas the necessary vigour [illegible] drive were lacking,"[16] reviewed the sit[illegible] with due consideration to the changed c[illegible] stances and made definite recommendatio[illegible] as to reorientate the whole scheme. The re[illegible]

13. For details about this malady, refer to Chapter II.

14. *Foodgrains Policy Committee Final Report*, 1948, p. [illegible]

15. To quote the example of a small State like Indo[illegible] in Madhya Bharat), culturable waste areas including [illegible] Reserved Forests were allotted there on ordinary tenure for a [illegible] of five years on condition that they would be utilized solely [illegible] growth of food crops. It was further ordered that on [illegible] the ordinary tenure, the lands would be deemed to have [illegible] on full tenants rights by the respective holders (p. 6).

The result of the policy was a net increase of 2,43,[illegible] 1943-44 on the average of the preceding five years (p. 6). [illegible] the calculated deficit in 1942-43 was about 17,000 tons. But [illegible] end of 1945, the State had declared a large surplus of about [illegible] tons of wheat, 14,700 tons of millets, 2,078 tons of grain [illegible] tons of pulses.

(*Our Food Policy*, Pamphlet No. 1, Department of [illegible] Indore, 1946).

Also refer to the analysis of the results of GMF Aid Fo[illegible] in Madras State.—Dr. Natarajan: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 128-31.

16. *Final Report, Op. Cit.*, p. 8.

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mendations which were accepted by the Government in toto were given effect to with immediate effect. Besides placing the scheme on a permanent footing, the Committee laid stress on harnessing the enthusiasm of the masses which was available in plenty for the national benefit. The people at large who had been promised better standards of living and economic status, were eager to follow their leaders who had actually been their heroes in the freedom struggle.

Definite targets for additional food production were now fixed in each Province and State as against ad-hoc schemes which used to be submitted by the Provinces to the Central Government. The targets were 3 million tons for the Provinces and 1 million for the States.

Self-Sufficiency Drive

While the Scheme was in progress, imports of food-grains were causing a heavy drain on the foreign exchange resources of India. From April 1948, to March, 1949, India showed a deficit of Rs. 176|- crores in her merchandise trade. As food constituted 22 per cent of the import trade it was felt that if the country could meet all her requirements of food-grains the deficit could be wiped out.

This called for a further intensification of the campaign. The Prime Minister accordingly stated in the Legislature early in 1949 that strenuous efforts would be made to achieve self-sufficiency in food in about 3 years time. The decision to make India self-sufficient was reiterated by the Food Minister, Mr. Jairam Das Daulat Ram, in March, 1949, when the budget for the Food Ministry was brought before the Constituent Assembly. He said:

"Except in the case of grave calamity such as widespread failure of crops or the building up of a Food Reserve, Government will not import any foodgrains from abroad after 1951."

The deficit to be made up by March, 1952, was taken as 4.4 million tons and after making provision for the requirements of increased population during 1951-52, the deficit by March, 1953 was taken as 4.8 million tons. Lord Orr whom the Government invited in 1949 to study the problem of food in India also accepted this deficit of 4.8 million tons and submitted his other recommendations,[17] which were mostly accepted by the Government of India. Speaking on the food problem, the Prime Minister in his broadcast to the nation from the All-India Radio in June, 1949, said that the food deficit was of the order of 10 per cent and that it was not difficult for us to achieve a target of 15 per cent by 1951.

Steps Taken

The immediate step taken to implement this policy was the setting up of a special Emergency Branch in the Ministry of Agriculture under the control of the Commissioner of Food Production, Shri R. K. Patel, who assumed charge of the appointment in July, 1949. He was vested with wide executive powers to co-ordinate the food production of the States, to arrange for the financial, technical and other assistance to them and generally to supervise the execution of the food production programme in the country with a view to achieving the self-sufficiency objective by the end of 1951.

The Plan which the Commissioner for food prepared for the increased output of 4.4 million tons was as follows:

Through intensive cultivation	3.610	million
" reclamation of new land	0.300	"
" tube-well irrigation	0.260	"
" diversion of land from sugarcane	0.220	"

The objective was to be achieved by reclaiming 8 lakh acres of land[18] for which a loan of 10 million dollars was obtained from the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. It was further decided that in case of all private schemes of food production, the agriculturist concerned must pay at least 50 per cent of the total expenditure and in the case of Government schemes, the uneconomic portion of the expenditure would be shared by

17. Other recommendations were:

(i) We must treat this as if it was a national war emergency and have a machinery which can function swiftly and efficiently without the normal delays of the Governmental apparatus. Therefore he suggested that there should be a Food Controller or a Director of Food Production at the Centre with large powers, and similar controllers of food production in each Province and State.

(ii) There must be perfect co-ordination and co-operation between the Centre and the Provinces and States.

(iii) We must reach down to the farmer in the field. That is, there must be links from the top policy making place to the farmers who have ultimately to carry out that policy. The farmer must understand and must willingly co-operate. The understanding and co-operation of the farmers are most important.

18. Legislation had already been passed by Bihar for reclamation, cultivation, and improvement of waste lands in 1946. Similar Acts and Ordinances were passed by Central Provinces and Berar, United Provinces, East Punjab and Madhya Pradesh in 1948 and by Bhopal in 1949.

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the Central and State Governments. Attention was also to be paid to the development and use of heavier yieldng non-cereal food crops like banana, papaya, sweet potato and tapioca.

Assessment

For an assessment of GMFC results, which had been unsatisfactory during the earlier years of the campaign, the position was further examined. A system of Achievement Audit was introduced and a small Statistical Section was set up in the Directorate of Economics and Statistics in the Ministry of Agriculture, in August, 1949, to analyse the GMF programme and examine its results.

The post of the Commissioner was, however, abolished in May, 1950, when Mr. R. K. Patel, the Food Commissioner, became a member of the Planning Commission. But for the simple statement that "given an average season it is quite on the cards that we will be self-sufficient in food by our target date in 1952," nothing detailed and authoritative is known regarding the outcome of the Plan.

This second phase of the GMFC lasted up to the beginning of the year 1950, when India switched over to the Integrated Production Programme.

National Government, no doubt, had been in the saddle, but no improvement seems to have been made in the administrative machinery. The results were therefore incommensurate with the efforts made.[19] "This GMFC has been a costly farce," said *The Modern Review*,[20] and that "food does not grow on statements and speeches," said Professor Banerjee.[21] Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiya, the then President of the A.-I.C.C. said,[22] "Our [illegible] tion for the Grow More Food problem [illegible] not an agricultural issue only, but it is [illegible] extricably connected with the sanitary issue [illegible] well. Land and water have to be married [illegible] the High Priest of Energy."

That was the fate of the GMFC this [illegible] The results of the self-sufficiency goal had [illegible] to be seen, when some other developments [illegible] the appearance of Mr. K. M. Munshi [illegible] Minister for Food and Agriculture on May [illegible] 1950, brought about a complete change in [illegible] Food policy of the country.

The Need for Integrated Production Plan

The United Kingdom devalued the Pound [illegible] September 19, 1949. India also devalued [illegible] Rupee to the same extent. Pakistan, how[illegible] maintained *status quo* and this resulted [illegible] over-valuation of Pakistani currency to [illegible] extent of 44 per cent. Pakistan rate was [illegible] accepted by India and consequently trade [illegible] tween the two countries came to a stand[illegible] This deadlock hit hard India's cotton and [illegible] industries which were fed on raw cotton [illegible] raw jute imported from Pakistan. It was [illegible] that India should no more depend upon Pak[illegible] stan for these two commodities but strive [illegible] attain self-sufficiency in respect of them.

Under the Grow More Food Campaign [illegible] Government had stressed the increased pro[illegible] tion of food-grains even at the cost of [illegible] crops. The area under cotton had fallen [illegible] 21 million acres before the war to 10.6 [illegible] acres in 1948. To meet this situation the [illegible] policy had to be re-orientated. Mr. K. [illegible] Munshi soon after the assumption of [illegible] found that 'Grow More Food' had nothing [illegible] do with 'Grow More Cotton and Jute' [illegible] specialization in respect of the former was [illegible] unnecessarily carried to an absurd length in [illegible] Ministry. He put forward his Eight Fo[illegible] Scheme for consideration which embraced [illegible] creased production of food-grains as well as [illegible] a number of commercial crops like cotton [illegible] jute. The Government accepted this and [illegible] mulated the 'Integrated Production Pl[illegible] Sugarcane and oilseeds were also added [illegible] to the Plan.

19. In agriculture the country has been pre-occupied with GMFC and their results so far, again on account of lack of co-ordination and limitations of administration, as is well known, have been incommensurate with the efforts made.

In the execution of Grow More Food Schemes, popular co-operation has so far not been enlisted.

—Provincial Development Programme, Government of India, December, 1949.

Dr. Pattabhi, the then President of the A.-I.C.C., also said at Jaipur Session that 'what is wanted for ordered and prompt progress in regard to food or other amenities is co-ordination of Departments and a humane view of administration.'

20. *The Modern Review*, January, 1951, p. 18.

21. The failure of the plans may be ascribed to (i) corruption, incompetence and neglect of duty on the part of the Government officers, (ii) greed, profiteering, and blackmarketing on the part of the traders, (iii) apathy and lack of confidence on the part of the general public, and (iv) helplessness and hopelessness on the part of the agriculturist. (P. N. Banerjee : *Op. Cit.*, 1951, p. 342).

22. Presidential Speech at the Annual General Session of A.-I.C.C. held at Jaipur in 1948.

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Head of the Buddha from Gandhara (*lime*), 4th and 5th century A.D. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

Maya Devi—Birth of the Buddha (*stone*) (Indian Museum, Calcutta)

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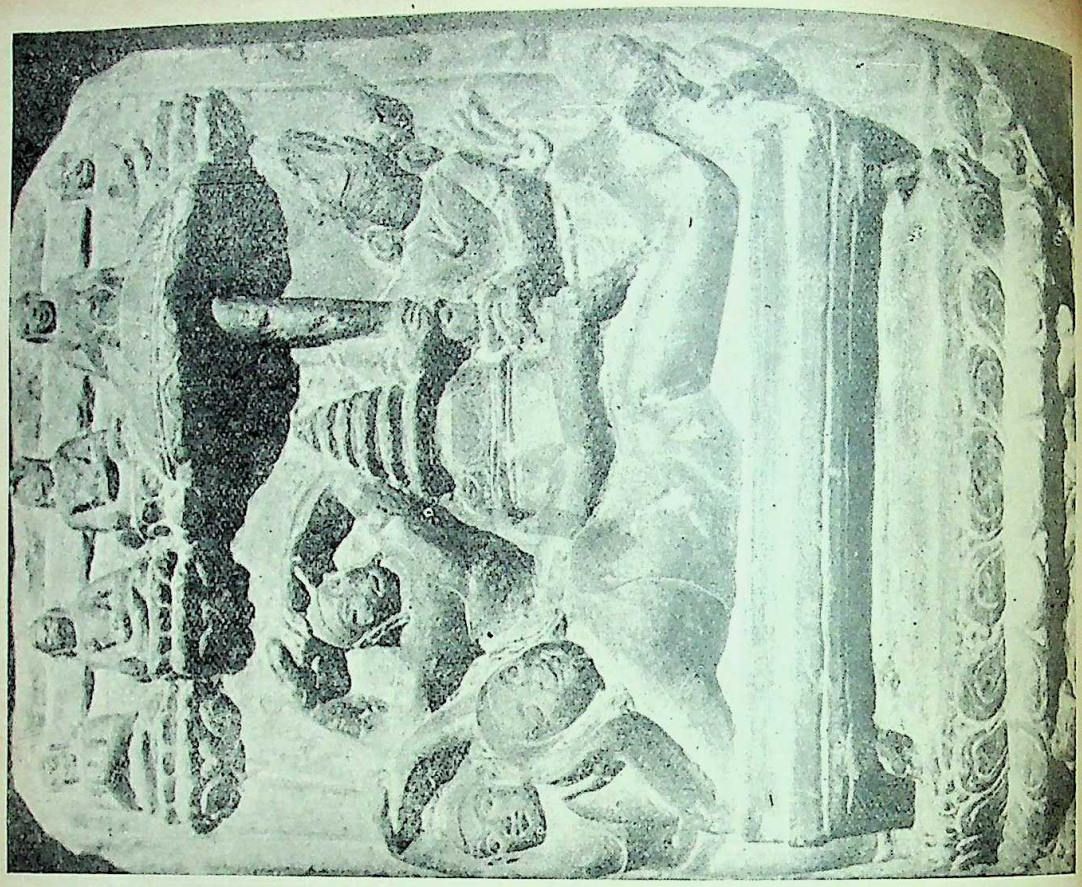

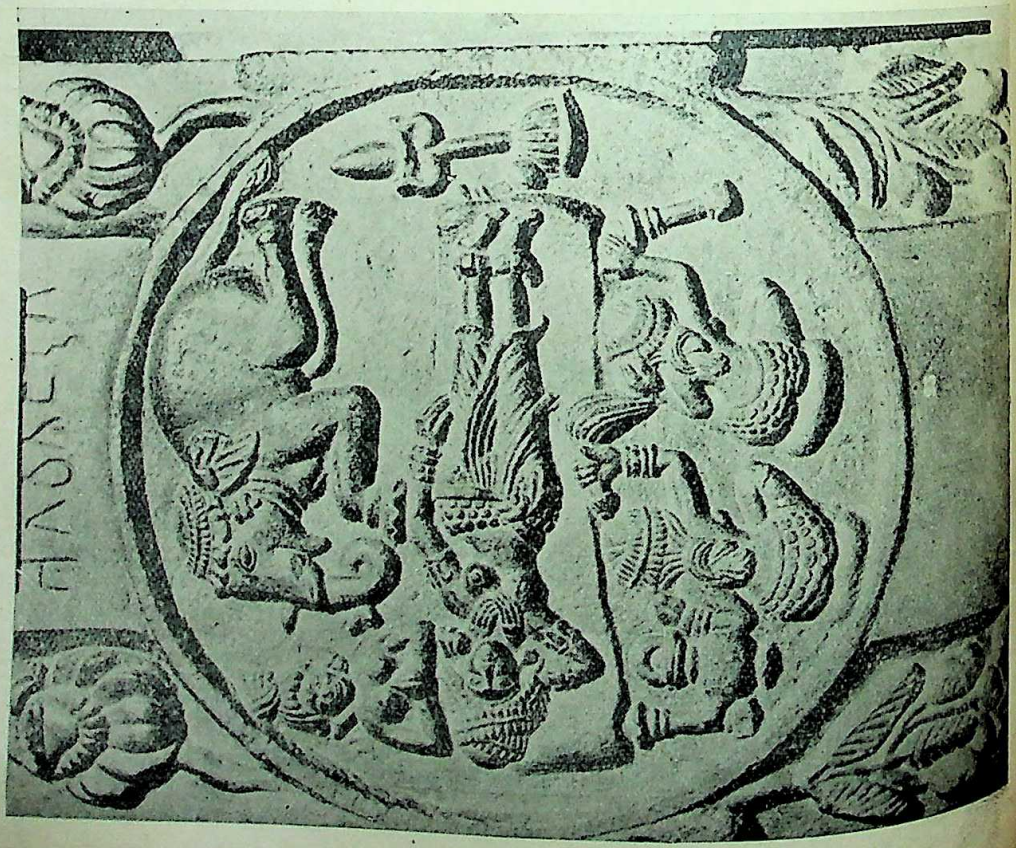

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The Plan

The immediate objective in respect of food was to meet India's normal requirements of food-grains by March 19, 1952, and stop imports unless it was required to

(a) meet any grave calamity such as wide-spread failure of crops,

(b) effect replacement due to diversion of crops in national interests or

(c) build up a central reserve.

During the course of a debate on the food situation in Parliament on November 16, 1950, K. M. Munshi announced that if the necessary funds were made available for the Integrated Production Programme, India would have, at the end of March, 1952,

(a) a food-grains reserve of 10 lakh tons,

(b) the target of self-sufficiency in food-grains laid down by the Government of India on March 19, 1949,

(c) complete self-sufficiency in cotton and sugar, and

(d) over 82 per cent self-sufficiency in jute.

This, he continued, would be necessary for the industrial areas with a demand of [illegible] tons of cereals. This supply, he affirmed, could be met by the Surplus States and other [illegible]. The total additional production of food-grains required by 1951-52 was 4.8 million [illegible]. It was estimated that about 3.44 million [illegible] additional food-grains had already been [illegible] as a result of the "Grow More Food [illegible]." The remaining 1.3 million tons as [illegible] about 0.9 million tons which was re-[illegible] to make up the deficiency caused by the [illegible] of land from food crops to cash crops, [illegible] expected to be raised under the Integrated [illegible] Programme. A little quantity was [illegible] for building up the requisite reserves [illegible] serious crop failures or natural cala-[illegible].

Working

[illegible] achieve these targets, it was decided [illegible] efforts should be concentrated on short-[illegible] projects of both permanent and recurring [illegible]. The permanent improvements included [illegible] irrigation schemes like construction of [illegible] tanks, small dams, and land improve-[illegible] schemes like contour bunding, clearance [illegible] reclamation of waste lands, etc. The recur-[illegible] improvement schemes covered distribution [illegible] fertilisers, manures, improved seeds, and [illegible] protection schemes.[23]

It was also decided that the operation of the scheme would be concentrated in certain selected zones, most responsive to methods of increased production.

In Madras, it was proposed to concentrate attention on the major river systems of Godavari, Krishna, Cauvery, Periyar and Tambraparni; in Bombay, the Sabarkantha and Basaskantha areas were selected for wheat and the coastal districts of Konkan for rice. In Mysore, three areas, *viz.*, the Simoga area for paddy, some tracts in the North-Western part of the State for provision of pumps for irrigation and the tracts covered by the Cauvery channels for intensive development, were chosen.

A Board of Special Development for the wheat region of Vindhya Pradesh, Bhopal, Madhya Bharat and parts of Rajasthan was also formed under the joint auspices of the Central and State Governments concerned.

Under the scheme it was stipulated that those who would be given financial assistance, would be required to sell about 60 per cent of their produce to the procurement authorities. To supervise the execution of the Plan, and to assess the progress made as well as the help required by each area, the country was divided into a number of regions. Each region was placed under a Regional Agricultural Production Commissioner who was to act as an agent of the Central Government. It was further announced that for successful execution of the Programme, it was necessary,

(*a*) to have an effective extension service throughout the country to enlist the co-operation of the farmers and get enthusiastic honorary extension workers,

(*b*) to realise the urgency of the problem,

(*c*) to utilize the fallow land by some agency which would not brook any delay or considerations not germane to the objective,

(*d*) to protect crops against wild animals, pests and diseases through an all-India drive, and

(*e*) to make available adequate finance to complete the programme.

At this time, it was also realized that the 'Grow More Food' schemes would have to be extended at least for a further period of two years, *i.e.*, up to the end of March, 1954.

23. Legislation for Improvement in Agricultural Practices was passed by East Punjab and Madhya Bharat in 1949 and 1950 respectively.

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The Plan as described above was thus given a go with full enthusiasm. Sri K. M. Munshi asserted that since the 'Quit India Movement' this is the biggest thing that the country has undertaken. The Prime Minister declared that the problem should be treated on war footing.

It, however, became clear before long that self-sufficiency was but a mirage. What could not be realised was that increase in production had no effect on imports.[24] It was accordingly decided to launch a Ten-Year Programme at the Coimbatore Conference in July, 1951. This Programme was supplementary to the short-term schemes which were in progress in the States aiming at self-sufficiency in food and other commercial crops.

The First Five-Year Plan

While the Ten-Year Programme was being formulated at Coimbatore, the country had already decided in March, 1950, to develop the economic resources on planned basis. The Draft Outline of the Plan was presented to the nation in July, 1951 and the country was supposed to be on planned development from April 1951. The final version of the Plan also came out in December 1952. Agriculture being the main industry of India, and the self-sufficiency plan having failed, it rightly received the first priority at the hands of the Planning Commission.[25]

The Commission made an exhaustive study of the trends in land use pattern for the last 40 years endng 1946-47 and came to the conclusion that

(*a*) the net area sown has not increased appreciably, but the area sown more than once increased by about 20 per cent.

(*b*) the irrigated area has increased by 10 per cent mainly through the extension of canals, but the area irrigated from minor irrigation works has remained almost static,

(*c*) the area under current fallows remained at the level of 1919-20 till the early forties, and thereafter showed some increase, particularly in the cotton-growing tracts,

(*d*) the area under food-grains showed a small increase during the forties, when that under cotton declined,

(*e*) the acreage under cotton decreased during the two World Wars, the trend being reversed in the post-war periods, and

(*f*) there is little ground for the belief that there has been a deterioration in soil fertility or in the standard of husbandry in recent years.

Against this background and fully conscious of the fact that there was the necessity of reducing the dependence of jute and cotton industries on imported raw material, the Commission laid down the following production targets for the five-year period 1951-56.

Table IV

Targets of Additional Production

Commodity	*Quantity* (in million)	*Percentage increase*
Food-grains	7.6 tons	14
Cotton	1.26 bales	42
Jute	2.09 bales	63
Sugarcane	.7 gur tons	12
Oil seeds	.4 tons	8

Besides the target of 7.6 million tons of food-grains, another 5 million tons were earmarked for community projects and intensive areas. This additional production was actually set apart to make an allowance for diversion of areas from food-grains to commercial crops, net increase remaining at the target figure of 7.6 million tons. Out of this, 6.51 million tons were to be produced through programmes worked out by State Governments and 1.1 million tons as a result of supplementary schemes proposed by the Planning Commission. The increase of 6.5 million was to be split up under the following heads:

	Million tons
Major irrigation works	2.01
Minor irrigation works	1.73
Land reclamation and development	1.51
Manures and fertilizers	0.65
Improved seeds	0.56
Total	6.51

An Appraisal of the Campaign

A brief description of the campaign as we have studied would show that the campaign which aimed at relieving the country from foreign food, could not stand the test. It came in for criticism from all quarters.[26]

24. For details refer to Chapter III.

25. The Commission says, "The largest portion of the natural resources of India, consists of land and by far the larger proportion of its inhabitants are engaged in the exploitation of land. In any scheme of planned economic development of the country, therefore, agricultural re-organisation and reform hold a position of basic importance." (*The First Five-Year Plan*, p. 153).

26. In the Central Legislature (November, 1950) the Plan was vehemently criticised by Acharya Kripalani and others. The Economic Conference, 1948, discussed the whole question and declared it as a total failure. Shri R. K. Shanmukham Chetty at the Fifth All-India Commerce Conference held at Madras

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It must be pointed out again at the cost of repetition that such criticism was misplaced. The increase in food production could not show any visible effect in the matter of reduction in imports due to the wrong food policy followed by the Government. Immediately the policy was changed in 1952, reduction in food imports followed.[27]

This was, however, not acceptable to the Government. It was decided to set up an Enquiry Committee. The Committee submitted its report in June, 1952 and emphasized the point so often repeated, *viz.*, the movement has failed to arouse wide-spread enthusiasm.[28] This was because all aspects of rural life are interrelated and that no lasting results can be achieved if individual aspects of it are dealt with in isolation.[29]

That was the crux of the whole problem. Unless a burning desire to change their time-old outlook could be created in the 60 million people living in villages, their enthusiasm for higher standard of living or "a will to live" could not be aroused.[30] The Grow More Food Campaign had so far, as rightly pointed out by Mr. Bhargwa, "hardly reached the masses as yet.

The Campaign had been conceived "in terms of work and not in terms of production in the villages. The food problem was attacked from the angle of material investments made in land, namely, wells, seeds, fertilizers, etc. Human beings who lived in the villages and cultivated the fields were practically ignored."[32]

These were not in any way new findings. The Royal Commission on Agriculture had pointed out as early as 1928 that the demand for a better life could be stimulated only by a deliberate and concerted effort to improve the general conditions of countryside. It was also made clear by them that the responsibility for initiating the steps in the direction lay with the Government.[33]

Village Development Schemes

Not that India had not started any village development and village improvement schemes. The pioneering work was done by Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and F. L. Brayne.[34] None of these schemes could, however, make much headway. The then Govt. of the United Provinces also organised a pilot project in 1932. It was given a good deal of impetus after the establshiment of popular government in 1937. This finally led to the organization of a pilot project at Mahewa in Etawah in September, 1948.

The major objective of the project was "to see what degree of productive and social improvement, as well as of initiative, self-confidence and co-operation, can be achieved in the village of a district not the beneficiary of any set of special circumstances and resources such as hydro-electric development or large-scale industry or other non-typical high cost and high priority development. The problem is also to ascertain how quickly those results may be obtainable consistent with their remaining permanently part of the people's mental,

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[28] 1951, added, that, "It has lost the moral support of ...ts with the result that all appeals to grow more food ...ed futile." The Food-grains Policy Committee, 1948, ...the Campaign has not produced the results aimed at.'

...to Chapter IV.

...Report of G. M. F. Enquiry Committee, 1952, p. 49.

...Op. Cit., p. 50. A reference for similar views may also be ...the Proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of the Board of ...and Animal Husbandry (pp. 54-55) where it was ...that

...problem of increasing agricultural production could not be ...any single formula. It was a complex and complicated ...involving different aspects of social and economic life."

...Denmark, Ireland and elsewhere rural reform was tried ...and proved abortive. It was not till that great co-...and rural pioneer, the late Sir Horace Plunkett, evolved ...of 'better agriculture, better business, better living' ...European farmer saw the dawn of a new era.—(Sir Sikander ...in his foreword to *Better Villages* by F. L. Brayne, ...Madras).

...were the findings of Wilcox who in his *Acres and* ...) opined, "Time and again my informants in India ...the first step in breaking the inertia of cen-...how to inspire the peasant with a desire for a better ...life as that proposition sounds, it is easier said than ...fatalism born of bitter experience, reinforced by reli-...hardened in the rigidity of cast petrification, and ...the belief that existence is merely a miserable round ...from which one is fortunate to escape, is not a ...which to sow a boom program of progress."

...by Pandit Thakurdas Vhargwa, Supplement to the ...C. M. F. Enquiry Committee, p. 3. The scheme according ...confined to Parliament hall for some several years ...time to percolate to even districts and tehsils.

32. *Note to the C. M. F. E. Committee, Supplement, Op. Cit.*, p. 19, by Shri T. N. Singh.

33. *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India*, 1928, p. 672.

34. Rabindranath Tagore founded an institution for rural reconstruction at Santiniketan, West Bengal, in 1922. This comprised an area of about 80 villages.

The *Constructive Programme* of Mahatma Gandhi aimed at creating a non-violent army by eradicating village evils.

F. L. Brayne tried a bold experiment in the Gurgaon District, Punjab,—(*Village Uplift in India*—1937.)

The American Presbyterian Mission established in 1945 the India Village Service. Firka Development Project in Madras, 1946-47 and "Sarvodaya Scheme" in Bombay, October 1949 are some of the other such programmes.

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spiritual and technical equipment and outlook after the special pressure is lifted. In the context of India's urgent need we must not take too long. But we cannot afford the superficial, nor, if the results are to be permanent and self-renewing, must we use "high pressure" methods.[35]

In spite of its shortcomings, Etawah showed the way. It promised to fill the void by bringing the field and the laboratory in close touch with each other. The approach was direct and humane and technique simple. The field worker not only removed the villagers' age-old suspicion of the outside benefactor but often succeeded in creating enthusiasm among them for development work.[36]

'Pilot Projects' in Etawah and Gorakhpur Districts (UP) were initiated in 1948 and 1950 respectively, and covered together about 100 villages and 100,000 people. Results so far seemed to have been strikingly successful; in Etawah, for instance, the wheat yield on the entire project area of 6,000 acres had increased by over 20 p.c., largely due to improved seed; and the area supplied seed to a further 45,000 acres. On more restricted areas better tillage in general, including especially the use of legumes as green manures, resulted in increases of as much as 60 per cent.

The other difficulty which had so far stood in the way of increased production was the inability of official organization to bring the results of research to the doors of the cultivator. Research projects in the country had not been planned with this fundamental point in view. Etawah showed the way in this direction as well.

Community Projects

The success attained at Etawah encouraged the Government to try the experiment on a much wider scale. The failure of the self-sufficiency programme early in 1952, and the findings of the G.M.F. Enquiry Committee Report in June, 1952, hastened the initiation of the scheme.[37] The first set of Community Projects was thus launched on October 2, 1952. They consisted of 55 such projects spread all over the country, covering 18.4 thousand villages with a population of 18 million. It is proposed to bring 20 thousand villages with a population of 74 million under the influence of the Development Programme, during the period of the First Five-Year Plan, *i.e.*, by the end of 1955-56.[38] The idea is to cover the whole of the country during the Second Five-Year Plan, i.e., by 1961[39] by Community Projects or National Extension Service.[40]

The contribution of Community Projects as regards our food targets of 7.6 m. tons under the First Five-Year Plan is only of the order of 5 lakh tons. We do not know the exact basis of this estimate. Food production during the year 1953-54 showed an increase of 12 million tons over the base year 1949-50 exceeding the target by 4.4 million tons. The share of Community Projects in this increase which will certainly be appreciable is, however, difficult to assess.

The Projects which aim at an integrated development of entire rural life include programmes of irrigation, stepping up the standard of agricultural practice by supply of good seed and fertilizers, formation of multi-purpose co-operative societies and cottage as well as small-scale industries, are bound to have a profound effect, although mostly indirect, on the agricultural economy of the country. As we would see under each crop, experimental and research work done in the country has been of the highest magnitude. The introduction of these improved techniques on a large scale

35. *Interim Report on Pilot Development Project, Etawah and Gorakhpur* (Lucknow, 1952), p. 23.

36. S. K. Jain: "An Indian Experiment in Rural Development, The Etawah Pilot Project"—*International Labour Review*, October-November, 1953, p. 395. Mr. Jain has also given many examples of the actual way the villager was approached and tackled.

37. The defects of the G. M. F. Campaign pointed out by the Committee have already been discussed. The other point of significant importance was that the departments concerned with development programmes worked invariably independently of one another, following their own programmes and without a sense of common objective.

Even today this defect although removed under the Community Projects still persists in the other programmes of agricultural development. The Administrative Officers hardly extend any cooperation towards officers of Agriculture Department. This mentality needs to be changed before we are able to achieve any appreciable success.

38. Community Projects Administration, Planning Commission—*Report* for 1953-54, p. 5.

39. V. T. Krishnamachari: Speech before the National Development Council, *Indian Express*, November 11, 1954.

40. The National Extension Service Organisation was set up in October, 1953, to expedite rural development by reducing the programme in terms of expenditure. Extension of Community Projects on a nation-wide scale with the existing administrative machinery and resources would have taken 35 years. The organisation plans to complete it by 1961.

—("Rural Development in India"—S. S. Dhami, *Indian Labour Review*, May, 1954, p. 467).

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always been a difficult problem in under-developed agricultural economies. It is here, more than anywhere else, that these projects will be of maximum help to us.

A Programme Evaluation Organisation under the directorship of Prof. D. G. Karve has already been set up in the Planning Commission. Evaluation Report on the first year's working of the Projects was published in May, 1954. The conclusion of the Report is that "a year's experience is too short to supply an adequate basis for judgement.[41] But for a very brief initial period of scepticism the rural people in most parts have exhibited not only readiness but an actual eagerness to 'move with the times'."[42]

The greatest visible achievement of the projects is in arousing the enthusism of the people. The progress of Community Projects scheme up to June, 1954, placed before the National Development Council in November 1954[43] reveals that while the expenditure actually incurred by the different States has been only 38 per cent people's contribution has been encouraging. Table V summarises the position.

TABLE V

Expenditure on Community Project Scheme and National Extension Service till June 1954

	Government expenditure	People's contribution
	(In lakh of Rupees)	
Community Projects started in October, 1953	678	323
Community Development Blocks launched in October, 1953	54	38
N.E. Blocks launched in October, 1953	73	81
Community Projects* started in 1952 up to September, 1953	245	147

*Community Projects Administration Report, (Op. Cit., p. 12). The other data is from given under foot-note 43.

This shows clearly that while the work in Government Departments calls for a re-organisation of the whole machinery, "a stage has already been reached when from participation people in some parts have moved on to active prodding."[44]

All this has been the result of Village Level Workers' personal contact with the villagers. An enquiry made into this aspect of the problem in 16 villages revealed that "the proportion of respondents who had been personally approached varied in different villages, from 78 per cent in Punjab to 11 per cent in Bihar. The over-all average percentage for the 16 villages being 37 . . . The over-all average for the cultivators was 44 per cent, indicating that nearly half of them had been approached for participation in some programme."[45]

This should not make us complacent about the whole affair. "The circle can be broken," in the words of Sir E. J. Russell, "only when the village welfare movement becomes a vocation for India's young people and they realise the truth of Tagore's saying: 'In the keeping of the village lies the cradle of the race.' The task is enormous, for there are some 700,000 (now 500,000) villages, and if one may judge from income tax returns, the total middle class population of India from which the leadership must come—is only about half a million."[46]

For proper leadership we will, perhaps, have to learn a lesson from America. The method employed for extension work there was to select intelligent farmers and induce them to carry out the improved practices, when these practices had been successfully introduced, to use their farms as demonstration farms for the instruction of their neighbours. During a short period of 10 years the number of such farms went up to 70,000 in five States only.[47]

Progress in America has been tremendous. So much so that a movement from the country to the city is taking place. In 1950, some 80,000 "residential farms were reported."[48] We in India have to make our villages equally attractive. A solution of the rural problem will then and only then be somewhere in sight. What we can say is that a start has been made.

41. Evaluation Report on First Five-Year Working of Community Projects, May, 1954, p. 45.
42. Evaluation Report, Op. Cit., p. 46.
43. The Indian Express, November 10, 1954.

44. *Evaluation Report, Op. Cit.*, p. 41.
45. *Community Projects, First Reactions, Planning Commission Programme Evaluation*, August, 1954, p. 12.
46. Sir E. J. Russell: *World Population, Op. Cit.*, p. 336.
47. Keatinge: *Agricultural Progress, Op. Cit.*, pp. 28-29.
48. Sir Russell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 367.

Mahatma Gandhi also spoke practically in the same strain when he said, "If the village perishes, India would perish too. India will be no more India."

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THE RISING OF 1857

From the Letters Preserved in the Office of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London

By Prof. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A.,
Member, Asiatic Society

Before I discuss this very interesting topic, I feel it my duty to express my sense of deep thankfulness to 'The Society For The Propagation Of The Gospel In Foreign Parts', and the Society's Archivist Miss E. Rendall, M.A., for sending me at my request the micro-film copies of eight valuable letters in their possession, that were sent from India in the fateful months of 1857. I am sincerely grateful for the co-operation and help I received from them as well as other Foreign Societies and Governments. I have no hesitation to say that they are really very helpful to research workers.

These eight letters are a very interesting study for many reasons. In the first place, this is a non-political source of information. That makes it all the more important. Next, these were letters written by an extremely dignified person only for the Society's information at Home. Thus there was never any idea of publicity or propaganda. That adds to their importance as a very dependable source of information. Then, these letters were written by a member of a Society that had already acquired a profound knowledge of the people and their habits and after they had worked in this country for a few decades. And it is well-known that they moved freely in the masses and understood them thoroughly. And lastly, these letters were all written by Rev. Principal Kay of the Bishop's College, Calcutta, a man of unusual strength of charcter, dignity, and integrity. Thus, from all considerations, these *Eight Letters* form a very valuable source of information and a very interesting study for the 1857 Rising.

The first letter was dated the 17th of June, 1857. The second was dated the 20th July, 1857. The third was dated the 8th August, 1857. The fourth was dated the 22nd August, 1857. The fifth was dated the 25th September, 1857. The sixth was dated rather not very distinctly. The seventh was dated 22nd October, 1857. And the eighth was dated the 11th December, 1857. Thus the eight letters are fairly well distributed and cover the months most valuable. It should be noted that these eight letters are so few in number that we cannot make any safe generalisation from these. But as an additional source of information, their value is very great.

First of all they give information about a very wide area. The following places are mentioned:—Calcutta (wherefrom the letters were written), Delhi, Kanpur, Allahabad, Mirzapore, Benares, Saugor, Lucknow, Mussoorie, and some minor reference to Burma and the Burmese Mission. The references to Calcutta are by far the most numerous. No reference, if any, is made of the Deccan. But Northern India is well discussed in these letters.

One especially relieving feature is that the handwriting is excellent, and although at places not readable, on the whole it is very distinct and clear.

The most remarkable feature in these letters is, perhaps, a Christian's undying faith in God, His Mercy, and to accept whatever comes as His Will. In one place Rev. Principal Kay refers to "the outcome of the crisis" "ungovernable as it seems" shall be overcome "through His Mercy." In his letter of the 20th July, 1857, he writes about Cawnpore (and possibly Lucknow ?) : "Thus it has pleased God to allow the heavy judgements to fall on those two cities in especial, where the Society had maintained missions." In the same letter he is "commending the College and the Missions to your prayers." In his letter of the 22nd August, 1857, he writes, "May God's Holy Spirit direct His Church aright in this great crisis." Thus a robust faith in God and His Mercy is visible throughout, even in the midst of an unprecedented crisis.

From these letters the severity of the crisis is clear. In his letter of June the 17th, 1857, he writes about the Cawnpore Missionaries who had taken shelter in the Cantonment, "We do not know what is occurring there now as the communication is stopped at Allahabad." In the same letter he writes, "On the roads are very much infested by disbanded sepoys," Here he further writes, "Calcutta has also been in imminent peril." "The Missionaries have been obliged to leave their houses in Tollygunge and Intally." In his letter on July the 20th, 1857, he writes, "General Havelock, who has retaken Cawnpore, is reported that none of those who capitulated—men, women, or children—have been spared." Referring to a letter from Mr. Haycock of Cawnpore, dated May the 31st, 1857, he writes, "He mentioned to me that his Moulvie had told him 6 months previously, that they 'would soon feel the sharpness of the Mussulman's sword'." This is a very important piece of information. Not only it speaks of the severity of the crisis but also it suggested that there was sufficient planning and organisation in the 1857 Rising so that a Moulvie of Cawnpore knew of it at least 6 months before. In his letter of the 8th August, 1857, he writes, the "western wing of the College had been assigned to refugees from the N.-W. Provinces." In his letter of the 22nd August, 1857, he writes of "the great crisis." In his letter of the 11th December, 1857,

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he writes, "I am sorry that I can supply you with ...ly any particulars about the Missionaries at ...mpore or Delhi beyond the bare facts which imply ... death." In the same letter he gives the news of ... death of Messrs. Cockly and Haycock at Cawn-... In the same letter he further gives the valuable ...mation, ". . . there was for a time a complete ...rance between us and the North-West Provinces. ... weeks together we in Calcutta were ignorant even ... was transpiring at Agra." The letter also gives ... of some Indian Christians, such as, Mr. Hari ... Samiel, Mr. Bhabani Churn Choudhury and Mr. ...

In some of these letters there is mention of cer-... 'Reports' being sent. Thus in his letter of the ... June, 1857, Rev. Kay writes, "I forward along ... this a copy of the Minutes of the last quarterly ...ing of the Diocesan Committee." In his letter of ...th July, 1857, he writes, "I enclose copies of the ...ings of the Bishop's College Council for the ...o months. There is nothing of note in them. ...r thoughts are, for the present, absorbed in the ...ful events that are passing around us." In his letter of the 8th August, 1857, he writes, "I enclose a speech deliverd here the other day by a Bengali Zeminder of some note, . . ." In his letter of the 11th December, 1857, he writes, "I send herewith a copy of the last quarterly Minutes, and a short quarterly Report from Mr. Mitter." Thus, these letters refer to certain Minutes and Reports, which must have been of considerable contemporary importance.

Before I conclude I should like to point out that in these letters Rev. Principal Kay of Bishop's College, Calcutta, shows wonderful restraint and nowhere shows any trace of malice. Although the Christian Missions were put to the greatest trial and even suffered much, like a true Christian, he maintains the attitude of tolerance and faith in God. That is probably the greatest proof of character.

Lastly, once again I consider it my duty and privilege to express sincere thanks to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and its Archivist for the kind co-operation, and help in supplying me with the micro-film copies of the above eight letters, as also for the kind permission to utilise these in writing this article.

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THE PROBLEM OF ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

By Prof. RAM NARESH LAL, M.com.

...th of socialism has commenced on Indian ...e Second Five-Year Plan with some more ...ons in its hands is likely to start the work ...the destiny of the nation very soon. But ... misgivings prevail in the minds of the people ...the success of democratic socialism in the ...advancement of this vast land. The success ...ratic socialism in the economic and social ... developments will depend very much upon ...ion of public co-operation in response to the ...ed of the nation. Therefore, unless the ... convinced that their active co-operation, ... and sufferings in the noble fight against ... miseries of the people will not be be-... cannot expect anything substantial from ... flood of literature has inundated public ...se days regarding the efficacy of centrally ...nomy under socialism in stamping out ...ming defects, *viz.*, social and economic ..., unemployment, lack of foresight and ..., vandalism and improper use of the natural ..., etc., of an economic order based upon ...enterprise in most of the countries of the ...et then an advocate of socialism and centrally ... economic system has yet to prove and con-... people in this country that the system of ... management, excessive centralisation, bureaucracy and red-tape in an expanding public sector will not stand in the way of rapid and smooth economic advancement and will not bring about a loss of speed and adaptability in the economic system.

Excessive caution on the part of our government officials and lack of administrative drive in them, their eagerness to shelve their responsibilities, delay in decisions, their conservative outlook developed under an alien rule, dearth of noble ambition and spirit of service, their being financially corruptible, olden defective technique of administration in the changed circumstances of today, plethora of forms and committees, absence of proper co-ordination in the different departments, delegation of powers without any due regard to the responsibilities and duties; these and many others are the evils associated with the present system of administration, causing loss of speed, efficiency and adaptability. Any one who has happened to work in any government department is aware of these evils. Now if these things are constantly allowed to be injected into the growing and expanding public sector they will paralyse the whole system sooner or later and make it ineffective to promote the cause of the country. Therefore, if we are determined to overcome these various defects and make the creed of socialism in this country an economic and social reality, we will have to be bold enough to invoke a

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revolution in the present system of administration and management of industries in the public sector. There is a need of thorough overhauling of the whole administrative machinery and make it suited to the changed conditions.

In the framework of the Second Five-Year Plan, the planners have felt very keenly the absence of a suitable administrative machinery in India for socialistic pattern of economy. 'Planning on bold lines with a steady expansion of public sector and advance to a socialistic pattern of economy would require the building up of an appropriate administrative machinery of a new type at all levels.'

The whole question of delay, inefficiency and inadaptability can be boiled down to two main causes :

1. The question of Government officials, and
2. The difficulties associated with the size of administrative unit.

THE QUESTION OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

To overcome the evils associated with the officials in the administrative grade, in the first instance, seems to be an arduous task, but a little care in their selection, training and system of promotion will go a long way in removing these defects. It cannot be denied that in the post-independence period the civil servants of the British rule did a lot in keeping the machinery of administration going on in its old fashion due to their long experience in the field and thus saved the new Government from utter frustration and disruption. They must be thanked for this. But when we are going to usher in a new era of economic revolution with our ambitious plans, when we are determined to crumble down the older economic institution and thus raise new and strong walls of a new economic and social edifice in its place, I think the old civil servants will necessarily be unsuitable persons to handle these various newer works of development and again the new civil servants prepared on the old models will also naturally be misfit. The fact is that they have to be trained in the new light. Under the British regime they were given a type of training to perform some sorts of work in which the application of brain for the betterment of the system or the life of the people was little required. They were set in an administrative structure, prepared on the British model to perform certain routine type of work and help the British people in exploiting the masses and sucking the blood of the country. And they did it with an air of dignity and false sense of superiority at the cost of wholesale emasculation of the country. They were made too blind to see the deteriorating conditions of their people and extend their helping hand in ameliorating their conditions. Through the agencies of these civil servants the Britishers drained India of her vast riches. Naturally when they are now too old to change their habits, character and speed of work, we cannot rely upon them for the successful implementation of the various schemes of develop[illegible] which requires altogether a different frame of [illegible] and a different approach. In order to find out [illegible] officers on the various layers of the management [illegible] administration to handle various jobs in the new [illegible] we will have to bring about a radical change in [illegible] selection, appointment, training and system of pro[illegible] tion of them. The thing is this that a fundam[illegible] change in the outlook of top management is nece[illegible] along with a change in the mentality of officers at [illegible] junior levels. The country faces this problem [illegible] acutely as the sudden spurt in economic develop[illegible] and expansion of public sector has created a de[illegible] for competent managers and administrators to a [illegible] great extent.

Our planners have also realised the serious[illegible] the problems and they feel that 'Secretariate co[illegible] of the present type must be replaced to a large ex[illegible] by control by truly autonomous public corpor[illegible] set by the Government or through the supply of [illegible] by the State Bank working under the general guid[illegible] of the Government in the matters of policy.'

In the first place we will have to break [illegible] hackneyed tradition of selection and appoint[illegible] through competitive examination for provincial [illegible] all-India services. In this system little attention [illegible] paid to the type of education received by the can[illegible] dates. No distinction is made among the candi[illegible] for the posts of various nature of services in view [illegible] the knowledge acquired by them in the va[illegible] branches of learning. I feel that the selection [illegible] appointment of the administrative officers for [illegible] various fields should be made in accordance with [illegible] nature of education they have received. For ins[illegible] if a man with sound theoretical knowledge of E[illegible] mics and Commerce is given to work in any a[illegible] tural or industrial field, we can be sure that he [illegible] be a more capable man to look into the matters [illegible] thereto from his administrative seat. There is no [illegible] to doubt that if the idea of Economic Adminis[illegible] Service is materialised it will improve the situ[illegible] lot. Along with this a network of technical s[illegible] and colleges will have to be spread over the [illegible] country conducting management and business a[illegible] tration studies in the line of many industrial[illegible] vanced countries of the world. In England, se[illegible] technical schools and colleges have been set up [illegible] the joint administration of the Ministry of Ed[illegible] and the British School of Management. In A[illegible] more than 300 institutions of college grade are [illegible] in offering some sort of training in business a[illegible] tration. It is a matter of great satisfaction that [illegible] recommendation of the All-India Council for te[illegible] education, the Government of India have de[illegible] initiate and develop a programme of manag[illegible] studies in certain selected educational centres [illegible] establish an Administrative Staff College in asso[illegible]

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industry and commerce. The Government of have selected different centres on regional basis order to meet the varying needs of the different strial and commercial centres, and also to make region as far as possible self-sufficient in respect required training facilities. The Indian Institute Technology in Kharagpur and the All-India tute of Social Welfare and Business Management Calcutta will cater to the needs of the eastern the Victory Jubilee Technical Institute in the Bombay University School of Econo- and Sociology will meet the demand of the region. The Indian Institute of Science in and the Department of Economics, Madras will look to the demand of the Southern and the Delhi School of Economics will fulfil demand of the northern region. It is hoped that institutions will not produce mere the replica British or American schools and colleges of administration and management but will turn imbibed with the philosophy of scientific conditioned by the spirit of our own economic structure and traditions and adapted own practical way of life. We can expect that similar other institutions will fill an impor- and will give us persons who will bear the burden of management and administration the public and private sector efficiently.

system of training to the selected candidate a radical change. Over and above the knowledge that they are made to acquire training centres and the chances of casual they are allowed to pay to the various production, distribution and finance, etc., economic sphere let them be allowed to work for a pretty long period in the fields for which their services will be re- Again, this initial training along as the system not be enough to keep the officers working throughout the tenure of service. In the world, ever changing and prospering economy, through different stages of evolutionary revo- the idea of 'Sabbatical leave' to the active also very appealing. At intervals they withdrawn from the service and be given appropriate time and opportunities to knowledge up-to-date and mind refreshed travel. They should be given easy the libraries, Universities and research cen- government cost. The establishment of staff will provide opportunities to persons already positions to meet and exchange experi- ideas. These provisions will make the these persons invigorated and freshened. precaution has to be taken against becoming- work of administration and management mono- stereo-typed to them.

In order that the flood of spirit and zeal of work may be sustained throughout the period of service of an individual officer it is desirable that the present system of promotion and penalty undergoes modification. It is afraid that in a socialised sector the work will always suffer due to a lack of incentive in workers as they shall be more free from the penalty of removal and because here the chances of promotion will depend very much on the length of service put in. The gradual development of this tendency in the government departments is to be regretted. Here it is not possible to discuss all the problems relating to the incentive among the workers and officers, but we can very well imagine that by bringing about a change in the system of promotion (giving promotion on the dint of merit) and by inflicting a milder form of penalty and threat of degradation, proper incentive can be maintained.

The Size of Administrative Unit

The second conspicuous problem of the public sector of the economy in the field of administration is that of the size of administrative unit. It is being realised that in most cases in the post-independence era of reconstruction and development the public servants have been made to work under trying conditions and carry a heavy burden of responsibilities without adequate assistance. The difficulties seem to be both ways. In some cases the delay and inefficiency in the work may be said to have been caused due to heavy congestion of work, while in some other cases it is found that the multiplication of departments without any consideration of proper co-ordination between them has been the main cause against the quality and the speed of the work. As a matter of fact with a given technique of administration the output of a concern being administered by a single individual can be increased up to a point only. Beyond this point or below this point there shall be a disproportionate rise in the cost of production. The point has been termed by the economists as 'Optimum Level.' The conception of optimum evolved by the economists may very well be applied in the field of administration. Every unit of administration or management then should be of the optimum size. At any point before this optimum cost of production will be relatively higher because the full use of modern technique of management say, cost accounting, production, planning, quantitative budgeting, etc., will not be derived. And again beyond this point it would be difficult for a single management to control the operation efficiently and therefore, the total production will be pulled down and cost of production will rise. If the nature of industry or production is as such that a unit of management is very small in that case an economic unit of administration and management may be easily formed by merging a number of small units into a bigger and efficient group. In the beginning it

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would be difficult to find out this optimum unit. Only an expert will advise us in the matter, but it is just possible that we will have to work under trial and error for sometime to adjust in the end to the optimum point. A number of groups will have to be formed and each group put in charge of a manager or officer who will look to the multifarious day-to-day problems facing the concern and manage them. So we can conclude that the size of each group will have to be kept at optimum where the full use of that managerial talent will be derived and the cost of production will be minimum with the size. And ultimately, in all these various units of administration and management each of the optimum size should be drawn together and their activities directed to consistent unit of action from a central place by some higher authority, who can appreciate all the changes concerning the life of the concern as a whole.

In the first place we have already established a central planning authority, a supreme body which will keep the wholesome picture of the economy before it. It will decide the strategic issues of paramount importance in the economy. To quote Mr. E. F. M. Durbin :

> "The relation between industry and industry, output and purchasing power, consumption and investment, change and security, work and leisure, education and industrial demand, of the political conditions at home and abroad—in all these matters it is the strategic principle that is dominant."

A swift, complex and yet consistent response by the total economy is required.

In the second place at the next stage of the administrative problems we expect the establishment of regional boards. They will keep in view and keep constant watch of the progress of industries in a particular region. They will decide the various issues concerning the industries and will try to be faithful to the direction of the Central Planning Authority. As the idea behind our plannings is to grow and develop it from below and not to impose any development from the top, the duty of these regional boards would also be to place their difficulties, experiences and suggestions from time to time before the Central Planning Authority so that suitable changes may be effected in the march. These regional boards will take all possible pains to fulfil their quotas of production, distribution and finance as termed in the General Plan.

In the end, as the last chain of the management we will have a number of administrative units of optimum size in each industry under the charge of an officer or supervisor. These local units will be actual fighting forces in the great economic war against misery and poverty. The officers at the local level will be facing a thousand and one problems during the actual course of each day's fighting. Prof. Durbin observed in his article "The Problem of Socialised Sector":

> "The truth of the matter lies in the distinction drawn in military matters between strategy and tactics, *i.e.*, between the control of an army throughout a campaign and the conduct of day-to-day administration and fighting . . . the whole must be seen in parts and the end from the beginning."

The purchase of raw materials, the production of finished goods, obtaining of finance, the problem of employing persons, their promotion and pay, marketing of goods, enforcement of discipline, control in the employees, the introduction of new techniques of production, the problem of facing formidable odds arising out of local conditions, customs and manners, the problem of educating workers and infusing life in them, winning the confidence of the local people (that the work is being done for their wellbeing), these and various other problems will arise everywhere. In all these and other problems very quick decisions are to be made and not too very wisely and carefully. These local [illegible] fighting in the actual fields will, as a matter of [illegible] lay the foundation-stone of the great economic mansion which is the dream of our life. They must be given extensive powers enabling them to discharge their duties well.

Again, the regional boards which are specialised bodies must keep in mind that the problem of co-ordination will be easier the lesser is the number of specialised organs—the departments. As far as possible the number of departments should be kept to the minimum. The greater the number of departments the greater the number of times the files will have to go from department to department for final [illegible] causing undue delay and harassment. It [illegible] vitality and throbbing zeal of the persons who [illegible] to do and die for it, public confidence of the [illegible] is shaken and the departmental heads get a chance to shelve the responsibility on the other.

It is a task of great difficulty and [illegible] to decide the exact division of powers between the Central Planning Authority, the regional boards and the officers fighting in the actual fields of the [illegible] sector, but here also in the beginning the [illegible] trial and error will have to be applied and in [illegible] case all the care will have to be taken to [illegible] and increase the local initiative which should [illegible] intact throughout the life of the whole structure of development, because we aim at not getting economy rolling from top to bottom but [illegible] from bottom to rise to the top.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BUDDHA'S PHILOSOPHY FOR THE PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS

By Dr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

The life and teachings of the Lord Buddha have a [illegible] significance in relation to the solving of present-[illegible] problems. Recent scientific advances and material [illegible] resulting from the vast widening of the [illegible] of knowledge have not produced in us a [illegible] of confidence about the future.

Indeed, Harold Laski, one of the most unconven-[illegible] thinkers of the recent past, asserted:

"I do not think anyone can examine with care our contemporary situation without being constantly [illegible] that we again require some faith that will [illegible] the human mind."

In so saying, he, in effect, assumed that our [illegible] of values has broken down and that we are [illegible] in an era of frustration.

This frustration at present assumes [illegible] unlooked-for shapes. Super-[illegible] of various types, the worship [illegible] idols which are cast [illegible] after erection, psycho-[illegible] and psycho-therapy as sub-[illegible] for the old forms of magic, [illegible] with the creed of Lenin [illegible] was that there is no hope [illegible] salvation of humanity in a [illegible] where the exploited are to [illegible] redemption to the exploiters, [illegible] Communist doctrine of [illegible] Struggle is ultimately based [illegible] belief that our Heaven must [illegible] upon the earth.

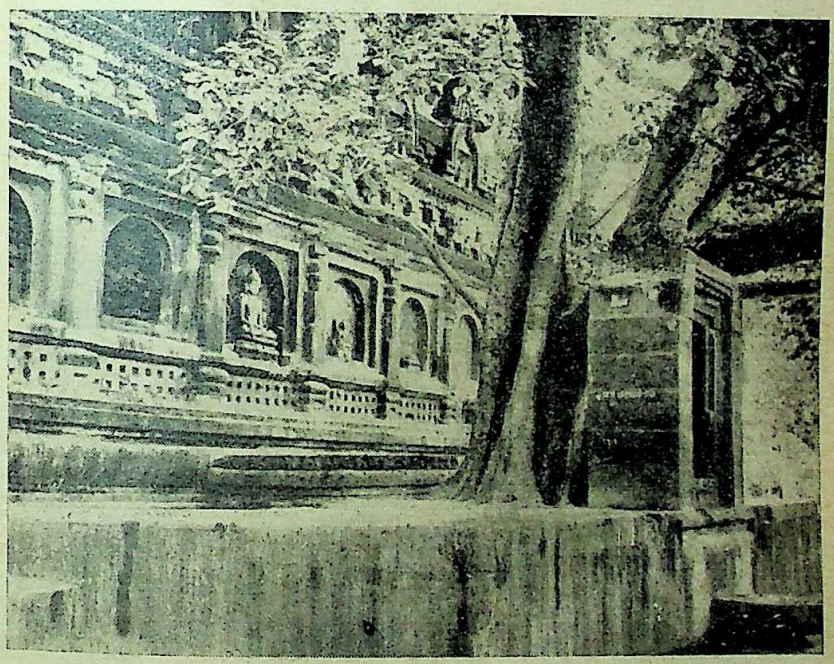
Quest for Peace

[illegible] of all these endeavours, we [illegible] the midst of cold wars and [illegible] demonstrations and are no-[illegible] laying the foundations [illegible] upon earth. Men's minds [illegible] and they are on the [illegible] something to bring them peace and certainty. [illegible] there are few doctrines and few philo-[illegible] are so calculated to restore our mental [illegible] associated with the name of Lord Buddha. [illegible] preached what he always called the Middle [illegible], in his own language, that by avoiding [illegible] extremes of a life given to pleasure and a life [illegible] mortification, we shall attain insight."

[illegible] was a message of tolerance and catholicity, and [illegible] occasion when he had accepted the hospitality [illegible] Pali, a courtesan, he exclaimed:

"I have preached the truth without making any [illegible] between exoteric and esoteric doctrines. [illegible] respect of the truth, the Tathagata has no such thing as a closed fist which keeps some things back."

Again when asked to leave some message to be cherished by his disciples after his demise, Lord Buddha emphasised that he was only a path-finder and that the community or Sangha should not be dependent upon him but that the members must find out a path for themselves of self-reliance and self-analysis. The teachings of the Buddha were essentially practical and pragmatic. He insisted on the wise man "making straight his trembling and unsteady thought which is difficult to guard and difficult to hold back." Above all, the Lord Buddha objected to every attempt to idolize him and one of the main lessons that he preached to his chief disciple, Ananda, was, "You yourself must make all the efforts. The Tathagatas are only preachers."



Buddha Gaya. The sacred Bodhi Tree where the Buddha attained enlightenment

Age of Spiritual Restlessness

Borne in an age of spiritual restlessness like ours, he did not question the validity of the essential Hindu doctrines of Dharma, Karma and Samsara. He practised many disciplines, overcame many temptations and wrestled hard with the problems of existence before he arrived at the basic revelation which he outlined and ceaselessly promulgated. In essence, he insisted on the Middle Path, and on universal benevolence and the unflinchingly ethical life. He discouraged metaphysical discussions and questions relating to the origin and end of the Universe and speculations pertaining to other worlds. He held that interest in the supernatural is apt to divert attention from ethical values. It is not true

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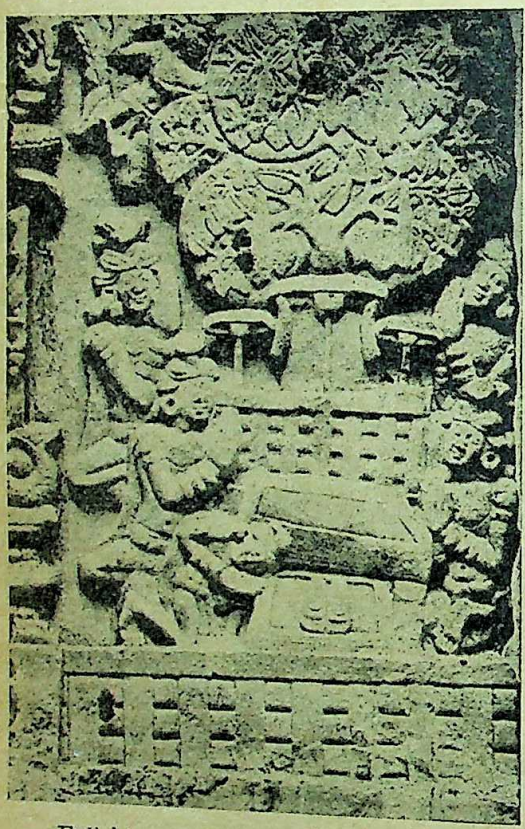
that he does not affirm the validity of religious experience. In the language of Anguttara Sutta, he says that "to dwell in Dharma is to dwell in Brahman."

Importance of Individual Effort

He insisted on the importance of individual effort and rejected the thought of a personal God as a Being interfering with the processes of Nature. Many controversialists have described the Lord Buddha as a narrow-minded agnostic, but he himself dealt with the matter in his Kosambi discourse. He plucked a few leaves from some 'simsapa' trees and pointed out that what he held in his hand was only a small fraction of the leaves in the forest.



Enlightenment (*limestone*), Amaravati, 1st century B.C. (British Museum)

"The whole of what I have learnt I have not told, and deliberately I have not told what does not conduce to progress, holiness and truth."

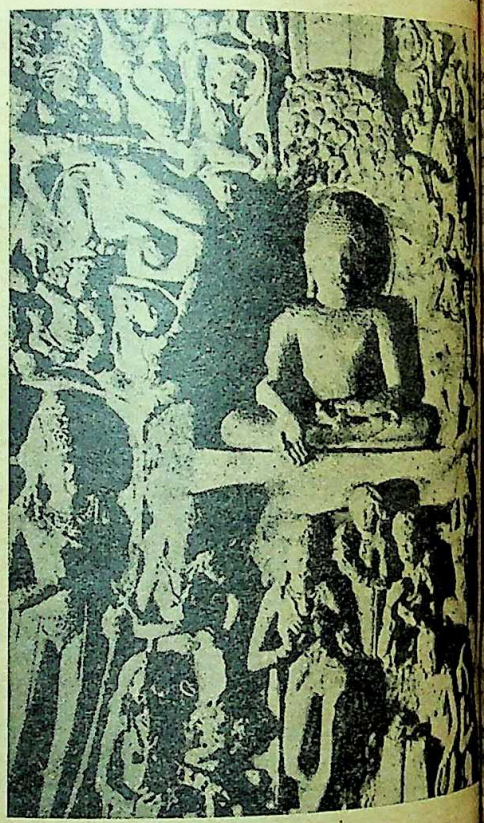
In other words, Buddha was not a theorist and he was at pains to describe a way, a method of spiritual development and not a set of doctrines.

One of his disciples, Malunkhyaputra, was troubled by metaphysical doubts relating to the gods and their attributes and their relation to human affairs. Buddha answered him by a parable:

"Supposing a person is suffering from a poisoned arrow that has entered his body, and supposing that a doctor wishes to treat him. Will the sufferer decline to have the arrow drawn out until the doctor explains to him who shot the arrow, what caste he belonged to and to what family and whether he was tall or short? Likewise in this life, all that we need to know is the existence of suffering, the origin of suffering, the cessation of suffering and the way to such cessation."

Moral Order

Buddha never doubted the existence of moral order and he insisted on the testing of all opinions by the standard of reason and on the breaking down of barriers that constitute separate existence. The Nirvana postulated by Buddha was not extinction but the unconditioned life of the spirit. He continued



Mara's attack, stone cave 26, Ajanta, 7th century A.D.

reiterated that all-embracing love and kindness was the chief means of reaching perfection by eliminating the lower qualities and suppressing evil passions. Although Hindu seers before and after Buddha realised the efficacy of the virtues of mercy, benevolence, and although as the Sukla Yajur Veda declares, मित्रस्य अहं चक्षुषा, सर्वाणि भूतानि समीक्षे,

"I view all beings with the eyes of a friend," the ancient Yoga system was essentially personal in character and outlook, and depended on चित्तवृत्तिनिरोध, the discipline of one's own mind-processes so as to achieve one-pointedness. On the other hand,

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Bodhisattvas are in Buddhist philosophy those beings who having attained perfection have come back voluntarily to the earth to help suffering humanity by their example and precept.

BUDDHA'S INFLUENCE

Buddha's influence was exercised directly against the excrescence of the caste system and in truth, he was the earliest protagonist of the dignity and intergrity of mankind. As the Brahmana Vaggo chapter of the Dhammapada declares:

"Not by matted hair, not by lineage, not by caste does one become a Brahmana. He is a Brahmana in whom there are truth and righteousness and who does not hurt by body, speech or mind."

It was the peculiar good fortune of Buddha that one of his eminent followers, the Emperer Asoka, has embodied in his Rock-Edicts the substance of the Buddha's original teachings before they were transformed by followers who forgot and even perverted his teachings. Thus for instance, one of the Rock-Edicts asserts*: "Concord of religions is the ultimate duty. Why? Because if they exist side by side, one who adheres to one religion can be benefited by another."

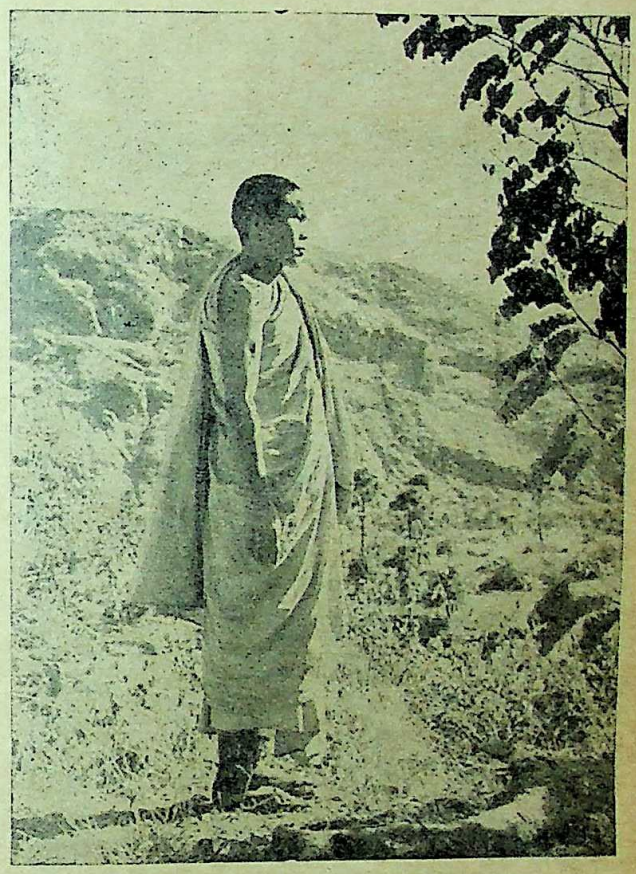
Asoka's openly-admitted remorse of the conquest of Kalinga and his realisation that victory by violence is defeat, and his treatment of border-people and his humanitarian activities are the fullest exemplifications of the efficacy and practicality of the Buddha's teachings.

It has been truly said by Sir Edwin Arnold of the Buddha that history records nothing, no single word which mars the perfect purity and goodness of this Indian teacher who united the princely qualities with the intellect of a sage, the passionate devotion of a martyr.

The following verses from Arnold's *Light of Asia* give an adequate summary of Buddha's sermons:

"Not from the helpless gods by gift and hymn,
Not with blood, nor feed with fruits and cakes:
Ourselves deliverance must be sought;
Each his prison makes.
Beginning, and without an end,
Eternal and as surety sure,
A Power divine which moves to good,
Its laws endure.
The Law which moves to righteousness,
Some at last can turn aside or stay:
The heart of it is Love, the end of it,
Is peace and Consummation sweet. Obey!"

On the Vaisakha Purnima day, we shall do well to remember the life and teachings of one whom even an unfriendly critic like Barthelemy St. Hilaire thus described:



Rajgir. Here Buddha spent a number of years after his enlightenment

"He was the model of all the virtues which he preaced. His heroism equalled his conviction; his abnegation, his charity and his sweetness were never interrupted for a single instant."

His direct and practical gospel was one of unlimited benevolence and unremitting readiness to sacrifice one's self for the benefit of the world.

In such a message was implicit that sense of the universal and that tolerance which are thus expressed by a Chinese sage:

"The difference between a Buddhist and another lies in this: that the former knows he is a Buddhist, the latter does not know that he is also a Buddhist."

—*Courtesy: All-India Radio.*

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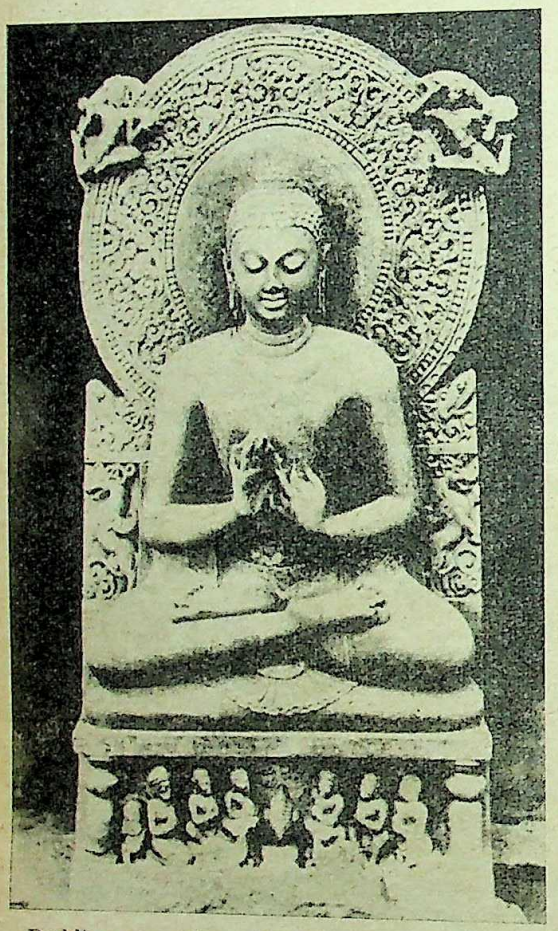
* समवायस्तव साधुः किमिनि अन्यमनसांधर्मः ।

BUDDHISM : STORY OF ITS EXPANSION IN INDIA

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By Prof. B. C. Bagchi

Buddhism met with a limited success only in the beginning. During the first and second centuries after Mahaparinirvana of the Buddha it could hardly be distinguished from the other ascetic movements in the country. It was, evidently, in the Maurya Period that Buddhism emerged as a distinct religion with great potentialities for expansion.

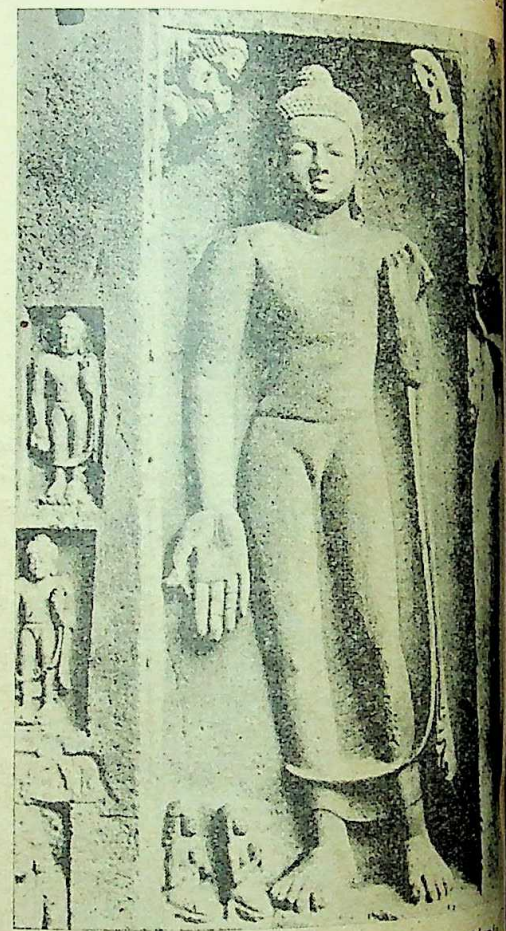


Buddha preaching the first sermon (*stone*), Sarnath, Gupta Period, 5th century A.D. (Sarnath Museum)

The Mauryas lifted it to the status of a world religion. Surging through the frontiers of human minds Buddhism travelled far and established itself in distant lands. Tibet, Turkistan, China, Korea, Japan, Burma, Siam, Cambodia and the Malaya Peninsula came under its sway.

The patronage of Emperor Asoka, during whose reign the third Buddhist Council was held, was instrumental in the spread of Buddhism. It was the genius of the Emperor which helped in the building of Buddhism as a world religion. In his inscriptions he claims to have sent missionaries to Greeks in Syria, to Egypt and Cyrenaica and to Macedonia. Missionaries had also been sent to Chola, Keralaputra, Satyp[illegible] and Ceylon. Tradition adds he sent missionaries [illegible] to Nepal, Kashmir and Suvarnabhumi.

These missionaries, sent for the propagation [illegible] Buddhism, achieved great success both inside and [illegible] side the country. To this the epigraphic records [illegible] Buddhist monuments of post-Asokan times [illegible]



Buddha in *Barada mudra*, stone cave 19, Ajanta, 6th century A.D.

testimony. And if today, 2,500 years after Nir[illegible] from Kandy in Ceylon to Kamakura in Japan, [illegible] tranquil face of Gautama bids men be gentle to [illegible] another and love peace, it is because a dream[illegible] perhaps a saint—once held the throne of India.

Buddhist Sects

The rapid expansion of Buddhism resulted in [illegible] rise of a number of Buddhist sects not due so m[illegible] to doctrinal differences as to geographical factors [illegible] time when communication was a difficult problem. T[illegible] sects disappeared later and merged with the o[illegible] within a short time when two dominant forms e[illegible] In Ceylon and Southern India the Hinayana [illegible]

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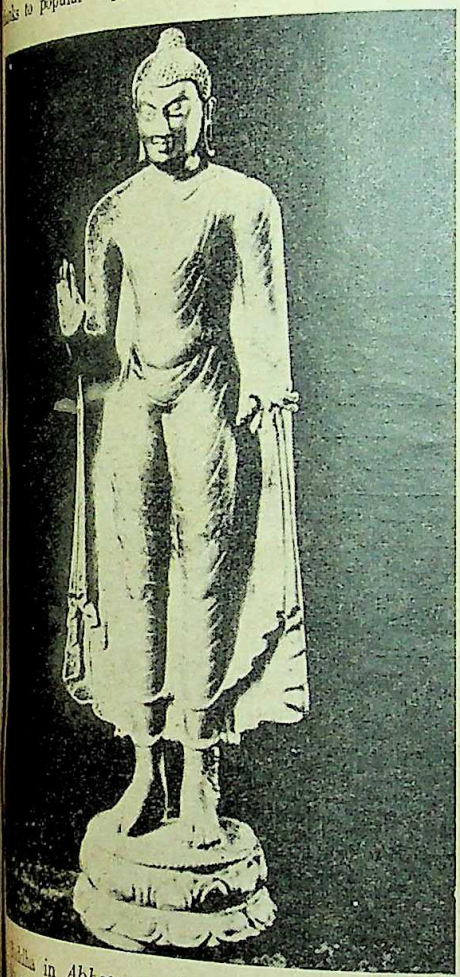
...ched which worshipped Buddha as a teacher, not ...d. The Mahayana Buddhism had a popular bias. ...ed to meet the speculative demands of the human ...d and suit the needs of Kushans, Tartars and ...ngols, the Mahayana school announced the divinity of ...dha and surrounded him with angels and saints. ...a, Japan, Tibet and Mongolia took to this form of ...dhism.

Under the Sungas Buddhism lost official patronage. ...yamitra Sunga even persecuted Buddhists. But ...ks to popular support great progress was made by

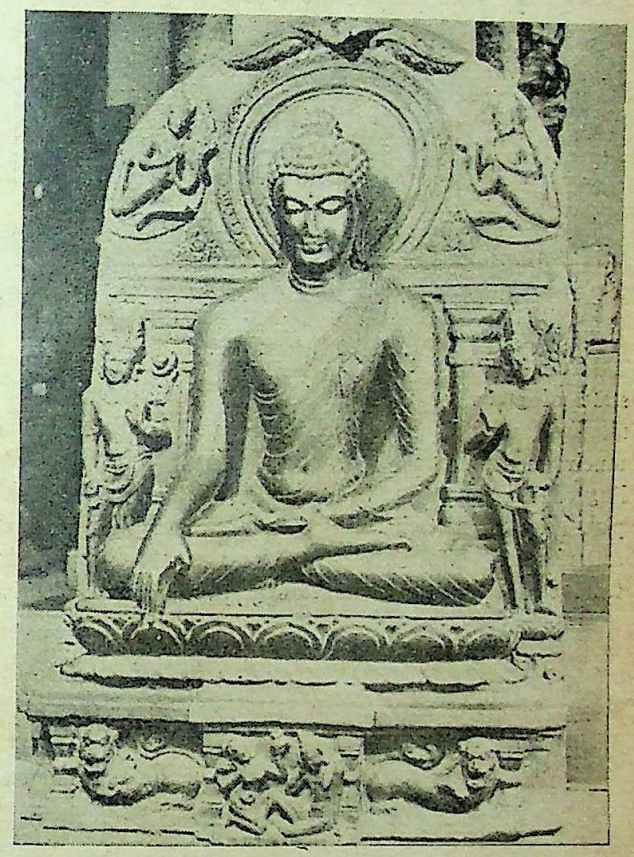


...dha in *Abhaya mudra* (*bronze*), Nalanda, ...century A.D. (Asutosh Museum, Calcutta)

...during the Sunga-Kanva period. The ...stupa, Karla caves and the Sanchi stupa be- ...this period. Buddhism developed from a ...religion into a popular one. It became a ...religion with the Buddha and his relics as cult ...

...was in this period that Buddhism was adopted ...e Greeks in the North. King Menander was a ...champion of the faith. Moggaliputta Tissa ...d a Greek elder Dharma Rakshita for missionary ... The latter was sent to Aparantaka where he ...ssfully preached the law of Buddha and converted thousands of people, including women and nobles. The Greeks in India were responsible for evolving a new style of Buddha art, usually known as Indo-Greek, which flourished mostly in the Punjab and North-Western India.

Kanishka's reign is a landmark in the history of Buddhism. Tradition not only represents him as a great patron of the religion but also associates him with a galaxy of Buddhist masters who shaped Buddhism in later time. The new form of Buddhism, the Mahayana of far-reaching consequence, came to be evolved at this time.



Buddha in *Bhumi-sparsa mudra* (*stone*), Bengal, 10th century A.D. (Asutosh Museum)

Gupta Period

With the advent of the Gupta Dynasty Buddhism received a new impetus. Although the Gupta emperors were Bhagwatas and adherents of Brahmanical faith they were sympathetic towards the cause of Buddhism. The Chinese pilgrims who visited India during this period speak of the flourishing condition of Buddhism. Buddhist a... with its relics at Mathura, Sarnath, Nalanda, Ajanta, Bagh and Dhanyarlataka also eloquently speak of the prosperity that Buddhism enjoyed in the Gupta period.

We have a number of records from the middle of the 7th century giving a clear picture of Buddhism in India. Harshavardhana in his later years became a follower of Mahayana Buddhism. In the west Vallabhi

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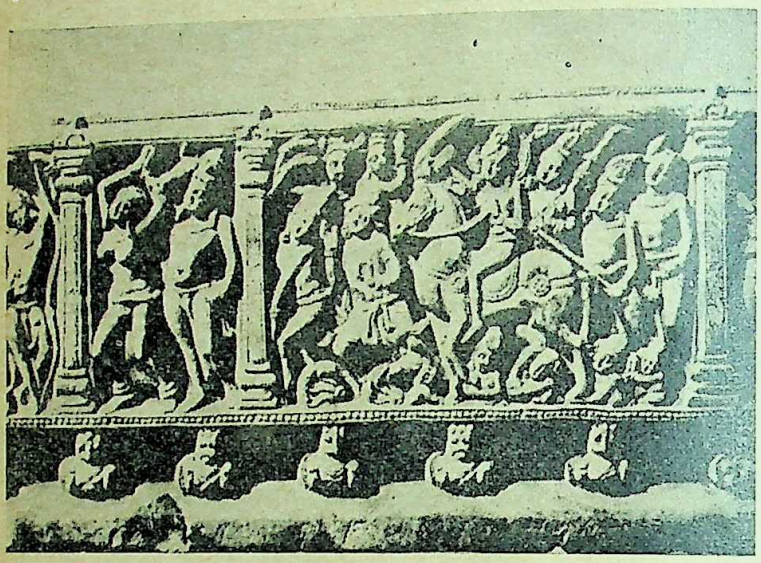
became a Buddhist centre under the rulers of Maitraka dynasty.



Renunciation (*lime-stone*), Nagarjunakonda, 3rd century A.D.

The century that followed Harsha's rule saw a state of anarchy unfavourable for the growth of a monastic religion like Buddhism, which depended so much on patronage of the rulers. Buddhism still lingered in Kashmir, Swat Valley, Vallabhi and other places in the north but its condition was far from satisfactory. While Buddhism was slowly disappearing from other parts of India it experienced a great revival in eastern India under the Palas. Nalanda d[illegible] the whole Buddhist world for nearly three c[illegible] from the 6th to the 9th [illegible] institutions founded under [illegible] Palas at Jagaddab and Vikr[illegible] Vikramsila and Odantapu[illegible] quired great importance and [illegible] monopolised the commerce [illegible] Buddhist culture from the [illegible] the 12th centuries.

The cause of the decl[illegible] Buddhism in India has been [illegible] posed by some historians [illegible] persecution. There is, howev[illegible] real evidence for this. An [illegible] nation of the latest Buddhist [illegible] makes it clear that the [illegible] gradually approximated to the [illegible] rounding Hinduism. The B[illegible] were multiplied and divinised. B[illegible] sattavas were exalted and wor[illegible] as the givers of merit ; and female consorts [illegible] attributed to them so that they became indistingui[illegible] except in name, from the manifestations of [illegible] divinities.*

* This article is based on "Expansion of Buddhism" by [illegible] B. C. Bagchi, forming a chapter of the forthcoming book *Tw[illegible] sand and Five Hundred Years of Buddhism*, to be publi[illegible] Publications Division, Union Ministry of Information [illegible] Broadcasting.—*PIB*.

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NEW LIGHT ON THE ASOKA CHAKRA

A Plea for Reconsideration of Our State Emblem

BY DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M.P.

THERE has been some misconception in regard to the emblem called *Asoka Chakra* as figuring on our currency notes, and stamps used by Government for various purposes, on official documents and letters. Unfortunately, this popular description of the emblem as *Asoka Chakra* is historically not quite accurate. The source of the figure is the capital of the Asokan pillar at Sarnath. But the original idea of the *Chakra* was not his, but the Buddha's.

It was the Buddha who first used the term *Dharmachakra* in the Discourse that was delivered by him as his first teaching at Sarnath and is called in the sacred Pali texts *Dharmachakra-Pravartana-Sutra*. Its title indicates that the Buddha was out to inaugurate, "to set on foot," the 'Dominion of Righteousness' (*Dharmachakra*), the 'Reign of Law,' or the 'Rule of Right' as against Might (as explained by Childers).

Asoka, as a devotee of the Buddha, propo[illegible] translate into stone, and in a permanent from, [illegible] words of the Master. Therefore, the *Chakra* app[illegible] on the capital of the Asokan pillar is to be asso[illegible] with the Bdddha who first thought of [illegible] the symbol of his political idealism and is [illegible] secondarily to be associated with Asoka. As is [illegible] known, H.G. Wells counted Asoka as one [illegible] greatest kings of history on account of the ideas [illegible] ing his governance of a vast empire, the principl[illegible] Univessal Peace, Toleration and Brotherhood [illegible] foundation of the Buddha's contemplated King[illegible] Righteousness which he tried to translate into a [illegible] It is to be noted that among the measures [illegible] adopted to see the ideal materialise may be [illegible] the singular one of his despatch to select foreign [illegible] of the West Pacific Medical Missions charg[illegible]

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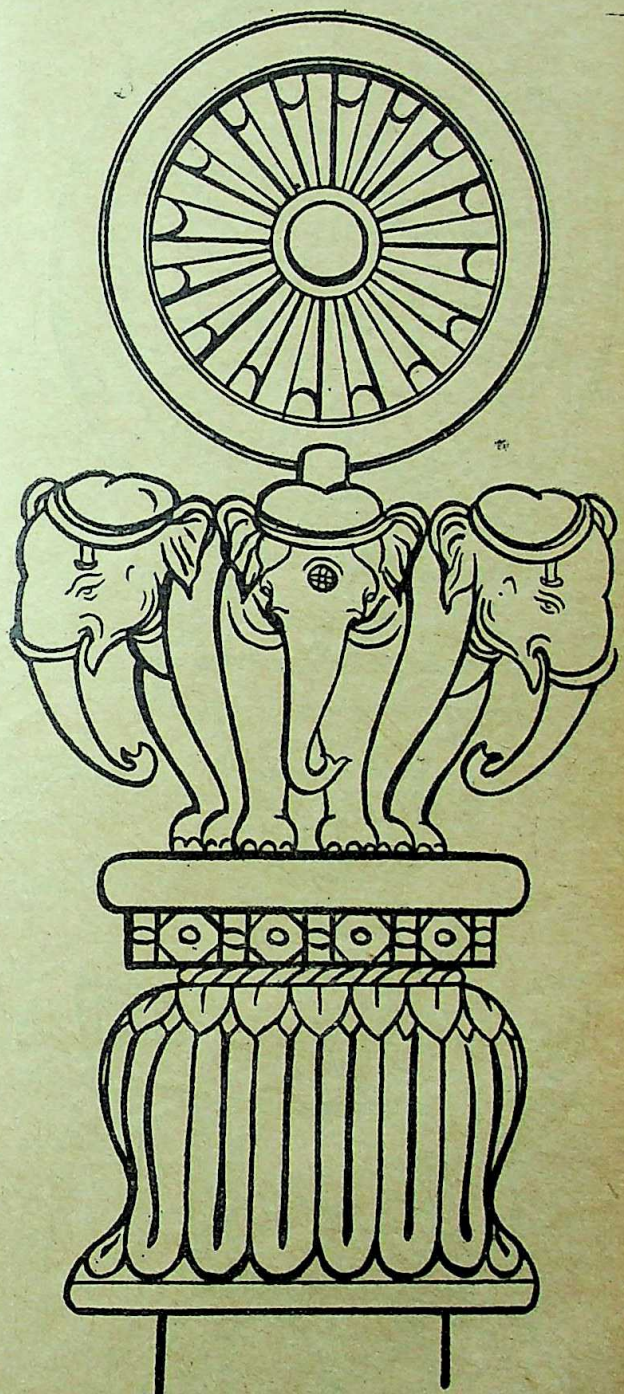
with the duty, and the means, of ministering the relief of suffering of all creatures, as stated in Rock Edicts II and XIII. This is the earliest example of a Socialist State in action.

Marshall's *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. II, Plate 27

important fact to be noted in this connection is the wheel appearing in the emblem adopted by Government does not represent its original form in the Asokan monument. That original form included (1) a wheel of outstanding size which was placed on (2) the shoulders of four lions set back. to back as seen in



Marshall's *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. IV, Plate 86

its available remnant at Sarnath, and (3) the abacus portraying the figure of the wheel alternating with the figures of four animals, the elephant, the bull, the horse and the lion, recalling the four turning points in the Buddha's life, viz., Conception, Nativity, Renunciation, and Fullness of Power.

The original wheel which the lions were made to

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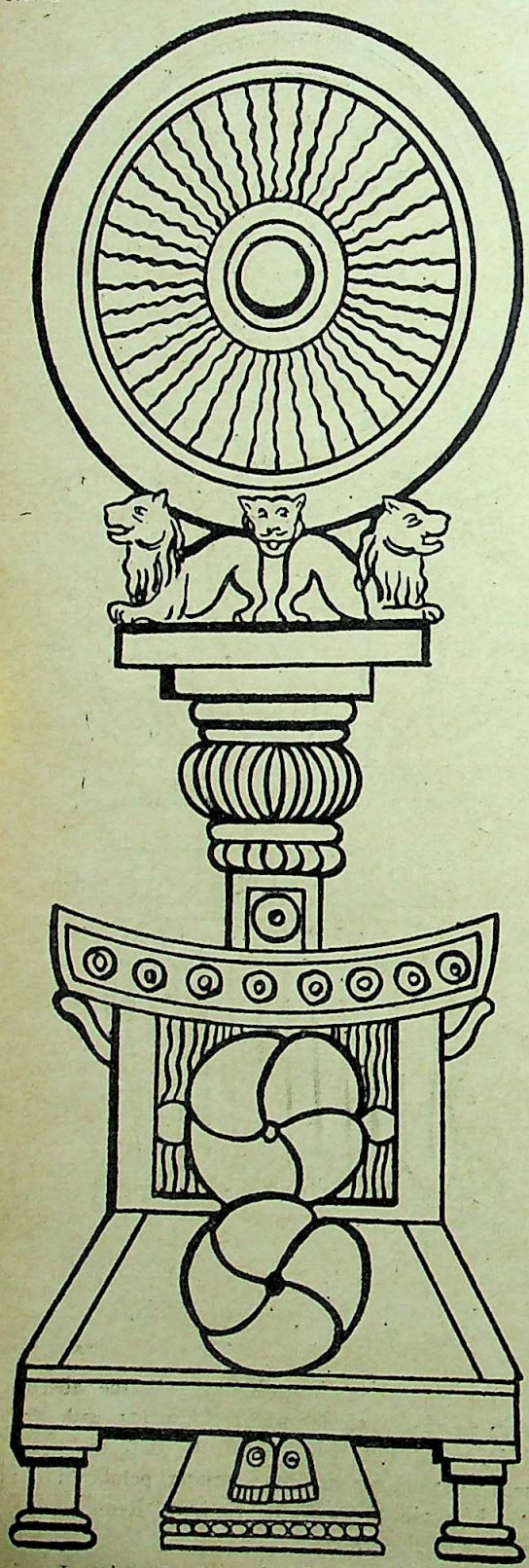
carry on their shoulders fell off from the pillar but is fortunately traceable in fragments which are still preserved in the Sarnath Museum. That wheel is now re-



Longhurst's *Nagarjunakonda*, Plate XI(a)

stored to its original form and position in the ... tions appearing in this article.

Indeed, this wheel was originally supported ... short stone shaft which still remains to be dis... But its existence is proved by a mortice hole into ... the shaft was fitted. The hole has a diameter of ... cating the thickness of the shaft it was to hold, ... drilled into the stone lying between the heads ... four lions, and is still to be seen in its original ... Of the broken big wheel, four small fragments ... been traced and preserved in the Museum. These ... ments also show the ends of 13 spokes, and ... cate that the total original number of the spokes ... the wheel was 32 as against the 24 spokes of the ... wheel figuring on the abacus. (See p. 28 of Cat... *of Sarnath Museum* by D. Sahni). Sir John M... also testifies to "four magnificent lions sitting ... to back with a wheel between them."

That the wheel was the original and outst... part of the capital of the Asokan column is ... proved by its historical reproductions in the scul... of the Great Stupa at Sanchi of about 2nd ... B.C. which was also associated with Asoka. F... this artistic tradition was so strongly estab... that it spread even to the South where it was e... in the later sculptures of the Stupas at Nagarjun... and Amaravati. All these sculptures testify t... popular appeal of the Asokan architectural tra... which should now be preserved and perpetuated ... pristine form as an expression of the ideal and ... of Indian thought of which the Buddha and ... were such noted exponents. The wheel in its ... reproduction appears also to be very ... size, and occupies a very unimportant, inferior ... obscure place in the scheme of the decoration ... in the abacus of the Asokan capital where it ... alternates between the figures of animals which ... to be more prominent than the wheel. It was ... Asoka's design of the abacus was a part of the ... design which gave to the wheel the topmost ... position as explained above. It is necessary in ... to Asoka's ideal that the wheel be restored in ... documents to its original form and position ... in the illustrations now presented, in which it ... as the most outstanding and towering feature ... the whole column.

Lastly, the form of the emblem is itself ... expression of a governing idea shaping it. It ... sessed of a significance and symbolism which ... not be missed. According to Asoka's design ... shoulders of the lions, if I may quote the ... of the poet Milton, "were Atlantean shoulders ... bear the weight of mightiest monarchies," ... Asoka placed on their broad shoulders the heavy ... of the spiritual empire which he sought to ... in India. Thus, the big wheel placed on the ... the lions exhibits the superiority of the spi...

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the physical, or brute force, as represented in the lions. The wheel appearing in the abacus below the lions is here in a different context.

The later examples of the original from of Asokan capital are being presented in line-drawings to bring out more distinctly the form and beauty of the defaced and mutilated original. The Sanchi example shows the big wheel placed on lions in the same pose as the Asokan lions of Sarnath, but the second Sanchi example marks what may be judged by artists as an improvement upon the Asokan design by substituting for his lions elephants which are as much a representation of physical power as the lions, and are more closely associated with India, while they bring to the representation an added element of dignity, vigour and majesty.

It may be noted that the picture of wheel on lions occurs in as many as seven bas-reliefs among the sculptures of Sanchi. These seven reliefs are to be found on plates 27, 40, 69, 74, 82, 103 and 108 of Marshall's work *Monuments of Sanchi*. The wheel on the elephants is seen on page 86 of the same work. A further noteworthy feature of the two wheels on the capital of Asokan pillar is that the top big wheel was constructed with 32 spokes and the smaller and the lower one with 24 spokes. The 32 spokes were evidently designed to correspond to what are called in Pali Canonical texts the thirty-two *Mahapurusha-lakshanas*, or the thirty-two external characteristics of the Buddha as Superman. These are described and listed in such Buddhist sacred texts as *Digha*, II, 117, 19 ff; *Digha*, III, 287; and *Visuddhi-magga*, p. 234. The appellation *Mahapurusha* is applied in Pali texts to any eminent person, and specially to the Buddhas or *Chakravarti*-monarchs. An example of these 32 physical characteristics or personal beauties possessed by the Buddha was the *Chakra*-mark appearing on the soles of his feet. As regards the 24 spokes of the lower wheel on the abacus, they may be taken to correspond to the 24 main Truths of the Buddhist *Dhamma*, viz.,

1. Avoidance of the *two* extremes of (*i*) self-indulgence and (*ii*) self-mortification
2. *Four* noble Truths (*Aryasatyani*)
3. The *eight*-fold path (*Ashtangika-marga*)
4. The *ten* precepts (*Silas*)

Thus the total of these tenets of Buddhism comes up to twenty-four.—From *A.I.C.C. Economic Revitw*,

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PAINTINGS OF SUDHANSHU BASU ROY CHOWDHURY

An Appraisal

BY RANJAN GHOSH

In writing this review-article on the paintings of Sudhanshu Basu Roy Chowdhury—one of the senior artists (I say this with some hesitation), it is dismaying to witness that he is less known than the excellence of his works with commendable success in different directions in the domain of art, actually deserves; and the reasons for the decadence of the art-appreciation among the people could be well traced to the vandal habit of negligence in our Universities and press in the matter of art-education and appreciation notably the press, which caters for ampler writings on art than before, are fast taking place—yet there is sufficient scope for improvement in this direction.

Born in 1912, Sri Basu Roy Chowdhury started his education in art from his very childhood at the Jaipur Art College (Rajputana) in 1926. While a boy of thirteen years of age, he became noted for his painting acumen and talent. During this time one of his paintings captioned under 'Unity' was highly appreciated and, later on, purchased by no less a person than the great artist and connoisseur of art—the father of Modern Indian painting—whom you and I equally love and adore—the late Abanindranath Tagore. This is the highest meed for a boy-aspirant artist as Sri Basu Roy Chowdhury was. Nurtured that he was in the exquisite scenery of Jaipur, which is the seat of religious temples and state-buildings—remarkably 'the old Palace of Ambar and the Palace and stables of the Maharaja'—having deep-rooted historical origin and high architectural designs, he got himself engaged in studying these historical buildings and religious temples during his seven years of stay at the Jaipur Art College. A few sketches of them are still lying with him. These are fine specimens of his neat drawing done with every meticulous care. In the realm of mythological paintings he has been equally successful. His paintings on the mythological Radha-Krishna love episode are unique due to their technical dexterity and lyrical tempo through his sweet and balanced blending of colour. On completion of his studies at the Jaipur Art College, he came to Calcutta and placed himself under the inspiring guidance of the late A. N. Tagore and gradually became one of his beloved students by dint of his unwavering devotion to and creative faculty of painting. During this period his works chiefly consisted of

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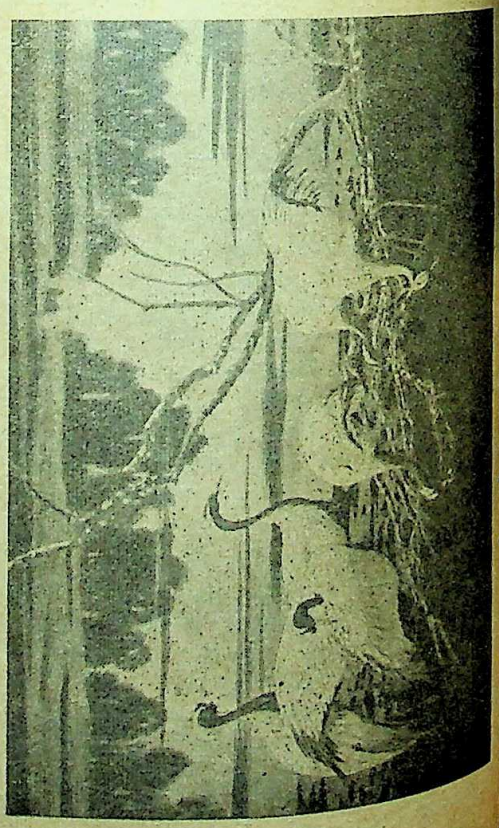

A pair of rhinoceroses of Assam (Painting, 1952)

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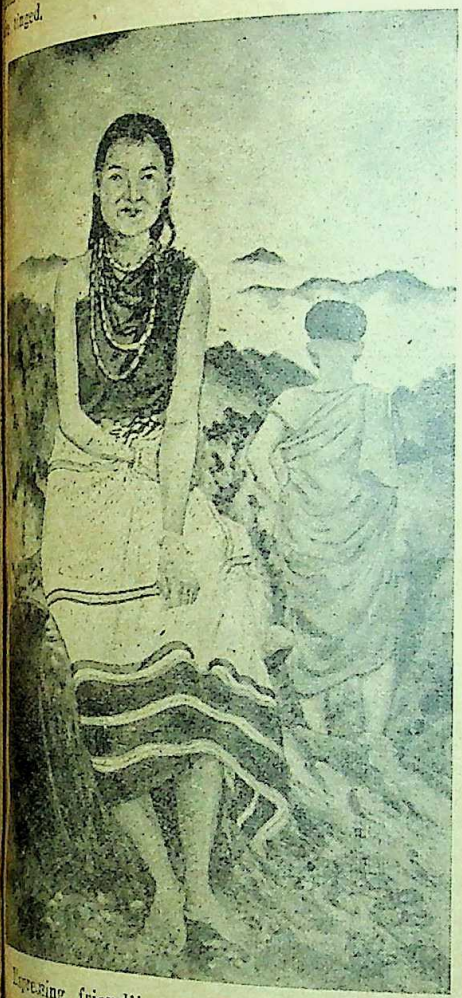
...strations from the life of the Buddha and of ...scapes—better known as "Bengal landscapes." In ...ting the illustrations from the life of the Buddha, ...Basu Roy Chowdhury has commendably revealed ...contemplative aspect of his art. It is quite evident ...the divine elements with which these paintings ...linged.



...ngering friendliness towards a stranger
(Painting, 1952)

...Basu Roy Chowdhury was not content long ...indoor works. His was a roving spirit lying ...in him which could not be satiated with ...works ensconced within the four walls of his ...So, eventually, he went out of his studio—...ing the noble and sublime scenes from the ...now visiting Himachal Pradesh—producing ...of beautiful, serene and mystical ...(through the medium) of his skilled wash-which he painted during this roving period. It ...speaks of him as a fine landscapist. It may be ...mentioning here that a collection of his pictorial ...was exhibited at the All-India Fine Arts and ...Society at New Delhi in 1949. But his intense ...spirit which was floundering much for something ...adventurous—pushed him still farther. At last he went out on a perilous journey to the land of the hill tribes of Assam which brought all manners of troubles and discomforts and he passed several years there—sleeping in their huts, eating their food—being sequestered from the society as it were. An exhibition of his paintings on the social and cultural life of the hill tribes of Assam was held at Y.M.C.A, Chowringhee,

A Naga returning home from jhooming
(Painting, 1952)

Calcutta, on the 13th May 1955, which earned high appreciation from a large section of the people and the press.

Sri Basu Roy Chowdhury has chosen the medium of water-colour in his paintings in which he is found quite at ease. With regard to the language or technique he employs in his pictorical creations—I find that at present he has swung over more to the Western technique. In doing so he is not at all found fumbling with it, but is one who performs this as if he has assimilated everything. It is interesting to note that he was early well-trained in Indian art. His illustrations from the life of the Buddha, Bengal landscapes and the like bear ample testimony to a high degree of success in this direction.

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There are many who are inclined to look down upon his paintings as extremely decorative and illustrative in character due to an 'avidity for detail' with which very many of his paintings are tinged. They are of the opinion that these paintings give reference more to what he (artist) sees, not what he inwardly feels for them. It is unfortunate to remain acquiescent to such a confused and partial view of the artist's works without probing into what has led him to adhere to decoration and detail in his pictorial creations. It is in the fitness of things to discuss, at some length, this aspect (decoration and detail) of his paintings with a view to steering clear of confusion and misconception hovering about the minds of some people. The artist is intensely moved by certain social needs, which he tries to import into his paintings. "Healthy art is always harnessed to a set of social needs," says Eric

A Khasi lady of Shillong
(Painting, 1954)

Newton in his book *European Paintings and Sculpture*. This is what is applicable to Sri Basu Roy Chowdhury's art, to a great extent. The artist's visit to the land of the hill tribes of Assam was not undertaken haphazardly with a view to satisfying his capricious nature; rather the reverse. It emanates from his ambitious desire to fulfil some sort of social needs through the medium of his art. That is why he was, we find, goaded to the task of depicting the social and cultural life of the hill tribes of Assam with the [illegible] bringing about the warmth of our understanding [illegible] these hill tribes, who are still away from our [illegible] standing and about whom we still grope in the [illegible] to a great measure. From the social point of [illegible] deserves congratulations on his laudable [illegible] dispelling our misconceptions and enigmatic [illegible] these people living in our country.

He is keenly true to his visual experience [illegible] depicts what his eye sees. But should we remain [illegible] to say that this is the only aspect in the [illegible] of his pictorial creations? Do they not reflect [illegible] thing more than that? Do we not find—if we [illegible] little sedately into his paintings—that the [illegible] tribes are depicted in their different moods; [illegible] appalled at the sight of an outsider (artist), [illegible] times found fatigued with their toiling labours [illegible]

A Santhal girl adorning herself
(Painting, 1943)

field. I feel, as many others would feel, that [illegible] adequately reflect, at times, emotive expressions [illegible] hill tribes. The reasons for his clinging to [illegible] decoration in his paintings are not far to seek. [illegible] here he is going to introduce these hill [illegible] us with their different aspects—mostly unknown [illegible] previously. That is why he adheres to [illegible]

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...al experience faithfully—but never losing its depth ...d brilliance in order that what he depicts could be ...nesses whose veracity no one would dream of ...ing because he has sworn himself in to paint the ...e visual truth' and that it might be of immense ...al and understanding to the layman. So, judged ...the view-points stated above, it gives Sri Basu ... Chowdhury a very forceful *point d' appui* to ...sent his art with detail and decoration in that it ...ds some sort of panacea to the visitors. In this ...ever, he could be well compared with the Italian ...ish painters. Sri Basu Roy Chowdhury is ...ly reputed for his animal paintings. In the ...s of the hill tribes of Assam there are many ...fully painted animals—specially the rhinoceroses, ...ls and birds in the jungle scenes from Assam. ...ever, I hope that he might not restrict himself to ...rt of visual truth alone all through his life and ...he might once again move to the art of ...ulation, in line with his earlier work, much more ...r than before.

Storm weather in the Simla Hills
(Painting, 1948)

———:O:———

SOLUTION OF THE KOSI PROBLEM

By J. N. BOSE, F.R.G.S.,
Formerly of Survey of India

...ter from his engineers led Alexander of Macedon ...d Alexandria on a comparatively unimportant ...of the Nile. At that time the Pelusiac mouth ...the modern Port Said) was the recognised port of ...but the engineers foresaw the ultimate closure ...the eastern mouths by the drift of river detritus. ...dgment is confirmed by the need of today of ...dredges to maintain Port Said as a deep-...t. This piece of the Nile history is interesting ...ly recognition of the migration of the river ...in a direction contrary to the prevailing winds. ...the behaviour of rivers selecting their course ...outfall especially at the point of discharge, ...seems to have been written since the formation ...andria.

...Dally has pointed out some rivers shift their mouths ...ward, citing the Mississippi, the Ebro and the ...as examples. We have evidence of the wind-...movement of the Rhine as we know that in Roman ...the outfall was through the country now covered by the Zuider Zee. It subsequently has been wind-ward to the previous one.

Vernon refers the movements of the Danube against prevailing winds.

The river Parana between the Paraguay and river Plate, wihch abrades the hard ground on its left bank whilst leaving the more easily removable alluvial deposits on its right bank undisturbed, seems to give a clear illustration of the action of Earth's rotation.

The Volga makes a great bend at Samara to avoid Zhenguli extension of the Russian plateau. Along the whole of the bend, cliffs fringe the right bank, which the river is constantly under-cutting, while from the left bank extends a great plain intersected by former channels of the river.

Thus we find that not only the Kosi but many other rivers in different parts of the world behave in peculiar ways, but none so violent and destructive like the Kosi.

But whatever may be the course of a river for its

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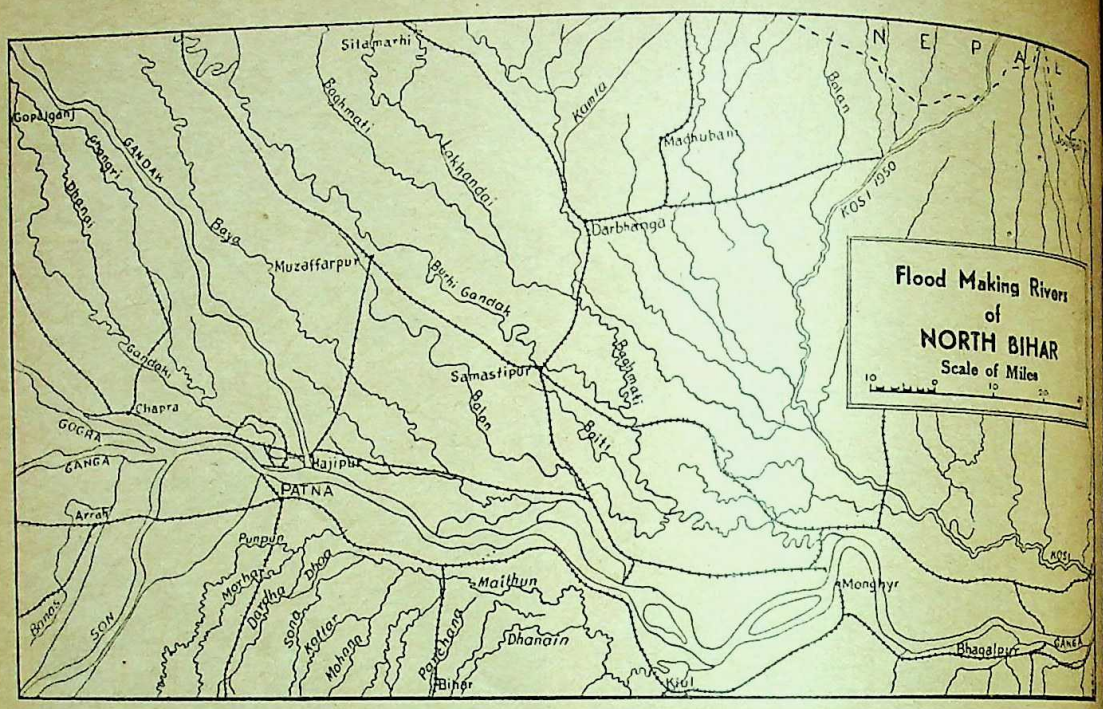

discharge, it can be diverted to flow through a suitable channel by regulating along its middle course. Some examples will substantiate it:

About 6,000 years ago King Menes turned the Nile from the extreme western limit of the valley to the eastern limit to protect the Temple of Memphis from the eastern nomads.

It was about 5,000 years ago that some ancient Babylonian King, tradition says, Nimrod, turned the Tigris out of its course by a boldly planned work, which stood for 4,000 years until Halaku destroyed it and began the ruin of Babylonia.

One of the Chola Kings of South India constructed a massive dam of unhewn stone 1080 feet long, and from 40 to 60 feet broad, below the island of Seringapatnam, to keep the Cauvery separate from the Coleroon and drive it towards Tanjore district. This is still in existence, a road has been built upon it.

The Rhine has been regulated and a straight channel has been cut through its meanders near Karlsruhe.

Those who know London at the present day find it hard to believe that the Thames was ever fordable in its neighbourhood. The cement factories along the banks of the Thames by dredging clay from the bed of the river helped a great deal in deepening its channel.

The hydrographic nature of North Bihar indicate a gentle but uniform rise towards the foot of the Himalayas, with a belt of fairly high land along the bank of the Ganga and a gradual tilting from north-west to south-west; this has been disturbed at places owing to tectonic movements and by the action of shifting channels.

We know that Pataliputra (Patna) in Chandra Gupta's time (about 320 B.C.) was at the confluence of the Ganga, the Gandak and the Son. The mouth of the Son has shifted westward some 20 miles in some 2,000 years since Chandra Gupta's time considering that shifting had ceased with the construction of Son canals started in 1869. But the Kosi exhibiting all the features of a deltaic stream advancing westwards more rapidly. Even in 1930 the Kosi with most of its channels flowed east of longitude, but when the area was subsequently surveyed in 1935-38, the channels were found to have moved westwards. What is the reason for this it would difficult to say, neither Ferrel's law nor rotation earth can be attributed for its cause, but it is a that the Kosi is moving against the general slope the tract and in a direction contrary to the prevailing winds. This westward trend was recognised even ancient legends. The wind in these areas blows from the east only in the rainy season, but from middle September to middle of June, the prevailing direction of wind is from the west. By the action of such winds wind the sand from the river-bed of the Son is blown up to form sand-hills some to a height of 12 feet above the level of the country along the east bank of the river. North Bihar experiences about inches of rainfall in the three months of the season. Frequent rainfall reduces the water-absorbing power of both the soil and the air. The channels wanting depth and gradient along their lower

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are quite unable to discharge the accumulated rain water which when augmented by the sudden overflow from the vast upper, mountainous regions make disastrous floods.

The Kosi after being united with several other rivers falls into the Ganga through a narrow mouth which is quite unable to discharge the vast volume of water. Dr. Singha has rightly said that there is hardly any other part of the country which drains so much water through so small an area. The position becomes worse when the Ganga is also in spate and prevents the Kosi waters to be poured into it resulting in an inundation of vast areas.

In order to save a huge loss of men and money every year the Kosi must be controlled. What are being tried by the engineers of the Flood Control Board are of course all possible means for the present by constructing dams, reservoirs and by diverting natural waterways from unstable to stable channels. An aerial survey of the areas in India which were affected by rivers with sources in Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet would be made. A contour survey map would be prepared from this and after collection of various data and making experiments with scale models of the area, a permanent solution of the flood problem could be attempted.

It is clear and the map also shows that rivers of North Bihar cannot enter into the Ganga easily owing to the presence of high land along the bank of the Ganga. In order to avoid this high land they have to run parallel to the Ganga for some considerable distance and have to be united with several other rivers, still not being able to discharge their waters and make floods with accumulated waters.

The Kosi problem will be solved if the following steps are adopted in addition to the measures which are being undertaken.

By opening some new channels from suitable points in the Ganga cutting through the high bank of the Ganga, this accumulation of water may be discharged easily. This method would involve some additional costs for there would be the necessity of constructing several railway bridges at points where the channels cross the railway lines. It is evident that railway embankments in this part of the country are responsible to some extent for floods by obstructing the natural flow of the country. More bridges for the escape of water should be provided for the railway lines.

In order that all the flood waters of north Bihar easily be discharged through the Ganga, its flood level should be kept much below, lower than at present. This can be best effected if the bed of the Son from below Dehri at Dehri to its outfall with the Ganga be dredged deep to form a lake. The average width of the part of the Son is about 2 miles and the length some 80 miles. This portion of the Son is a sandy waste, even the banks up to some distance are not of any use, so the question of compensation and rehabilitation will not arise. The lake so formed will act like a a safety valve, like the Stanley Pool of the Congo or tht Tungting and Poyang lakes of the Yangste. It will arrest any high flood in the Ganga below its junction with the Son, enabling the discharge of north Bihar to pass through the Ganga more smoothly. Needless it is to say that that two good road bridges should be provided for the Son tho first at Dehri-Barun for the Grand Trunk Road and the other at Koelwar for the Patna-Buxar Road.

On fruition of such ideas as connecting the Arabian Sea with the Bay of Bengal with inland waterways by canalizing and connecting the Narmada and the Tapti with the Son and the Mahanadi and the Godavari through the Wainganga this piece of waterway will play an important part in the transportation by inland waterways.

There is an opinion that since the construction of anicuts at Hardwar and Narwara for utilizing the Ganga waters for irrigation canals, the water level of the Ganga in its lower reaches has been lowered, and it is one of the causes of the deterioration of the Bhagirathi water supply at the intake. Some may apprehend that if such a lake is made, even with the provision of lock-gates at the outfall of the Son the level of the Ganga may still be lowered. But this may not matter much if the Ganga barrage is made, and the channel of the Bhagirathi is improved and made navigable all the year round.

Floods of 1954 and 1955 were on an unprecedented scale. It is said that no such thing has occurred for several generations. In 1954, there were floods on a big scale almost throughout central Eurasia, causing disasters to China, India, Nepal, Tibet, Iran, Hungary, etc. Even Australia and Egypt were unable to escape from this disaster. Tibet, where it seldom rains, had to suffer for floods.

Professor Soddy, famous for the theory of atomic disintegration and discovery of isotope, said that this sort of disturbance is probably caused by man-produced atomic radiation. Atomic research stations throw out many pounds of radium into the air every day. The atmosphere is ionzied and this is bound to affect the weather. Particles of moisture in the already saturated air become electrified by the atomic radiation and are turned to rain. Normally they would only be turned to rain by particles of dust.

In this day, radio, television, atomic radiation, space-rockets and propulsions of aeroplanes cause so many waves and vibrations churning up the spatial ether, that, as if, weather, is no longer able to follow the laws of nature.

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RAILWAYS OF THE U.S.S.R.

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By SAROJ B. BISWAS

POSSIBLY, of all countries, Russia suffered the most from the ravages of the last world war which practically laid low her national economy and left a trail of waste and desolation almost everywhere there. Transport was crippled. So the post-war reconstruction and rehabilitation assumed the utmost importance and became the foremost immediate task to the Government of the U.S.S.R. Over and above, Russia, being a communistic state, took upon herself the sacred but onerous mission of maintaining her people at a high level, as such transport of food-grains and essentials of life became a matter of solicitude to the Government. Crops delivered by the tenants to the authorities are to be carried to the central stores; after this crop is stored the potato harvest sets in, followed by the sugar-beet and thereafter the state builds up reserves of winter coal and coke for the towns and factories. With the resurgence of national economy there has been a basic alteration in the concept of the same, greater stress is now being laid on the heavy industries, and a finished article, to take its final shape, is now required to pass for its different stages of production, through different factories either in Russia or her satellite countries, and this often entails frequent movements of a semi-finished article from one part of a country to that of another. All these go to make a heavy demand on the Railway transport and to meet that, the Railway administration has perforce to give priority to the freight service over passenger service. Russia like America is a land of vast distances between traffic points with a very little volume of seasonal holiday passenger. To ensure quick movement of goods, Express goods trains with corridor stock—practically an innovation, and heavy freight trains of 3500-4000 tons against the maximum of 2000 tons on the railways of Western Europe are frequently operated; for speedier freight services and quicker turn-round, as an experimental measure, on the main line in the South Urals region, and in the Donetz basin—an hub of the industrial activity of Russia, electric engines of 3500 V and 5000 H.P. capable of a service speed of 90 M.P.H. which are believed to be the most powerful of its kind in the world, work Express freight trains of 4000 tons. Electrification of the Trans-Siberian line (Moscow to Vladivostock)—5800 miles—portions of which have already been electrified, has been taken up and is expected to be finished by the next five years or so. The project on completion, will be the longest electrified section in the world, even much longer than the East to West Diesel Electric main lines of the Canadian or American Railways; for the transport of perishable goods like meat, fish and fruit, etc., trains made up entirely of articulated refrigerated rakes are run. Shunting is done by the Diesel as well as by the 0-8-0 steam locomotives.

But all these do not mean that the Passenger services on the Railways of the U.S.S.R. have been neglected or have received scant attention. The first that strikes a visitor to Russia are the new magnificent station buildings, replete with all comforts, at Kiev, Kharkov, Odessa, Smolensk, and cities which have been erected on or near the sites of old ones which were destroyed in the last war. The new station buildings are of Neo-Georgian or style, their floor and stairs are of marble with express trains of the U.S.S.R. painted on the In constructing these buildings, the ease and of the travelling public and of the constituents and the volume of traffic have been taken into account much so that the density of traffic does not warrant construction on such a majestic scale. To relieve tedium of passengers, waiting rooms at some of stations are provided each with a small library, a receiver, table games, and up-to-date journals periodicals. As a tentative measure, in a form, this may be tried in the upper class waiting of the Howrah and Delhi stations and retiring some busy stations. The reconstruction of these ings followed and not preceded the restoration of war-torn railway, its stock, structure, equipment appliances. To cope with the evergrowing traffic, the communist Government of Russia constructed underground railways at Moscow and Leningrad, only cities of the U.S.S.R. having this facility. The underground railway of Moscow, reported to be most beautiful and convenient in the world, some 72 route miles and 12 miles more are under construction. The stations on the Moscow and Leningrad underground railways are miniature "palaces mosaics, crystals and statues" (vide *Evening* England). The standard of discipline and of ness is so high that no smoking is permitted in the above-mentioned stations—a very incon thing to us. Execution of all these projects short compass of time shows not only the magnitude the Rehabilitation and Development works accomplished by the U.S.S.R. but the wonderful grit and energy the Russian people.

The railways of the U.S.S.R. operate Passenger train services, internal and international and the passenger travel comprises five categories, Express (crack), (2) Courier, (3) Fast, (4) Passenger (5) Local. The "Red Arrow" from Moscow to Leningrad and the Trans-Siberian Express from Moscow to Vladivostock are the only Express and services respectively, while the long-distance fast trains, *viz.*, to Brest Litovsk, Stalingrad, Odessa, and other important cities and towns are fast. Most the important main line trains are worked by engines; there being few tank engines, the engines are employed on local trains. In India, there is no uniform serial number

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passenger trains, but in each zone, the passenger trains are numbered serially; as in India, the faster trains have lower numbers. Though Moscow is the nerve-centre of the Railway system, the direction of the train is not generally reckoned from it. Those proceeding South to North, and West to East carry even numbers and those from North to South and East to West odd numbers; the only exception to this rule is the Moscow-Rostov route where the reverse order is observed. The Time Table is changed once yearly and incorporates drastic and material alteration suiting public convenience and requirement.

All the principal trains have got air-conditioned sleeping cars running next to the engine and restaurant cars as well. The sleeping cars being of roomette type, vie in comforts and luxury with the most modern of American Parlour and sleeping cars—the cream of present-day passenger accommodation; on the other hand as a matter of fact the standardization of the sleeping cars in design and model has resulted in a rush at night, of all principal trains, as in America, at the originating stations, even though the journey be short one and this often places at a disadvantage the man who wants to see at day time something of the countryside near about those points.

The types of accommodation are provided on the passenger train: (1) International first category—double-berth compartments, (2) International second category—four berth compartments, (3) and (4) soft and hard classes 54 and 38 berth compartments in which bedding is given at a supplementary fare, (5) open type hard with 58 seats to a bogie. But single-berth compartments as obtaining on West European Railways are not found on the Russian. A particular feature of the Russian is that a mere possession of a ticket, as in Spain, does not entitle a passenger to entrain unless or until he has reserved a berth or seat as the case may be. To the international long-distance traffic, through luxurious sleeping cars run from Moscow to different destinations on different schedules—daily to Berlin, Vienna, Sofia, Bucharest and Warsaw, four times weekly to Moscow, twice weekly to Peking and bi-weekly to Pyongyang in North Korea. The Russian trains booked for Central Asian cities have got to negotiate a gauge of 4′ 8½″ on Railways west of Russia against that of 5′ of the Russian. The change of gauge is effected at the border by pushing sideways the wheels of the carriage. The work involving a train rake of 15 bogies takes 30 against 15 minutes for the identical work by the S.N.C.F. on the Pyreenes Frontier.

As regards speed—an essential factor in the rail transport—the railways of the U.S.S.R. compare unfavourably with those of West Europe and Great Britain and it may possibly be due to a Russian mind which does not always regard speed as a prime factor as is evident from the fact that some trains on the main line of Russian Railways run for 1,000 miles stopping at each and every station. The overall average speed of the fast trains excepting the crack service varies from 30-32 M.P.H. and is still lower than the pre-war standard which was much below the same of the West European Railways and the average speed between two halts seldom exceeds 46 M.P.H. Due to havoc of the last war, the train speed had to be severely reduced but subsequent steady improvements in the timings of train suggest that by 1956 on some principal sections, the pre-war level of speed will not only be attained but exceeded, and with the completion of the electrification of the Trans-Siberian Line now in hand, there will be a considerable acceleration in the speed of trains which may cut down the present journey time by 40 per cent. The "Red Arrow," the fastest crack train of Russia, takes 9 hours and 40 mts. for her run of 404 miles—Moscow to Leningrad—at an average of 41.8 M.P.H. against 7 hrs. and 40 mts. taken by the British "Midday Scot" from London to Glasgow 402 miles, and 7 hrs. and 45mts. by the "Rhinegold Express" of West German Federal Railways for 395 miles from Munich to Cologne, but she shows herself much better against our Delhi Mail taking 10 hrs. 55 mts. for 411 miles from Howrah to Moghal Sarai. It should be borne in mind that the "Red Express" though saddled with a heavier rear load has the advantage of a better terrain with long stretches of level and straight tracks.

TABLE NO. 1. OVERALL FASTEST TIMINGS

Railways of the U.S.S.R.

	Distance in miles	Time taken 1939 H	Mt.	1955 H.	Mt.
Moscow-Smolensk	260	6	41	7	28
Do-Leningrad	404	9	30	9	40
Do-Minsk	464	12	27	14	16
Do-Brest Frontier	483	30	(a) 20	21	21
Leningrad-Kiev	783	34	30	36	53
Moscow-Odessa	938	33	31	34	25
Do-Sochi	1,226	41	40	47	34
Do-Baku	1,580	(c) 57	35	63	35
Do-Tashkent	2092	95	40	84	26
Do-Irkatsk	3,226	107	53	115	15
Do-Manchurian Border	4170	149	45	160	15
Do-Vladivostock	5800	212	0	221	0

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Indian Railways

	Distance in miles	Time Taken 1935 H.	1935 M.	1955 H.	1955 M.
Howrah-Mokameh	273	6	58	7	54
Do-Mogal-Sarai Via G.C.	411	10	23	10	55
Do-Mogal-Sarai via Main line	463	11	52	13	02
Asansol-Aligarh	693	17	43	19	09
Bombay-Muttra (W. Ry.)	778	(b) 20	12	20	42
Bombay-Delhi (C. Ry.)	957	30	50	27	25
Howrah-Bombay via Nagpur	1,223	38	20	37	50
Madras-Delhi (G.T. Express)	1,360			44	35

The G.T. Express has got at present the longest run in the Indian Railways.

(a) refers to 1948, in 1939 frontier terminated at Negoucloye.

(b) refers to 1939.

(c) via Kharkov—1,660 miles.

These tables show that not only as regards point to point speed, but as regards overall average speed of long-distance schedules, our trains on steam traction acquit themselves better than their Russian sisters with the exception of the "Red Arrow," but, for a proper appraisement, the performance of our trains should be judged in the perspective of punctuality records of the railways of these two countries. The Russian trains have got to negotiate very long runs, some of which are the longest in the world, passing through widely different climatic and operating conditions; even with this handicap, the standard of punctuality is very high there, their trains generally run to scheduled timings; late running is adversely commented on in the Press. Their punctuality record, which is quite likely to be better than that of ours of 74.79 per cent dwarfs to a certain extent the performance of our trains.

Despite all these achievements, the Railways of the U.S.S.R. have to contend with the competition of the nationalised Air-liner Aero-flot. The Aero-flot has two classes of accommodation for passengers—Hard and Soft; its Hard class fares are slightly lower than the Soft class fares with berths on the trains, but the operating costs of the former being higher tilts the balance in favour of the latter.

The Railways of the U.S.S.R. sprawling from Central Europe in the west, to the Sea of Japan in the East, Arctic Ocean in the North, and the borders of Iran and Afghanistan in the South, cover approximately 70,000 route miles and are divided into 42 zones for operational purposes. It has got a uniform gauge of 5 ft. with the exception of Narrow Gauge of about [illegible] miles from Dudinka to Norilsk in the Arctic Region.

The Railways which were in a chaotic stage during the Czarist regime—and in spite of being wrecked by two world wars—now mainly through the zeal and untiring efforts of the staff and the Administration occupy a prominent place in the world's transport system and this position, the distinctive method of training the staff has contributed to, in no small measure, [illegible]

TABLE No. 2. INDIAN RAILWAYS

Showing non-stop runs—point to point—at speed of 46 M.P.H. and over as per current Time Table.

Names of the Railways	Sections	Distance in Miles	Time Taken Minutes	Speed M.P.H.	Remark
Eastern Railway	Gaya-Dehri-On-Sone	53	66	48.1	Mail train
"	Ondal-Burdwan	49	62	47.4	Tufan Express
Northern Railway	Partabgarh-Rai-Barielly	59	75	47.2	Amritsar Mail
"	Allahabad-Fatepur	73	95	46.1	Delhi Mail
Western Railway	Surat-Broach	37	47	47.4	Gujrat Mail
"	Gangapur City-Bayana	48	60	48	Frontier Mail
"	Muttra-New Delhi	88	114	46.3	"
Central Railway	Jabbalpur-Narsingpur	52	65	48	Bombay Mail
"	Khandwa-Harda	64	82	49.4	"
"	Manikpur-Sankargarh	35	44	47.7	"
"	Bhopal-Bhilsha	34	43	49.4	Punjab Mail
"	Gwalior-Debra	27	33	49.1	"
South Eastern Railway	Raipur-Bhatapara	40	50	47.1	Bombay Mail

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a picture of that railway system is incomplete without a brief description of the training.

The Railway Instruction School of Moscow provides up-to-date theoretical and practical training to the employees deserving promotion as drivers and signal-men; models of different types of equipment, signal and workshop of specialised appliances are shown and explained to the trainees. The school further operates a number of instructional coaches which visit running sheds, workshops and big marshalling yards and impart practical lessons to the staff in modern railroad operation and practices.

Over and above, the Institute of Transport at Dniepropetrovsk provides a specialised course of training in power of all departments of the railways. Students of 15-35 years only are admitted and are trained in a practical way for five years and during this period, they receive wages out of which they pay for their clothing and lodging charges. On completing the course, the trainees should serve the railway on probation for two years. To make the nation railway-minded, instead of relying on the usual technique of training through models and demonstrations, two miles of narrow gauge railway with all replicas of modern railway working have been installed at Kharkov and nine other important cities and set apart exclusively for children of the ages of 14-16 years. The remarkable character of this unique system of training goes to make the railwaymen of the U.S.S.R. thoroughly conversant with their job and schools them to rise to the occasion and brave any situation however adverse it may be.

The steady and continued progress and development of this railway system against enormous odds is not only an object of admiration but one of thoughtful study to the people of other countries.*

* Materials regarding the Railways of the USSR obtained from the *Railway Gazette* of 5.2.54, 16.4.54, 10.1.55, 12.8.55; 21.10.55; 28.10.55 and 18.11.55.

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FATEHPUR SIKRI: THE REFLEX OF AKBAR'S MIND

By N. N. QANUNGO, M.A.,
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"It is the style"—they say in a literary composition. It is no less applicable in the study of the architectural style of any originality claimed by a great builder. Literary critics pursue Shakespeare's elusive personality through his dramas; so do the art-critic attempt to catch the master-mind behind a work of art, be it architecture, sculpture or painting. E. W. Smith reveals to us the very soul of Akbar's Fatehpur Sikri and sums up all that can be said about the architecture of Fatehpur Sikri, when he says, "Fatehpur Sikri is the reflex of Akbar's mind," which has since then become an aphorism yet unsurpassed by any other. Akbar's genius was indeed of grandeur.

"The buildings of Fatehpur Sikri truly belong to an epic age—vigorous, virile, and full of youthful exuberance, as opposed to the effeminate grace of the Mughal architecture in general."—FERGUSSON: *History of Eastern and Indian Architecture.*

Herein we get a correct reading of a phase of Akbar's character. If Shahjahan's Moti Masjid and Taj were the best lyrics in stone, Akbar's Buland Darwaza is an epic in the grandeur of conception and imagination.

Akbar was an eclectic in religion and philosophy; so was he in his architectural taste. Havely says the same by holding that "Akbar was an Indian of Indians," if he does not mean by an Indian a Hindu exclusively; because whether as a ruler or as a builder, Akbar was neither Hindu nor Muslim but truly an Indian, a rare synthesis of Hindu and Muslim. It was Akbar's wish to make Ancient India and Muslim India meet half-way, whether in religion, politics, intellectual heritage or in art. Fatehpur Sikri is not only the reflex of Akbar's mind, but also a reflex of the transformation of the communal culture and the communal Sultanate of pre-Mughal times into an Indian culture and a national State. Akbar was bolder in his departure from Islamic tradition in fine arts than he was in religion and State-craft. Havell further observes:

> "The buildings of Fatehpur Sikri belong exclusively to the Buddhist-Hindu tradition . . . generally speaking, these elements (Buddhist-Hindu) are confined to surface decoration."

Apart from surface decoration, Havell says:

> "There are some indications that the Hindu canons were practically observed also in the laying out of Fatehpur Sikri."

This, however, is also borne out by the ruins of the city-walls seen today. Diagrams of town-planning in Ancient India are mostly rectangular or square in shape (B. B. Dutt: *Town Planning in Ancient India*). Percy Brown also says that the city-wall enclosed "an irregular area approximately two miles long"

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(*Indian Architecture*—Islamic Period). Muslims clung to the Abbasid tradition of the circular city of Baghdad. The sixteen-sided citadel of Agra was an approximate approach to this tradition.

From generalities, it is necessary to descend to the particular. The simplest and the least decorated in Fatehpur Sikri is a solitary building, standing outside the Mahal-i-Khas. This was variously labelled as the Mint, the Record Room and the Library. The remarkable feature of it, is the absence of arch for constructive purpose, which Akbar discarded everywhere, in favour of the trabeated style of the lintel and the architrave. In Diwan-i-Am, the throne-balcony was modelled on the *sinhasan* of a Hindu deity without the representation of any un-Islamic animal-life or idols. Havell says that the style is borrowed from that of Hindu *chaturdol;* horizontal beams, pillars and bell, chhatri, kiosk, projecting balconies, dripstone along the roof are Hindu in technique. In Diwan-i-Khas, the massive brackets spring towards the walls like the expanding leaves of a lotus from the octagonal central pillar. Havell points out that it is suggestive of Vishnu's lotus seat. In the so-called Jodh Bai Palace, on the orthodox Muslim doorway, the surface decoration with lotus, the Swastika, and carved brackets supporting the architrave are all Hindu. These are all reminiscent of the temple architecture of Western India. Havell and E. W. Smith contend that the design of the Panch Mahal is borrowed from Buddhist Vihara.

A bold departure from puritanism is evident from the animal representations as lions and peacocks on carved relief in Turkish Sultana's Palace, and fresco paintings depicting Sri Ram with bow and Sri Krishna in Bibi Maryam's Kothi give an air of Hindu influence. The Emperor's soul peeps through scenes of heaven and hell, picture of Madona, the Brahmin with his pig-tail on the once gilded walls of Bibi Maryam's Kothi. Here spiritual imagination, fed by Brahminism and Christianity, runs riot, as it were, in the tolerant heart of Akbar.

In Akbar's bad-room (*khwab-gah*), the quiet scenes of a country boat, gliding stream, etc., indicate the longing of Akbar's heart. Here was a grand experiment to emulate Ajanta and Ellora that befits a revivalist like Akbar.

Fatehpur Sikri reflects also the versatile genius, originality and the refined taste of Akbar. No two buildings of Fatehpur Sikri are alike in design and even two pillars are not exactly alike in carving. Akbar as a thinker was a combination of the grotesque and the sublime. His architectural style, though a novelty, had nothing grotesque about it. It displays all the wealth of oriental picturesqueness; but this is subordinated to a sense of proportion and restraint, wonderfully modern.

Fatehpur Sikri reveals Akbar's genius as a military strategist. It is true that Shaikh Salim C[illegible] inspired its making. But at the same time, Akbar preferred it because of its situation on a small [illegible] which was a sort of natural defence, its proximity [illegible] Agra and its strategic position from, where [illegible] entrances into Rajputana and Bharatpur could be easily guarded. Havell aptly maintains that Fatehpur Sikri bears testimony to Akbar's wonderful capacity [illegible] an organiser and ruler of men. Percy Brown and Vincent Smith read Akbar the whimsical autocrat writ large upon Fatehpur Sikri. Percy Brown remarks :

> "We find an autocratic impulse to provide an architectural setting for the pageantry of his court."

Vincent Smith goes further by observing that :

> The building of Fatehpur Sikri "was a freak of an irresponsible autocrat, acting under the impulse of overpowering superstitious emotions and enjoying the sensation of absolute freedom from financial limitations."

What more can we expect from the author of *Akbar the Great Mogul?*

However, the deserted city of Fatehpur Sikri as a whole stirs up our imagination as a romance in red sandstone. Shahjahan could not build a Fatehpur Sikri nor Akbar a Taj, even if Akbar's resources were ten times greater. This is simply because the genius of Akbar was epic and masculine; whereas that of Sahjahan was lyrical and less robust. Shahjahan was a pining lover, and Akbar was a contemplative idealist, a dreamer with a will and optimism and a [illegible] rebel against everything conventional. Akbar was an experimentalist in government as well as in architecture; whereas Shahjahan was more of a realist concentrating his resources on a fewer projects than those of Akbar. Akbar was less fortunate in his choice of the site of Fatehpur Sikri than Shahjahan in his selection for the site of a New Delhi. Uniform [illegible] of Fatehpur Sikri is less picturesque than marble with an inlay of stones of various colours. Shahjahan is said to have contributed to the glorious perfection of the Indo-Muslim style of architecture. But it derived its inspiration from outside, particularly from Persia, whereas Akbar drew his inspiration from the architectural tradition of Indian art. If there was anything [illegible] in the Mughal architecture, it was Akbar's conception of the Indian Empire and his essentially Indian [illegible] of architecture.

Abul Fazl says :

> "His Majesty plans splendid edifices and dresses the work of his mind in the garments of stone clay."

Here is the unassailable truth that the buildings were planned according to the hidden desire of [illegible] soul. As a study of Akbar's character, Fatehpur Sikri is a noble supplement of *Akbarnama* in this respect.

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PHILOSOPHY OF SARVODAYA

By Prof. NEMAI SHARAN MITAL, M.A.

During the past four years since Vinoba started his march of Bhoodan Yajna, the word "Sarvodaya" has become quite common with us. And everybody is making use of this word according to his own conceptions and in order to suit his individual whims. Sarvodaya has become an elephant in the midst of the world. Some regard it to be a political fiction of the Congress while others define it as a programme of Gandhian economy and still others would like to call it a moral movement with a religious colour. It would be doing injustice to an ideology, which claims to be a panacea for all the ills and evils of the present-day world, to define it piecemeal. It is, therefore, necessary to have a 'darshan' of Sarvodaya from different angles of vision.

Metaphysically, Sarvodaya is based on the assumption that the human soul is eternal, Good and Divine in nature. It is the "Satyam, Shivam, Sundaram" portion of the Atman. It regards truth as the reality. Truth is that which exists. Existence means endurance beyond time and space. Truth is imperceptible reality. The march of life according to Sarvodaya is the impatient pursuit of truth by the soul. When human soul gets settled in truth it gains the bliss, beyond which there is nothing to gain. This is similar to the conception of "Sthitaprajna" as defined in the second chapter of the *Shrimad Bhagwat Gita*.

Truth is abstract and it is attainable by means of love. Thus we find that ultimate reality assumes threefold character. On the one end there is soul. On the other there is truth. The joining link between the two is the bond of love. Love arises out of the feeling of relationship between soul and truth. Soul is something different from truth. Truth is there by the very nature of soul. When Soul becomes self-conscious, it has a natural attraction for Truth. This attraction is love When love for truth becomes soldiering, soul realises Truth. Love is that what we call joining—that which joins.

Now when we talk of self-consciousness of spirit and when we use the term realisation, we cross the limits of ontology and have stepped into the domain of ethics and psychology. Sarvodaya holds that man is ethic by nature and he is marching towards a goal of life. The entire human-effort according to this philosopphy is explicable in terms of the human pursuit of truth. Truth is the state of bliss. Bliss means good or happiness. But it is not a transitory or temporary pleasure. Man is all along making a ceaseless effort to attain happiness. He wants this happiness to be perennial without any break or without any paralysing wave of pain. This is the key to his altruism. Sarvodaya believes that pain is the natural outcome of man's pursuit of his selfish ends, for, in that case ego of the various individuals is bound to come into clash and thereby breed pain and hatred. Moral effort according to Sarvodaya is an effort to realise the ultimate good. Ultimate good is Universal. Men have no different goods to achieve.

That good is the virtual good which is in consonnance with truth. As already explained, truth is all pervading and eternal. Sarvodaya does not regard altruism opposed to egoism. The true test of egoism is that it should be able to secure a permanent satisfaction of all interests. This is not possible unless the individual identifies itself with the universal. Altruism is thus neither charity nor benevolence; it is merely a rightly directed demand of pure egoism in man. To speak in common man's language if man wants to be happy always, he must seek happiness for all and that what is not available for all is not fit for one too, for if one tries to have some exclusive privileges over others, one may have to suffer because privileges are not universal; and they, therefore, are not true. That which is not true can never yield pleasure. Pleasure is abiding agreeableness. That which is not agreeable for all times is not pleasurable. That, which today is and tomorrow will not be, must yield pain. This pain comes when short agreeableness, which we generally call pleasure, disappears. Thus morality consists in perception of true good of the self. All those actions are ethical which yield abiding happiness for all. Here we are reminded of the famous 'Kantian Canon' of universalisation. Christ also has said: "Do unto others as you would be done by them." Hindu *shastras* have also laid down this principle of morality in these words: '*Atmana pratikoolani paresham na samacharet*' *i.e.*, 'Don't give others what you would not like to have for yourself.'

Sarvodaya fundamentally believes in the goodness of man. Man is good by nature and his moral effort signifies his rise. Every man is as good as the other. Therefore society consisting of a large number of individuals has to solve the problem of the "Rise of All." Sarvodaya does not uphold the ideal of utilitarianism. It regards man to be essentially rational. It is the

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rational nature of man which distinguishes himself from the rest of the animal world. Good is not determined by physical utility. Hence, it is not a physical good. Good is ideal in character. It is identical with 'right.' Distinction between Right and Wrong is made by the faculty of reason in man. Now what is right? According to Sarvodaya, Right is that which serves all equally well. Rght is not directed against anyone. It is universal good. Sarvodaya regards human body as the vehicle of soul for the realisation of truth. It is essentially a means. But because every man is rational by nature, his body cannot be placed under the rule of anyone else. There shall not be a double rule. Reason in man already governs his physical action and existence. Reason is the final government in Sarvodaya. Where a man is coerced to act against or without the command of his own reason, Sarvodaya would regard such a situation immoral and therefore unworthy of human beings.

Sarvodaya finds that it is innate in man to identify himself with the universal spirit, which has manifested itself in living beings. This identification in ideal or spiritual sphere brings about a revolution in the entire social, economic and political structure of the society. It is named by Sarvodaya thinkers as Samya-Yoga. The term Samya-Yoga means that every human being has to link up means to share a common life on the basis of equality. All our thoughts, feelings and actions must conform to the good of the whole universe. Then and then alone we will be able to regard them as Right.

The philosophy of Sarvodaya when applied in the field of social relationship gives importance to the intrinsic value of man. Dignity of human soul is the core of Sarvodaya. All human beings are equally respectable and the good of each is inseparably linked with the good of the rest. There is no conflict or antagonism between the two. Man is born in nature as an animal with an additional faculty of reason. It is the society which gives man his true meaning. Humanity develops only in the society and therefore human personality has a social context and it owes debt to the society. The advantages of the human development must go to the society, of which man is a member. In order to understand the true relation between man and society we must meditate over the Vedic mantra:

"Purnamadah purnamidam
Purnat purnamudachyate.
Purnasya purnamadaya
Purnamevavasishyate."

"Whole is that, whole is this. Whole is born of the whole. And when whole is taken out from the whole, the whole still remains."

The famous philosopher Kant has recognised man as an end in himself. Man is a whole. Society is composed of many such whole-selves and is a complete whole in itself. It is of course a strange phenomena to the Western philosophy but India has [illegible] it since time immemorial. Human-whole ought to behave in the society so as not to impede the progress of the social-whole and his actions must positively conform to the good of the rest.

In the economic and political spheres Sarvodaya philosophy stands for perfect co-operation as against the cult of competition in modern economy and politics. It regards every man as an end. It would not allow economic exploitation nor political subjugation. Nature has provided us with free gifts, i.e., the air, water, ether and fire, for our physical existence. She has also sent us on to this earth in a physical garb. Our physical body is given to us to work on the gifts of nature and to produce the material required for our physical consumption. Nature has given physical body to everyone. She, thus, has made it obligatory upon everyone that one shall live by his labour. Physical labour is also essential to keep the body fit and to keep it in a working condition. It is, therefore, immoral for man to avoid physical work and to live upon the fruits of the labour of others. It would be a gross violation of the will of Nature.

Gifts of nature belong to nature and human beings share them equally in common partnership with one another, as children of Mother Nature. Means of production thus cannot be owned by any one or a few individuals. As regards capital, it is the result of social saving and, therefore, it belongs to the society, and it should be employed in order to achieve social ends.

In political sphere Sarvodaya takes all government to be rooted in violence and coercion. Since these two are not congenial to the inner development of moral faculties of man, Sarvodaya thinks of a state almost independent of a government, governed by the law of self-discipline. Sarvodaya believes in a democratic society where people themselves exercise their sovereignty and assume the role of the rulers in the real sense. Sarvodaya visualizes the necessity of decentralising authority and power whether economic or political so as to make it react on the people from whom it emanates. Sarvodaya politics is polity of village-republics, where village communities live a common life and enjoy a full-fledged Gram Rajya. This is called by Vinoba 'Prajya' i.e., People's State and by Gandhi 'Ram Rajya,' i.e., State of perfection. Thus Sarvodaya is a step forward in the march of human culture. From the greatest good of the greatest number Sarvodaya takes us to the perfect good of all.

"Sarve bhavantu sukhinah, sarve santu niramaya
Sarve bhadrani pashyantu ma kashchit dukha-bhag bhavet."

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ALBERT SCHWEITZER

By "ELEVE"

[illegible] the world lacks most today are men who occupy [illegible]selves with the needs of other men. But Dr. [illegible]tzer is one of those who has devoted his life for [illegible] for the last 81 years in a tiny Franch Protestant [illegible]ary settlement in the midst of a lake and river [illegible] known as Lambarene, a day and a half by boat [illegible] the port of Cape Lopez on Africa's west coast. On [illegible] 14 this year throughout the civilized world [illegible] Schweitzer, a medical missionary, a theologian, [illegible]ganist, an interpreter of Bach's music and one of [illegible]'s great humanitarians, was honoured for what [illegible] on his 81st birthday. Dr. Schweitzer is one of [illegible] extraodinary men of modern times and most [illegible]. Few are honoured in their life-time like Dr. [illegible].

[illegible]. Schweitzer has many outstanding qualities: [illegible] organist he once played before jammed audiences [illegible] and concert halls of Europe; his recordings [illegible] ranked at the top of their field. He is a [illegible]ist whose edition of Bach's organ works is a [illegible] text; his biography of Bach has never been [illegible]. He is a doctor of medicine whose 40 years of [illegible]neering as a missionary to the natives of [illegible] Equatorial Africa are bright highlight in the [illegible] between the white race and the black. He [illegible]sopher who, like Spengler and Toynbee, has [illegible] deeply about the crisis of Western culture. He [illegible]stant minister and biblical scholar whose [illegible] criticism of the New Testament, early in this [illegible] raised a good many eyebrows. Above all, he is a [illegible] decided to turn his back on the dazzling [illegible] the world wanted to give him in order to [illegible] fellow men. He has polarized his talents in [illegible] of humanity.

[illegible]tzer, a parson's son, and the grandson of a [illegible] and a schoolmaster, was not good at school. [illegible] used to weep over his report cards. Reading [illegible] came hard to him. Yet to anyone with [illegible] all the shining threads which were to make [illegible]ric of an exceptional life were already [illegible] in the sensitive schoolboy. Schweitzer passed [illegible] in his studies at the preparatory school and [illegible]ered the University of Strasbourg to major in [illegible] and theology. While he was working for [illegible]ate in theology his first philosophical book [illegible]gious Philosophy of Kant was published. As [illegible]ipal of Strasbourg's Theological College, he compiled his lectures and produced a history of research into the life of Jesus called *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*—it was first to make his reputation international.

To make his philosophy a reality, Dr. Schweitzer decided to study medicine and serve the humanity as a doctor. And he planned to spend the rest of his life in Equatorial Africa. Why Africa? Because, says Schweitzer, there in all the world the need was the greatest, and the hands that were stretched out to help, the fewest. He studied for his M.D. at Strasbourg University. Many nights he worked at his desk without going to bed at all, his feet soaking in a bucket of cold water to keep himself awake.

In June 1912, Schweitzer married Helene Bresslau. Schweitzers spent their first months of married life compiling lists and carefully purchasing and packing medical supplies. And then in 1913 they set out for Africa. Since that day Schweitzer, in a climate notoriously hard on Europeans, laboured heavily in constructing new buildings—in which the doctor himself worked as woodcutter, carpenter, foreman and architect—in conducting morning and evening prayers, in distributing medicine and in treating backward African patients. The evenings were devoted to complete his multiple-volume work, *The Philosophy of Civilization*.

While celebrating every year his birthday should we not remember what he wrote of man and civilization? To the anguished world his message is :

> "We are living today under the sign of collapse of civilization and should shore up the swaying creaking structure before it is too late."

Man must acquire a positive, optimistic ethic in a universe about which nothing positive or optimistic may be said. Man must start within himself, he believes, and build his ethic from the inside out.

How this humanity can be saved from the danger of being annihilated by the modern Hydrogen bombs? It can be if the individuals, nations and governments remember the phrase 'Reverence for Life.' Schweitzer felt all along that he must "show to all will-to-live the same reverence as I do to my own." It is good to maintain and to encourage life; it is bad to destory life or to obstruct it. That is the basic principle. Schweitzer says about himself :

> "I am life which wills to live in the midst of life which wills to live."

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

HINDUISM THROUGH THE AGES: *By D. S. Sarma. Bhavan's Book University Series No. 37. Bharatiya Bidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1956. Pp. 303. Price Re. 1-12.*

Issued as a revised and abridged edition of the author's *Renaissance of Hinduism* (Benares Hindu University publication, 1944), this is announced to be "practically a new work," which is, "in effect, a short history of Hinduism from the earliest times to the present day, with special reference to the movements and personalities of the present Renaissance." The most considerable portion of this book (comprising 217 out of the 278 pages of its text) and, in fact, its most valuable part (Part III) deals with the modern period. This is sub-divided by the author into two sections entitled "Period of Hindu Reform Movements" (c. 1750-85) and that of the Hindu Renaissance (1885-1950). In this part the author takes up successively the great leaders of the movement, Ram Mohun Roy (and the later celebrities of the schism down to Sitanath Tattvabhushan), Ranade (the foremost figure of the Prarthana Samaj), Swami Dayananda (the founder of the Arya Samaj), Tilak (the spearhead of the Conservative opposition), Annie Besant (the most prominent figure of the Theosophical Society), Ramakrishna Paramahamsa ("the morning-star" of the renaissance) and his great disciple Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore ("the Leonardo da Vinci of our Renaissance"), Mahatma Gandhi (whose life and teachings marked "the zenith" of the movement), Sri Aurobindo and Dr. Radhakrishnan. The concluding chapter (Chapter XXI) contains a thoughtful summary of the beneficent effects of the Hindu renaissance at home and abroad and its future prospects.

Throughout the work the author betrays evidence of his well-digested erudition. He has, moreover, the gift of clear exposition. Above all, his judgments on men and movements are, as a rule, extremely sound. Witness his balanced judgments on the teachings of the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society (pp. 77-83, 97-8, 120-21), his appreciation of the movements of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda (pp. 137-47, 165-7), and his comprehensive analysis of the teachings of Tagore, Sri Aurobindo and Dr. Radhakrishnan (pp. 88, 228-30, 255-60). While all this may be said in favour of this work, we may be permitted to offer one or two criticisms. The author's dividing lines between the ancient and mediaeval periods (c. 1000 A.D.) and between the mediaeval and the modern periods (c. 1750 A.D.) are equally unfortunate. To this we have to add that the concluding chapter is altogether wanting in an estimate of the impact of Renascent Hinduism upon the two other great religions in our midst, *viz.*, Islam and Christianity.

U. N. GHOSHAL

MENTAL HEALTH IN THEORY AND PRACTICE: *By Bahadur Mal, M.A. Second Edition 1955. Published by Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur. Price Rs. 2-4.*

The book forms the 12th Volume of the Swami Vishveshvaranand Universal Series of books brought out by a trust of distinguished workers in memory of Swami Sri Vishveshvaranandji. It deals with the problems of mental health and discusses the nature of various physical and mental disorders. It is indeed a pleasant experience to find that a sane outlook and balanced views have been maintained throughout by the author. The supreme value of mental health has been rightly emphasised and the vexed problems of sex and children have been properly treated. Some of the current methods of mental treatment (including psycho-analysis) have been presented and their merits pointed out.

In addition to the theories, sound practical advice has been given and rules for the maintenance of mental health have been laid down. These practical suggestions constitute one of the chief merits of the book. The book has been rightly approved as a library and prize book by the D.P.I., Punjab. The reviewer would request the parents and guardians and teachers who are ultimately responsible for the proper mental development of the child to go through the whole volume again and again.

EUGENIC AND EUTHENIC PLANNING OF PARENTHOOD: *By Candra Cakrabarty. Published by C. Cakrabarty, 81 Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.*

The one hundred and fifty-eight pages contain an unsystematic catalogue of facts and a random collection of views on all possible aspects of the life of men. The aim of the book—if it may be described as such—seems to dazzle the readers with a vast amount of philosophical, historical and sociological knowledge that the author possesses, rather than to help them with a few practical suggestions. The reviewer feels that nothing has been gained by the publication of the catalogue. The get-up is awful and printing mistakes abound (Candra Cakrabarty? Chandra Chakrabarty?).

S. C. M.

RAMATIRTHA—Scientist and Mahatma: *Dr. Hari Prasad Sastri. Published from Shanti Sadan, 29, Chepstow Villas, London. Cloth-bound. Pp. Price 7s. 6d.*

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Dr. Shastri's two previous books entitled *Teachings from the Bhagavad Gita* and *The World within the Mind* have already been warmly appreciated by the reading public. The book under review contains a short account of Swami Ramatirtha's life and literal translations from his Urdu writings. Swami Ramatirtha of the Punjab is one of the few educated monks of Modern India, who following the epoch-making footsteps of the illustrious Swami Vivekananda proceeded to the New World and preached the message of Vedanta there. Though he is not the founder of any Mission yet he is one of the greatest souls not only of India but of the whole world. That is why his inspired speeches in India and America have been collected and published in the four volumes of 'In the Woods of God-realisation.' Long ago an exhaustive biography of this angelic monk was written by Prof. Suman Singh of Dehra Dun and brought out from South India.

Swami Ramatirtha has been rightly called a Scientist and Mahatma according to the sub-title of the book. In pre-monk days he was a distinguished mathematician as a professor of mathematics in the Forman Christian College of Lahore and then after meeting Swami Vivekananda in that city he renounced the world and embraced the monastic life. In that memorable meeting Swami Ramatirtha presented his valuable gold watch to Swami Vivekananda when the latter returned the same and put it with a smile in the former's pocket saying, "I shall wear this watch in this pocket." Swami Ramatirtha was a great poet and Vedantist and his sublime thoughts are expressed in poems enriched with profound devotion and realisation. Dr. Shastri, who knew the Swami personally, has taken great care of culling the best poems in Urdu and rendering them into English almost keeping intact the original fervour. 'I alone am,' 'I am the life' and such other poems have given vent to the 'Advait' mood in which the Swami used to be absorbed almost always. Dr. Shastri has done a good service to India by broadcasting the inspired poetry and the enlightened message of this immortal monk and Vedantist from London where Swami Ramatirtha delivered his masterly lectures on Jnana Yoga before him.

1. HEALTH AND HAPPINESS : *Pp. 268. Price Rs. 5.*

2. HOW TO GET SOUND SLEEP : *Pp. 166. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Both the books are by Swami Sivananda and published by the Yoga-Vedanta Forest University, Sivanandanagar, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

The author who was a distinguished doctor in life in pre-monk days gives in the first book a clear and comprehensive idea about the fundamental laws of health and hygiene as an authority on the subject. The book, divided into nine chapters, reveals the secret of real health and happiness and shows that a radiant condition of body, mind and soul produce ideal health. In the second chapter the principles of Nature-cure are set forth very clearly and miraculous effects of fasting are described. In the third chapter dietetics and a health menu are given. In the next, the novel story of vitamins is narrated in a quite interesting manner. The sixth chapter is devoted to the care of the eyes. Causes of glaucoma, cataract and other serious eye-diseases are detailed in order to enable us all to take proper care of these important organs. It is a highly instructive book and repays a perusal to all sections of health-seekers.

In the second book the prevailing disease of sleeplessness is treated from different standpoints and its Allopathic, Homoeopathic, Biochemic, Ayurvedic and Naturopathic treatments are suggested. The author rightly thinks that a commonsense therapy is sometimes more effective than the medical treatment. Physical and mental relaxation, a cold wash of hands and feet, massage of warm mustard oil on the feet, a hot foot-bath and similar simple remedies before going to bed are found to be often effective. The facsimile of a letter containing a tribute from the West is printed at the beginning of the book. From this we are happy to learn that an international spiritual organisation in Europe conferred the Baron Cross of Honour on the author in appreciation of his services for the promotion of peace in the world.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THREE NAMES FOR NICHOLAS : *By Rupert Croft-Cooke, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London.*

Mr. Rupert Croft-Cooke is a skilful writer of considerable power. This is not "a story of a pilgrimage" as its publishers suggest. On the contrary, it is a very sad story of disappointment. Father Nicholas Mosstyn was dissatisfied with the conventional Christian way. So, with some immature hazy idea of a better Christian order, he left his loving wife and children and set out to realize his ideal. A land mine falling on a building gave him the opportunity of a second identity. Here, assuming a new name he joined the army. Nicholas believed that he found his ideal in three fellow soldiers,—Ned, Slipper Butts and Jack Wood. They remained together during most days of the War in Madagascar and in Burma. They faced and shared all hardships and dangers of war days with a kind of rough brotherliness. Then the war was over and Nicholas found with a shock that his comrades were not what he thought them to be. Their friendship broke up. Now, Nicholas felt a strong longing for his wife and children. He went to his wife,—supposed to be a widow, where again he failed to reach a compromise. This sends Nicholas reeling towards his third identity. Though the atmosphere is one of moral confusion, the book is in many ways thoughtful and admirable. The story is touchingly sad with a very vivid appeal.

KRISHNAMAY BHATTACHARYA

A POEM OF PRAISE : *By H. N. Spalding. Basil Blackwell, Oxford. Price 7s. 6d.*

About sixty short poems, 'not for the fashion of these times,' but spontaneous, unobscure and inspired by noble sentiments. "The glory of man and the glory of God—that is their theme." Those who prefer depth to cleverness will, perhaps, find these refreshing.

CORNER MUSIC : *By Amarendranath Bhattacharya. B.A. Agrawal Samachar Mudranalaya, Dharampeth, Nagpur. Price twelve annas.*

Whatever appealed to his heart has been sought to be expressed in verse by the author. 'Spinning Wheel,' 'Sarojini Naidu,' 'Mango Groves of Plassey' and 'Viswa-Bharati' are some of the titles. As poems they need not be considered, but the reader might appreciate the sentiments behind them.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

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THE WORLD PEACE: *By Kshitis Chandra Chakravarti, M.A., LL.B. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Ltd., 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. Pp. 78. Price not mentioned.*

The author is a devoted follower of Mahatma Gandhi and has written this book on the ideals preached by the Father of the Nation. World peace must be built up from the bottom; the individual, the family, the society, the nation, world opinion and co-operation, all shall make their contributions. A rational economic order, free from exploitation, entirely co-operative in method and ideal can bring the much-desired world peace. It must be attained by non-violence and preserved and developed under a non-violent system of administration.

The book is divided into twelve chapters and discusses the failures of past attempts for peace through violence, discusses non-violence, application of non-violence after world peace is attained, armed forces of India, Hindu-Muslim conflict, Communist menace, Pacifist conference, etc. To a Westerner Gandhiji's ideals may seem to be utopian but he has not yet found anything better in spite of tremendous progress of materialistic civilization. So all right-thinking men are considering seriously the Gandhian way to peace. The book is a pleasant study of the methods enuncited by the great leader of India of modern times.

A. B. DUTTA

GITASARAM OR GITA FOR ALL: *By Monoranjan Roy, M.A., B.L., B.C.S. (Retd.). Published by Yugajatri Prakashak Ltd., 41A, Baldeopara Road, Calcutta-6. Pp. 132. Price cloth-bound Re. 1-8.*

It is a pocket-size handy book, neatly printed, presenting to the reader the essential teachings of the Gita, which is the sum and substance or the essence of the Upanishads that contain the essential philosophy and precepts of the Hindu religion, by culling from the eighteen chapters of the Gita only those *slokas* (with text in Devanagari and English translation), which are most prominent and worth constant reading and meditating upon. In the preface, the author says that the Hindu religion is not based on casteism or narrow dogmatism, but is the most practical and universal religion in concept. The Gita has been the constant companion and solace of not only of the greatest men of our country, but attracted some of the eminent philosophers and litteratcurs of the West, such as, Schopenhaer, Emerson, Aldous Huxley and others, for its universal and Yogic conception of life.

B. K. SEAL

SANSKRIT

DHARMA: *By Agamananda Swami. Sri Ramakrishna Advaita Ashrama, Kaladi (T.-C. State). Price Re. 1.*

VRIDDHATRAYI: *By Gurupada Haldar. Published by Bharatibikash Haldar, M.A., B.L., 47, Haldarpara Road, Kalighat, Calcutta.*

We have here two modern Sanskrit books. The first one is a Sanskrit version of a Malayalan work consisting of a number of discourses on *dharma*, the neglect of which is stated to be at the root of all the ills of the present age. The second one gives comprehensive and critical accounts of three well-known authors in ancient Indian medical science—Vriddha-Charaka, Vriddha-Susruta and Vriddha-Bagbhata. As in all modern works of the type in the work under review there is sufficient accessory material in the form of indexes facilitating its use in various ways. The absence of subject-headings or of a descriptive table of contents is, however, keenly felt in an otherwise very useful and interesting publication like this. A special point to be mentioned in connection with this book is that it—like its two predecessors, *Vyakarana sujatiyam* and *Vyakarana Darsaner Itihasa*—is not for sale. It is 'distributed free for the advancement of the cause of historical researches on Hindu Medical Science.' This is unusual in the present age. It may, however, be pointed out that our author has followed an old practice which favoured the gift of knowledge in the form of manuscripts and books, and deprecated its sale in any form. Even as late as the 19th century, not to speak of olden times, a number of very valuable publications like the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* were issued by reputed landlords of Bengal and distributed free among scholars. The practice was laudable though it was not an easy affair for all interested persons to get copies without asking for them, which might not always be considered to be commensurate with one's dignity and self-respect.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

VATSYAYANER KAMASUTRA (Second Edition): *Translated and edited by Nalini Kumar Bhadra. Baijayanta Publishers, 7, Dinabandhu Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.*

With keen interest I have gone through Vatsyayana's famous *Kamasutra*, rendered into Bengali and edited by Sri Nalini Kumar Bhadra. True it is that at the time of Vatsyana the physiology of reproduction was not clearly understood but the psychology and practice of matters sexual found no mean a place in the life of individuals. It was for them that the author of *Kamasutra*, a seer and a sage who led a life of renunciation and abstinence, dispassionately wrote this notable book to guide the married people even in their monogamous sex-life they could experience as many novelties and fascinating vicissitudes as far as practicable. Although there are here and there texts relating to love before marriage and extra-marital sex matters, it was never his intention to encourage and give a stamp of licence to free sex-promiscuity. All that he did was to compare the happy effects of a promiscuous life with the happy life of a normal and legal sex-life. So those who would ban this famous book as pornography, without understanding its real value fall within the same category as mistaking a harmless piece of rope for a venomous serpent. One cannot but be surprised at some of the true conceptions regarding physiology of sex, which was written but depicted in the *Kamasutra*, which was written hundreds of years before modern physiology was born.

This book is much more than a mere translation as the author has tried to bridge many a gulf by explaining things according to the concepts of modern sexology. He has done well by basing his knowledge mostly on the lucid annotations of Yashodhar, known as the famous Jaymangal *tika*, which is supposed to be the best of all commentaries on Kamasutra. Nalini Babu has certainly done a great service to the Bengali literature by making this book available in an easily intelligible form through his faithful rendering of the original Sanskrit text into Bengali, to Bengali speaking people. The introduction of the book is a learned discourse on the comparison of the knowledge that existed then with the modern knowledge of sex, which makes it interesting as well as instructive.

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style is elegant and lucid and leaves nothing to desired. Nalini Babu deserves all our congratulations and our hearty thanks for bringing out this book Sanskrit translated into Bengali, from obscurity oblivion to the forefront again.

R. K. PAL

HINDI

ISA KA SANDESH : *By J. C. Kumarappa. Hindustani Culture Society, Allahabad. Pp. 120. Price 1.*

This is a Hindustani translation by Shri Suresh Chhabai of the author's original in English, *Practice of Precepts of Jesus*. The latter is an interpretation the central message of the life and teachings of in the light of the Oriental background and of the times when He walked besides the Sea Galilee. It is underlined with Shri Kumarappa's burning intellectual fire which reduces to ashes is false and feeble in "Churchianity." The Laws the Prophets, the Sermon on the Mount, the Prayer, for instance, are expounded in a far ambit of significance than is to be often noticed exposition of those who sit in the pulpit, with purple patches. The Hindustani Culture is to be congratulated on publishing the present version, which is a distinct service to the cause of Communal Harmony in the country.

MAULASHRI : *By Kamal Shukla. Oriental Book Nai Sarak, Delhi. Pp. 403. Price Rs. 6.*

"Action is greater than destiny," says the Karma. But the man of the world believes in Jupiter-like omnipotence of Fate and, conse- considers himself as helpless as soft clay in hands of the potter. And yet the men and women, have left their indelible impress on the ever- humanity, have over and over again, proved in that exertion if put forth in and with all the and strength of a pure ideal,—and an ideal the tonicsome touch of the Eternal—can the strain and stress of circumstance and in the aloft the banner of Truth or Goodness in over the tragedy of lives, broken by the and blows of Fate. Thus, the perpetual duel circumstance and self-exertion goes on. The novel, which is out-of-the-ordinary in creation, in creation of appropriate psycho- and context and in choice of diction, duel realistically, almost with the authenti- autobiography, of first-hand experience. The and crusade of *Maulashri*, however, will reader for many a long day indeed. Shri fair to be soon one of our front-rank true to life as well as to the Life of all Life.

G. M.

GUJARATI

VAGADAMAN VASHARAN — FOREST : *By Pradyuman Kanchanrai Desai. Price*

SHAK-BHAJI VEGETABLES : *By Marland Pandy. Price As. 12.*

Published by the Society for the Encouragement Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

Those who take interest in wild life so far as concerned can be counted on one's fingers. less than half a dozen. Pradyuman Desai is Bhavnagar. Many of our Indian rulers are *shikaris* and they have to know the life and habits of their quarries. One such hunter is the Maharaja of Bhavnagar. He inspires in the writer a love for the study of their lives and here is the result: a fine production on wild life. How to grow vegetables, from sugarcane to serpent-gourd, from turnip to tomato, from carrot to cauliflower, all the necessary information is set out here in such a way as to help and guide all amateur vegetable-growers. About forty varieties are treated and all of them well.

(1) AYOGYANI BARMASI : *By Baidya Pragji Mohanji Rathod. Price Re. 1-8.*

(2) GRIH, GRIHINI AND GRIHASTHA : *By Lalbhai Kahanbhai Desai. Price Re. 1-4.*

(3) SADACHAR ANE SUKHA : *By Upadhyaya Siddhi Muni. Price Re. 1-8.*

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

These three books are inter-connected in a way. If you are healthy, you can be a good householder (*grihastha*). And to be a good householder, you have to have *sadachar* (righteous conduct). The first book lays down certain canons as to how to meet the seasonal changes during the twelve months of the year from the health point of view, the utility of fasts, etc., uses of water, cow's urine, earth, etc., in other words, hydropathy and terrapathy, followed by Gandhiji. Unless there is an efficient, competent and understanding lady at the helm of his domestic and social affairs, a *grihastha*, a worldly householder, is no good, of no use to himself or to others. Shri Lalbhai Desai tells the reader all about her, how to secure her, how to honour her, how to preserve her, and as a result, become happy. Muniji tells best in verse and prose (by means of Tales and Stories) how to become righteous, *i.e.*, follow right, proper and righteous rules of life and if you do so, you are sure to secure happiness.

(1) MADAN MOHANA : *By Keshari Prosad C. Desai. Price four annas.*

(2) GUJRATNAN TIRTHA STHANO : *By Durgashankar K. Shastri. Price Re. 1-4.*

The above two books are published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

Kavi Samsul verified the well-known and romantic long story of Madan and Mohana. Shri Keshari Prosad Desai who has taken a life-long interest in the education of women, has set it out in easy, understandable prose. Shri Durgashankar Shastri is both a scholar and writer and his description of the holy places of Gujarat besides partaking of the history of each place, is meant to be both a guide and a means of bestowing thought on the subject of the undertaking of pilgrimages and their genesis. This is a second edition.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Second Five-Year Plan—A Draft Outline : Published by the Planning Commission, New Delhi. February 1956. Pp. 196. Price Re. 1.

Second Five-Year Plan (Summary of Plan-frame papers) : Published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8. December 1955. Pp. 38. Price As. 8.

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The First Five-Year Plan—Questions and Answers: Published by the same. Pp. 88. Price As. 6.

India Has a Plan: Published by the same. Reprinted, July 1955. Profusely illustrated. Illustrated cover. Pp. 72. Price As. 10.

Land Reclamation: Published by the same. Illustrated. Pp. 24. As. 6.

Hyderabad State: A Regional and Economic Survey: By B. N. Chaturvedi. Published by Hyderabad Geography Association, P.O. Jama-i-Osmania, Hyderabad-Deccan. Pp. 152. Price Rs. 2.

Jatak-Katha-Sandoha: Selections from the Pali Jatakas (In Devanagari Text with Introduction and Notes): By Prof. N. K. Bhagwat. Published by International Book House Ltd., Bombay. 1955. Pp. xxiv + 60 + 48. Price Rs. 3.

Home Care of T. B. Patients: Published by the Publications Division, Govt. of India, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8. Illustrated. Pp. 16. Price As. 6.

Prohibition—Questions and Answers: Published by the same. Pp. 16. Price As. 4.

See India—Hampi: Published on behalf of The Tourist Traffic Board, Ministry of Transport, New Delhi, by the Publications Division, Government of India. Illustrated. Pp. 24. Price As. 8.

Cultural Unity of India: By Gertrude Emerson Sen. Published by the same. Pp. 71. Illustrated. Price Re. 1-8.

Temples of North India: Published by the same. Fully illustrated with one map. Pp. 40. Price Re. 1-8.

Indo-American Technical Co-operation (Ho... Published by the United States Information S... Delhi. Illustrated.

Recent Developments in Indian Econo... Edited and published by V. K. R. Menon, ... International Labour Office, India Branch, ... House, New Delhi. Price Re. 1.

Sivananda: Day to Day (Vols. I—III): ... Swami Gurusarananda. Pp. 52, 54 and 98. ... As. 12, As. 8 and Re. 1 respectively.

Sadhak's Life: Compiled from the utter... Swami Sivananda by Swami Saswathananda. P... Price As. 8.

Path to God-Realisation (For a House... By Swami Sivananda. Pp. 54. Price As. 8.

Sivananda-Gita (An Epistolatory Auto-... of Swami Sivananda): Published by Swami ... nanda. Letters printed in blocks. Illustrated ... photographs. Price Re. 1.

Philosophy and Teachings of Swami Siv... By Swami Premananda. Pp. 22. As. 4.

Sivananda—The Friend, Guide and Phil... By N. C. Ghosh. Pp. 133. Price Re. 1-8.

Parables of Sivananda: Published by ... Chidananda. Pp. 273. Price Rs. 2.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Buddhism as a Way of Life

S. K. Ramachandra Rao writes in *The Aryan*

Two thousand and five hundred years ago Buddhism
and because of historical necessities. The ancient
where Brahmanism had fallen into decadent days:
Buddha himself draws a sad contrast between the
of the Brahmins of yore (*porananam brahmano-*
and that of the then contemporary Brahmins:
(*ripallasa*) had set in. Ritualism, useless
ceremonies, was rampant everywhere. The warmth
was lost in the cold and cruel shackles of
The healthy values of life were obliterated in
of pedantic verbiage and intellectual anarchy.
scene of barren confusion was born Gotama,
of age-old tradition, to bring order, concord
into the lives of men. A passage frequently
in the Pali texts indicates the real achive-
the Buddha:

as someone might set upright again what had
reveal what had been hidden away, or tell
who had gone astray which was his way, or
lamp into darkness so that those with eyes
things about them—even so in many ways
made this doctrine clear."

the Buddha life was more important than the
"unshakable peace" was infinitely superior to
and discussions. His appoach, therefore,
theoretical but intensely practical. It is this
on the quality of life that was conspicuously
the atmosphere of those days—precisely as
today. And the great merit of the Buddha
that he proclaimed, as he alone could, by pre-
example, the way of life that surely leads to the
As Dr. Edward Conze rightly points out,
not really a dogma, but it is essentially a
The Pali word *magga* is of great import: it
walking or faring (*chariya*) by the aspirant to
every end of the round of births and deaths,
bonum (*paramattha*), which is tanta-
escape from sorrow, deliverance from all present
ills, final emancipation (*vimutti*), absolute
(*Buddha*), unaffected by stains of whatever
this goal of Worth (*arahatta*) that the
stages as the justification for the right way

way of life followed by the common man
the Buddha to be vulgar. In the words of
his disciples, it is like a pig's fattend by
things. Ordinarily, the mind of man is like a
running hither and thither ceaselessly in vain
other sense pleasures: such a mind deepens the
man in the worldly mire. He has endless
and much discontent; he delights in throngs,
quiet self-examination; he loves ease, and
discipline; he runs after excitements, and never
cares to settle down. His life is one series of increasing entanglements. From the womb of these entanglements spring up the unwholesome growths of ego-infatuation, attachments and aversions. This entanglement is the foundation on which rises the entire body of sorrow, from the oppression of which no man can ordinarily escape. Man thus passes on and is reborn, "obstructed by ignorance, and fettered by desire."

In the very first of his sermons, the Buddha advises his followers to eschew this common way of life given to search after sense pleasures, as it is low (*hino*), vulgar (*gammo*), unworthy (*anariyo*) and harmful (*anatthasanhito*). During his lifetime he must have pleaded vigorously against the common way of life, for he earned for himself the abusive epithet of "Unsettler." And, with all the gifts of a talented teacher, he describes in detail the way of life he has discovered, has followed and now recommends. He characterizes it as the Noble Way (*arya patha*), the one calculated to lead the wayfarer to utter freedom, absolute rest, unshakable calm. Although he believes in rebirth, the Buddha hastens his disciples to adopt this Way immediately (*akaliko*), for one can attain to Worth in this very birth (*sanditthike*). And the Buddha's is not a vain promise, for he holds out his personal experience as a testimony. He invites every man to follow the Way as he did, and be convinced by himself. In fact, his teachings are described as the "Come-and-See doctrine" (*Ehipassikadhamma*). He presents his own experiences as a guide for the aspirant who has started wayfaring, in order to give him the initial start. Beyond this, the Way in no way depends on, or bears any relation to, the Buddha.

The way of life recommended by the Buddha, therefore, is strictly personal for every wayfarer, who must do all the travelling himself. It is entirely his own affair: there is no grace of God to save him, and the Buddha no longer exists to help him. But the great body of doctrines (*Dhamma*) which the Master has left behind in lieu of himself, and the letter as well as the spirit of which has been preserved with remarkable fidelity by countless generations of alert and energetic monks, serves as a light in wihch the wayfaring may be done. This doctrine is composed of theoretical matter (*pariyatti*) as well as instructions for practice (*patipatti*): the latter is more important than the former, which is but its handmaid. So, essentially, Buddhism is a method, a discipline, a way of life to be adopted and intensely pursued.

And it must be admitted that, for following the Way fully and rightly, one must necessarily be a monk, withdrawing himself completely from worldly affairs. It is probable that for a long time Buddhism as a way was confined to monastic groups of earnest devotees whose sole enthusiasm was for emancipation. What the Buddha taught to the laymen was just common ethics —the abstaining from killing, from theft, from false speech, from sexual misconduct, from intoxicating

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liquors; care of parents; following a clean vocation; and so on. The *Sigalovadasutta*, for instance, and the latter portion of *Dhammikasutta* detail a code of conduct a householder should follow; but there is nothing *Buddhist* about it. The gospel of the Buddha was meant for, and had a special message to, the few who renounced home for homelessness (*anagariyam*) in order to strive effectively for "putting an end to sorrow completely" (*samma dukhass'antakiriyaya*). Very revealing is the remark the Buddha makes:

> For all its crest and neck so blue
> the peacock ne'er can match in flight
> the swan, nor layman emulate
> an Almsman, when in lonesome wilds
> the Sage is plunged in Reverie.
>
> *Munisutta, Sutta Nipata*, 1. 12. 15.

For the renunciant the Way is rigorous but methodical. It is designated as *bhavana*, which is really a system functioning in two stages: cultivation of mental concentration (*samadhi*), and the development of clear insight into things as they are (*panna* or *vipassana*). Prior to the first stage must be perfected the virtues (*sila*), thus bringing under control mind and senses: this consists of proper speech, action and livelihood. Here the "whole heap of unwholesomeness" composed of sensual desire, ill-will, sloth-torpor, agitation-worry and perplexity, which obstructs the Way, is overcome. Mind prepared in this style must now be developed or cultivated so that the insight that is necessary for emancipation may dawn. This is the lifework of an ideal Buddhist monk. It consists of strenuous endeavour to check the arising of evil not yet arisen, to defeat evil already arisen, to develop good not yet arisen and to cultivate good already arisen; mindfulness (*sati*); and intent states of mind or concentration. Mindfulness takes the form of meditations, forty of which are mentioned and explained by Buddhaghosha in his great *Visuddhimagga*. This is the very essence of practical Buddhism. The setting up of mindfulness (*satipatthana*), which is the subject-matter of a sermon held in the highest esteem and studied with the closest attention by all serious monks in Burma and Ceylon, has been hailed by the Master as "the only way for the purification of beings, for overcoming of sorrow and lamentation, for the destruction of suffering and grief, for reaching the right path, and for the attainment of Nibbana."—*Satipatth anasutta, Digha Nikaya*, 22.

It was one of the meditations of mindfulness, *viz.*, *anapanasati*, that brought about the enlightenment of Gotama himself and made him a Buddha. For a monk, it is said, there can be no greater friend than this mindfulness over bodily and mental processes (*N'atthi etadise mitto yatha kayagata sati*).

Contingent on the vigour with which this practice is carried out, and also upon the ripening of one's good *kamma*, the liberating Wisdom arises. This is the penetrating insight into things as they really are (*yathabhutanana*), the deep realization that whatever springs up, *ipso facto*, subsides (*yam kinci sumada vadhammam sabbam tam nirodhadhammam ti*). Upon this realization sorrow is finally overcome, and *samsara* (life in the world) loses its poignant edge. This wisdom is composed of right views in regard to the truth that all composed things are transitory, sorrowful and devoid of self, and of the right aspirations. When this knowledge takes hold of the wayfarer he is utterly indifferent to worldly affairs; he becomes passionless (*virago*). This is the decisive support (*upanissayapaccaya*) for the occurrence of emancipation (*vimutti*).

Thus the way of life demonstrated by the Buddha as the most effective is analyzable into three aspects: the practice of virtues (*sila*), the practice of mind-control (*samadhi*) and the development of insight (*panna*). The three aspects, as shown above, are composed of eight principles: right speech, right action, right livelihood (the *sila* group); right endeavour, right mindfulness, right concentration (the *samadhi* group); right views and right aspirations (the *panna* group). The Way is, therefore, described as the Eightfold Path (*Atthangika magga*) and is hailed by the Buddha in his very first sermon as the "road leading to the suppression of sorrow"; and this is the fourth and the greatest of the four truths he discovered under the sacred bodhi tree.

This is the great Way recommended by the Buddha for the overcoming of the world's ills. It requires earnest devotion and great energy: it is, in fact, a struggle (*padhana*). It brooks no sort of compromise with the ordinary worldly life; it demands full renunciation, which only a renunciant can afford. And he who successfully completes the journey is truly a victor (*jina*), a worthy one (*arahat*). Such worthy ones are rare, as flowers on the *udumbara* tree.

Fanaticism and Tolerance

Prof. Dr. Helmuth von Glasenapp observes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

The word 'fanaticism' is derived from the Latin word *fanum* (temple). Originally fanatics were people who were believed to have been brought into religious frenzy by a god. The word is now generally used for all those who advocate with great ardour and zeal their religious or philosophical views. It is evident that no propounder of a new doctrine, no enthusiastic follower of a prophet or a system of thought is a some fanaticism urging him to spread and defend opinions which seem right to him. Objectionable and unwholesome is this enthusiasm only when it leads to blind hatred against those who do not share the same beliefs and when it induces a man to fight vehemently even with arms, against any opponent or when it even tries to convert him by force. It is this fanatic trophic and exaggerated form of fanaticism that we usually have in mind when we apply the word.

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The reverse of fanaticism is tolerance. The original meaning of this word connotes only a refraining from persecution and persecution, it 'suggests a latent disapproval, for it assumes the existence of an authority which might have been coercive, but which, for reasons of its own, is not pushed to extremes. It implies a contrary inaction, a politic leniency.' At the time when this word was first coined, the idea conveyed it was not that of complete religious liberty or religious equality, but in the course of time it has acquired this sense.

This short analysis shows that both words comprise a whole gradation: The scale of fantacism from legitimate enthusiasm to cruel persecution and wholesale destruction of temples while the scale of tolerance is from silent disapproval of views which are condemned but against which prohibitory measures are not enforced for some reason or other to the acknowledgement of the full right of private judgement in religious matters.

In the different manifestations of the behaviour of individuals, nations, and religious organizations towards other creeds or persuasions represent, as it were, a scale which like that of a thermometer contains a great number of degrees between two extremes. Taking this point of view as a basis, we find that there are border-line cases, which mark the transition from fanaticism to tolerance. Some men of broad mind and an ironic nature, in one form or another, give up the belief in the intrinsic superiority of their own religion. They try to show that all other religions are, as it were, preparative steps to their own because it alone contains the absolute truth and is a 'treasury of hitherto unsurpassed and unsurpassable in wisdom.' With the best of intentions, Christian theologians try to show that monotheism, the doctrine of the world out of nothing, and redemption by grace are implicitly extant in the religions of primitive tribes all over the globe, or Vedantins are eager to prove that Buddha, the great herald of a pluralistic philosophy of eternal flux, taught the Brahman of the Upanishads. It is clear that these well-meant attempts to interpret other religions to one's own by way of a forced and forced interpretation will carry weight only in a purely subjective manner and will never convince the adherents of other doitrines. These adherents of a different creed will see in this merely an attempt made with inadequate means to convert them to views which are not theirs. Endeavours of this kind are tolerant in so far as they tolerate other views and they ascribe a propaedeutic value, but they are far from fanaticism, for their exponents stick to their own belief as being the best one, and assign to other creeds a place much beneath their own. This place, of course, far above the freezing-point of fanaticism which corresponds to utter fanaticism but which has not yet reached the degree of comfortable tolerance which alone endeavours to give the same right to all views. Real freedom of thought in religious matters is only reached, when man possesses that spirit of breadth and humility which shrink from claims to infallibility. The fact that every religion, in existence, is professed only by a minority, comparatively small fraction of mankind, should appeal to us that there are many ways of thought and worship. One has to take into consideration the fact that as modern science tells us, humanity has existed for about 600,000 years and that the religious beliefs and rites of human beings have always been in a state of permanent fluctuation. This does away with the assumption that one special conception or cult will remain unchangeable for ever.

There is no doubt, that such a latitude of thinking is not suitable for everybody. Especially to Westerners such views seem only compatible with lazy indifference. But in India such a mental attitude has prevailed for many centuries as philosophical insight. Dr. K. M. Pannikkar has put it admirably when he says that 'a feeling that others may be equally right in the methods they follow is the essence of Hindu teaching.' It is for this that the six *darsanas* (schools of philosophy) are considered as equally orthodox, though two of them are atheistic, three theistic, and one pantheistic. It is for this that enlightened monarchs like Asoka and Harsa allotted their benevolence to all the various metaphysical doctrines that were in existence at their time.

The question that naturally may be raised is this: how may such a view harmonize with the idea that truth can be only one? The solution is simple. Every kind of religious or philosophical view is not to be considered as an exclusive dogma, it contains some fraction of truth, but this is limited by the varying capacities of men of a different intellectual calibre. Everybody is capable of grasping only that part of the truth which may suit him. The mind of all mortals is not so construed that it is able to understand everything. Each one of us can comprehend only a part of the inconceivable and inscrutable whole, intermingled with errors and shortcomings of his own. Truth itself stands on a much higher level than all the manifold dogmas and teachings which contend to be the real, universal, definite, and final truth. Just as there may be many ways to the summit of a mountain, but everybody is only in the position to make use of only one of these paths at a time, so he can be firm in one faith only, as if, it were the only one. But what one must expect from him is a regard for the belief of others and a broad-minded understanding of their ways as separate legitimate approaches to truth.

Africa's Heritage

Benoyendra Nath Banerjea writes in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture*:

Africa is the world's biggest continent, if the two Americas are taken separately and the U.S.S.R. is

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excluded from Asia's land-mass; but it has a total population of only 17 crores, compared to Europe's 41, Asia's 121, and the U.S.S.R's 18. Except for the areas easily reached from the coast, information about Africa had been even lately 'drawn from hearsay and imagination rather than fact.' Apart from the difficulties of penetration, especially due to the great rivers of Africa being blocked a little distance from the mouth, 'by an accident of the position and shape of Africa with regard to our planetary air circulation, the rainfall and hence the vegetation distribution is such that, over a great part of the continent, either desert or forest fringes the coast, thus further rendering ingress difficult.' (*Livingstone's Travels*, Edited by Macnair, with geographical notes by Professor Miller, 1954, pp. 8-13).

Many Africas

Naturally, there are many Africas, and hardly any common tradition. But, in different parts of Africa, great strides had been made, in the course of history, in the spheres of administration, craftsmanship, learning, empire-building, and the tasks of civilization generally. In dealing with this subject, we shall confine ourselves to some striking landmarks and the contacts with Europe and Asia, leaving aside the evidences of racial and ethnographic similarities, perhaps due to living in the same land-mass, now partly submerged, in the days before recorded history.

One of the world's earliest civilizations flourished in Egypt; and though some of her ruling dynasties came from outside Africa, the original home of the historic Egyptians, the workers on the land, was a country near Uganda. The Egyptians of the new stone age (from 10,000 to 4,000 B.C.), undoubtedly native Africans, 'could draw pictures of the symbols of their totems and sacred animals and objects.' Then came the rule of the dynastic Egyptians, coming from the south in the fourth millennium B.C.; and if we take rapid strides over centuries and dynasties, we arrive at the pageant's closing days when Assyrians, Persians, Greeks under Alexander, and Romans under Caesar ruled successively over Egypt.

Alien Domination

The Phoenicians, of Semitic origin, were the first alien colonizers of Africa 2,000 years before the birth of Christ. Later on, they founded, in the ninth century B.C., the city of Carthage (associated with Virgil's classic, as well as the refrain in the Roman senate *Delenda est Carthage*), which sent, under the African general Hannibal, an African army which put a large part of western Europe under duress and was just repelled from the very gates of Rome in 202 B.C. at the Battle of Zama. In fact, Rome's diplomacy in seducing away the Numidian and Mauritanian kings and chiefs and the citizens of Utica, a Phoenician city, from their Carthaginian alliance—and later subjugating them, instead of offering them home-rule—is the oft-repeated story of imperialism first tried on African soil. North Africa, from Egypt to Morocco, came under Roman control, and in A.D. 50, a Roman general is credited to have explored the head-waters of the Niger river.

The Roman contact bequeathed to Africa a class of natives who spoke Latin and lived in towns, and some of them even adopted Christianity. One of the first twelve martyrs of the African Church in A.D. 180 was a married woman of twenty-two, and she was canonized as St. Perpetua. In the second century B.C. lived two other Africans distinguished in history. One of them, Septimus Severus, became emperor of R[illegible] and the other was Tertullian, one of the great [illegible] of Christianity, almost celebrated as the two [illegible] African bishops, St. Augustine of Hipps [illegible] Cyprian of Carthage. But, from the succeeding [illegible] turies, Emperor Severus's policy of persecuting [illegible] tianity was replaced by a new policy under w[illegible] Roman State made use of missionary activi[illegible] stabilizing empires! For a period, under B[illegible] rule, Alexandria came under the control of the [illegible] Orthodox Church.

Muslim Influence

But it was from Persia that, from the [illegible] century onwards, came the Asian and Arab in[illegible] on Africa, which still permeates North, Central [illegible] and West Africa, not only in creating a [illegible] religious affinity, but also in creating com[illegible] links of gold! The Muslim incursion into Afr[illegible] responsible for a new leaven of cultural inter[illegible] tion centred round Kairowan, then the third h[illegible] of the Muslims.

Gradually, some of the African chiefs em[illegible] Islam. A mighty band of warriors began to c[illegible] Europe, basing themselves on Gibraltar (Gebel T[illegible] 'the hill of Tarik,' after the invading African g[illegible] It was ultimately at the Battle of Poitiers, in [illegible] 732, that Charles Martel could check the [illegible] African and Arab Muslim forces.

More important was the cultural boom. K[illegible] wan, Cairo, and Alexandria competed with Co[illegible] Baghdad, and Samarkand: 'the Greek classics [illegible] rediscovered . . . Mathematics, medicine, and [illegible] physical sciences received fresh attention . . . F[illegible] China the Arabs learned how to manufacture [illegible] and transmitted the knowledge. . . . From the In[illegible] the Arabs learned new mathematical forms and [illegible] philosophies which they also imparted to the [illegible] the world' (de Graft-Johnson, *African Glory*, [illegible] VI, VIII).

My sojourn in West Africa naturally rous[illegible] interest in the West African empires—The [illegible] Kingdom and the Ghana Empire (A.D. 300-[illegible] the Mali Empire (1238-1488), and the Songhai E[illegible] (1488-1591). Today, these would have been [illegible] faint memories, but for the recorded Arab[illegible] including the notes of Ibn Batuta, who was, [illegible] tally, for seven years an adviser to the Em[illegible] Delhi, in the course of his travels.

The city of Ghana came into prominence [illegible] its gold trade and tales of its fabulous treasu[illegible] consisted of two townships, one Muslim, with [illegible] mosques and many scholars, theologians, and [illegible] and the other pagan, which also had a mosq[illegible] the court of justice, intended for the use of M[illegible] who had to go there.

In the eleventh century, the Almoravids [illegible] the north attacked Ghana, and Abu Bekr [illegible] overran Ghana, but his victory resulted in the [illegible] ward movement of seven tribes some of th[illegible] being in positions of individual dignity and [illegible] in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, like the Ashan[illegible] Akins, and the Fantis. Under the Almoravids [illegible] African armies conquered the Iberian peninsu[illegible] stayed on until Granada fell in 1492; and the [illegible] in Spain 'founded a civilization far in advance [illegible] Christian contemporaries.'

The Mali Empire was dominated by the [illegible] ful Manding tribe. On the imperial throne of [illegible] mounted, in 1307, Mansa Musa, whose pilgrim[illegible] Mecca was attended with such pomp that the [illegible] world was dazzled for a time. He developed T[illegible]

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a great commercial centre, and it was in the
versity of Sankore of this city that the historian
Baba taught.

The Songhai Empire built by Sonni Ali, noted for
wars and craft, had Askia Mohamed I as a brilliant
ssor between 1489 and 1520. Askia's adminis-
ve abilities were very great, and he gave to his
pire a territorial extent greater than at any time
re history. Sankore University again became a
re of learning. Though a good Muslim, 'as a full-
ed African, he appreciated the fine qualities in
ous African religions, and he created the post
high priest in charge of the ancestor cult.'

THE RAPE OF AFRICA

The fall of the Songhai Empire, before the
man army under Joudar Pasha, occurred at a
when the Guinea coast was facing the full
of the slave trade era.' It was not merely gold,
man labour which called for the attention of
turers and traders to the coasts of the 'Dark
nent.' And in this slave trade, all round the
coast, Arab traders had their big share.
ever, it should be noted: 'The Arab slave was
prisoner; he might accumulate wealth and
ally buy his freedom, and he undoubtedly
much that was useful . . . Arab slave-raiding,
in itself, fostered the development of military
in those attacked, and some who resisted
ally became slave-raiders in their turn, thus
what well-earned the description, in its
phase, as an "open sore".' (*Africa Emergent*,
n, 1954, II, 5.) In any case, Western pene-
and subjugation had started as a steady
.

The excesses of the slave trade still have their legacy in Africa: it has been pointed out that 'it was on a peasantry, in many respects superior to the serfs in large areas of Europe, that the slave trade fell. Tribal life was broken up or undermined, and millions of de-tribalized or decentralized Africans were let loose upon each other. The unceasing destruction of crops led to cannibalism in certain areas . . . Tribes had to supply slaves or be sold as slaves themselves, for this, indeed, was the age of the gangster. The stockades of grinning skulls, the selling of one's own children as slaves, the unprecedented human sacrifices were all the sequel to this grand finale, the rape of African culture and civilization.' (Professor Emil Torday, as summarized by de Graft-Johnson in *African Glory*, p. 153). Perhaps, a hundred million persons were lost to Africa as a result of the slave trade. Livingstone was right when he characterized it as 'not trading: it is murdering for captives to be made slaves.'

In conclusion, let us remember the reflections by the sage of Lambarene, Dr. Albert Schweitzer: 'Ever since the world's far-off lands were discovered, what has been the conduct of the white peoples to the coloured ones? . . . Who can describe the injustice and the cruelties that, in the course of centuries, they have suffered at the hands of Europeans? Who has measured the misery produced among them by the fiery drinks and the hideous diseases that we have taken to them? . . . We are not free to confer benefits on these men, or not, as we please; it is our duty. Anything we give them is not benevolence, but atonement' (*On the Edge of the Primeval Forest*, 1922, XI).

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

China's Growing Cultural Relations with other Countries

China's cultural contacts with 86 countries in the past six years are reviewed by the Acting-Director of the Bureau for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Chen Chung-ching, in an article in *People's Daily* of April 15.

He touched on seven aspects: China sent 28 companies totalling 2,373 people to give performances in 27 countries. Forty-two companies from 17 countries visited China, composed of 4,238 people.

In athletics, Chinese players took part in international swimming, table-tennis, basket ball, volley ball, marksmanship and automobile racing contests. China was now a member of 12 international athletic organisations and would take part in the Olympic games in November of this year. Many delegations of athletes came to China, including football teams from the Soviet Union, Hungary, Yogoslavia and Burma, volley ball teams from Rumania and India and a table-tennis team from India.

Chinese scientists, educationists, doctors, artists and journalists exchanged visits with colleagues abroad. Apart from the Soviet Union and People's Democracies, scientists visited Japan, countries of South-east Asia and Europe. They attended eight international scientific conferences. In addition, China exchanged students and professors with many countries.

Over 80 Chinese films in 2,100 copies were shown in the past six years in nearly 60 countries, including 12 countries of the Americas. China dubbed 440 foreign films, including 10 Indian, 4 Japanese and 3 Italian.

Up to December 1955, 12,155 books written abroad were translated and published in China in a total of 188,538,000 copies. These include over 10,017 from the Soviet Union, 620 from the People's Democracies and 1,518 from other countries, including 562 from the U.S.A. Peking Library exchanged publications with 138 organisations in 43 countries. The Library of the Academy of Sciences of China exchanged publications with 472 organisations in 41 countries, including the U.S.A. the German Federal Republic, Belgium, the Philippines, the Union of South Africa and Portugal.

China sent to 40 countries material for 290 exhibitions reflecting the cultural life of the Chinese people. Various exhibitions from 15 countries were held in China, and visitors to these exhibitions totalled 930 million.

Musical scores, records, paintings, handicrafts and data on language were exchanged with many countries. By 1955 the academy of sciences exchanged seeds and catalogues of seeds with 160 organisations in 15 countries. During 1955 the academy sent abroad 600 scientific papers and more than 2,000 specimens. Since 1952 China exchanged rare animals with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary, Poland and Japan. It received 269 and sent 1,674 animals.

Acting-Director Chen Chung-ching said that cultural contacts and co-operation were growing with Asian-African countries. An Egyptian Cultural Mission was now visiting China and in the near f[illegible] noted Peking opera company would perform in [illegible]

"Cultural contacts will also grow between [illegible] and the countries of Europe, America and A[illegible] he continued. "The Chinese People's Associ[illegible] Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and [illegible] organisations have already sent or are about to [illegible] invitations to visit China to noted theatres in F[illegible] Italy and other countries. Well-known people [illegible] world of culture and education in Australia and [illegible] Zealand will also be invited.

"It must be pointed out that the cultural [illegible] tact between the people of China and the U.S.A. [illegible] been least in the past few years. It is not only [illegible] Chinese people who are dissatisfied with this state [illegible] affairs. No reasonable person in the U.S.A. [illegible] can be satisfied with it. But the responsibility [illegible] not lie with us.

"The Chinese have always liked and re[illegible] the American people and know that in every [illegible] they have fine representatives; we have much [illegible] to establish close and friendly contacts with [illegible] In the past few years though we have not en[illegible] American hospitality, yet, as hospitable peo[illegible] are ready to continue our invitations to Am[illegible] friends to come and see China, so as to know [illegible] peaceful life we live and our aspirations. The Ch[illegible] people are still hoping they will be able to see [illegible] and Bess put on by the Everyman Opera Com[illegible] He mentioned that an invitation accepted by the [illegible] pany last November could not be fulfilled [illegible] the US State Department refused them visa[illegible] China.

Chen Chung-ching concluded that differe[illegible] social system and ideology, as the facts show[illegible] no real bar to friendly visits and cultural [illegible] among the people.—*Hsinhua News, April* 15, 19[illegible]

Alexander Fadeyev, a Noted Soviet No[illegible]

Reuter informs us that on May 13, the [illegible] who had been suffering from chronic alco[illegible] committed suicide at the age of 55, as he th[illegible] himself no longer fit for creative activity [illegible] writer or as a public and social w[illegible] Alexander Zhigulev wrote a short biogra[illegible] the author in the *Tass News Agency* B[illegible]

Alexander Fadeyev, distinguished Soviet [illegible] literary critic and champion of peace, was born [illegible] town of Kimry,' former Tver Gubernia (now [illegible] Region), in December 1901. His father was a [illegible] who later became a doctor's assistant.

In 1908 the Fadeyev family movel to the Far [illegible] settling in Chuguyevka, a village in the Sou[illegible] Territory, some 120 kilometres from the railway [illegible] Fadeyev spent his childhool and received his e[illegible] first at the rural school and then in a school of [illegible] in Vladivostok.

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Alexander Fadeyev was 16 years old when the Great October Socialist Revolution took place. He fought in the Civil War, as a private fighter is a partisn detachment and rose to brigade commissar. He took part in battles at Spassky and Khabarovsk, in the Russian east of Lake Baikal, and at Kronstadt.

His first literary efforts date back to his years at the school of commerce. During the Civil War he wrote for the *Partizansky Vestnik* (*Partisan Herald*). He was demobilized from the army following a severe wound, and in 1922 entered a mining school. There he combined studies with writing.

Fadeyev's first novel, *The Flood*, appeared in 1923. It dealt with the initial steps taken by the new Soviet people in the remote South-Ussuri Territory, telling of the progressive-minded people there who dreamed of factories, dams and new factories, of a new way of life. That same year Fadeyev wrote his second novel, *Against the Current*, which in 1934 he revised and renamed *Birth of the Amgun Regiment*. This is a story of the struggle which Soviet fighting men and their commanders waged against the Japanese interventionists.

Fadeyev's early novels were a preparation for his famous *The Nineteen*, published in 1927. The novel is laid aganist the background of the events of 1919 in the Soviet Far East, when the Japanese interventionists dealt the partisan movement there a heavy blow. A partisan detachment commanded by Levinson, which was pursued by the Japanese and the White Guards, was forced to retreat temporarily into the taiga, to the hills. *The Nineteen* shows how the partisans were steeled in grim battles. The core of the detachment, made up primarily of peasants, was composed of the miners Dubov, Goncharenko and Baklanov, staunch, mature fighters, highly disciplined and with great organizational ability. Metelitsa, a former shepherd, is another of the novel's outstanding characters.

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Levinson, commander of the detachment, is a character who comes vividly alive. The partisans elect this strong-willed man their leader because they have faith in his ability to see farther than they, in his clearer understanding of the aims and tasks of the struggle.

The partisan struggle in the Soviet East is treated in another of Fadeyev's novels, *Last of the Udegh*. The first book of the novel appeared in 1930. To date, four of the six books planned by the author have come out.

The action of *Last of the Udeghe* takes place on the eve of and during the Civil War. Fadeyev paints a broad panorama of life among the various nationalities inhabiting the Soviet North and Far East. He tells the story of their struggle to establish a Soviet way of life, showing different social groups and their attitude to the swift historical developments.

Great mastery goes into the delineation of the Russian workers Surkov and Alesha Malenky. The ties of friendship that unite the different peoples and nationalities are shown; the reader is introduced to the life of the Udeghe tribe, the vivid figure of the Udeghe Sarl, the Korean woman Maria Tsoi, and many other fighters in the struggle to build a new life.

Fadeyev began work on the last books of the novel early in 1943, planning at the same time to make additions to those already published. But he laid this work aside to write *The Young Guard*, a novel about young people in Krasnodon, a mining town in Ukraine, who formed an underground organization to fight the fascist invaders. The novel is based on material which was found in Krasnodon after its liberation by the Soviet Army in Februany 1943. Fadeyev was fired by the idea of immortalizing those heroic young people in a novel dedicated to their memory. As soon as he learned of the organization he left for Krasnodon to gather material for this novel.

The Young Guard organization of Krasnodon was founded in the autumn of 1942, soon after the Hitlerite invaders occupied the town. Its commander was Ivan Turkenich, with Oleg Koshevoi the commissar. The organization existed about six months before it was discovered by the Gestapo. Fifty-six of its members fell into the hands of the fascists and were subjected to unbelievable torture. The leaders of the organization—Koshevoi, Tyulenin, Zemnukhov, Gromova and Shevtsova—were posthumously awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union by the Soviet Government.

Fadeyev made a thorough study of the documents and material relating to the organization; he talked with the members of the organization who survived and the parents of those who were executed. His novel was completed in 1945. After more material about the organization was discovered, he made some revisions in the novel for later editions.

The author paints a true picture of the horrors of war, the days of the occupation, the suffering of the people, the destroyed towns and villages. Under those difficult conditions the members of the Young Guard, led by Communists working underground, waged a heroic struggle against fascism with unparalleled courage and disdain for death. They printed leaflets which told the truth about the situation at the front and in the country and distributed them, made raids on war prisoner camps and freed prisoners, fought against traitors, saved Soviet men and women from being driven into hard labour by the Hitlerites, and encouraged people to have faith in victory over the enemy.

Those were the young people whom Fadeyev chose as the characters for his novel *The Young Guard*, splendid Soviet young men and women moved by a sense of heroism by their love for their people.

The novel also presents people of the older generation, Shulga and Valko, men tempered in earlier battles. Other representatives of the older generation include the underground Communists Protsenko and Lyutikov, real leaders of the people, wise and far-sighted, who rally the devoted Soviet people to the struggle for freedom.

The Young Guard is undoubtedly one of Fadeyev's greatest works. It immediately became popular with the Soviet public and has been translated into many foreign languages.

At present Fadeyev is completing a novel called *Iron and Steel*. Chapters from this novel about the iron and steel workers have appeared in the magazine *Ogonyok*.

In addition to being a distinguished novelist Fadeyev is an outstanding leader in the peace movement. He is a member of the presidium of the Soviet Peace Committee and the Committee on International Stalin Prizes "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations", works in the Bureau of the World Peace Council and has taken part in many World Peace Congresses. He is a staunch champion of friendship among nations, cultural interchange, and the strengthening of international ties.

Fadeyev is a member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the holder of many Soviet decorations.

Similarity Of Indo-U.S. Ideals Emphasized

NEW YORK.—An officer of the India League of America believes Americans and Indians share indestructible ideals based on "the same fundamental ideals."

According to League secretary Hemendra K. Rakhit, "there will always be clashes and differences between democratic governments, because they are truly independent." But he has found that these difficulties do not hamper the friendship between peoples of democracies such as the U.S. and India.

In a recent interview, Mr. Rakhit said that the League has noticed a steadily growing interest in Indian people and in Indian affairs among Americans. In his weekly communications he maintains with India League said, indicate the people are equally eager to learn about America.

The League has over one thousand Indian-American members in various parts of the United States. Founded in 1939, the organization originally sought

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...the cause of Indian independence. But this ...broadened into an overall goal toward which the ...works today—"to bring Indians and Americans ...on a people-to-people basis."

This organization has no governmental connections. League officials this is a great asset because it ...objectivity in interpreting problems of common ...to India and America.

The League's services have changed their character, ...over the years, according to Mr. Rakhit. The office ...New York now serves more as an educational ...cultural centre. Today, the League provides ...for clubs around the country. It furnishes ...graphies to schools and colleges. It also attempts ...to public attention, through newspapers and ...a documented approach to Indian affairs.

Mr. Rakhit noted that in its earlier days the League ...much more time on dinners, speeches, and major ...projects. It now confines such efforts to ...events, like a recent dinner meeting to cele... the anniversary of India's Republic Day.

League members and the general public attend functions. Although Mr. Rakhit regards this as important part of the programme, he feels the long-...educational and cultural activities are equally vital ...Indian-American ties.

Businessmen, civic leaders, students and individuals ...levels of community life belong to the League. President of the organization, Sirdar J. J. Singh, ...of the leading Indian businessmen in New York.

Mr. Rakhit has concrete suggestions for encourag... Indian-American ties on the "people-to-people"

...ing from the India League point of view, he ...the following;

...should be more extensive and thorough ...age of Indian affairs in American and of ...affairs in India. There should be less ...and more substantial news. There are far ...reporters to cover the vast areas of both countries ...cannot do the comprehensive job that is

...effort should be made to expand the cultural ...between the two countries. The student ex... and the leadership training programme under ...S. Department of State has been extremely ...to both countries. More visits of ...students between the United States and ...be much more valuable."

...the United States, the India League secretary ...civic and community organizations, such as ...groups and women's clubs, were doing a ...to improve understanding between India and

...Rakhit recalled that his more than 30 years in ...States have given him a first-hand knowledge ...country in the world where individual wealth ...put to use for public satisfaction." He said ...States has a democratic view-point—econo...ally, and politically.

...India League secretary also noted that the ...of Indian culture was democratic.

...Rakhit has been active in Indian activities in ...States for many years. He founded the ...students' Association in 1917, then the first Indian ...in America. He was also editor of *India* ...a former League publication which was disconti...because of changes in League activities.

...a successful businessman who sells Indian pro... Mr. Rakhit believes the American ...

India has been reflected in the widening market for merchandise from his homeland. He estimates that this will grow tremendously when manufacturing processes and distribution methods in India have been improved.—*American Reporter*, April 25, 1956.

Background of the Crisis in Algeria

Rene Dammron comments on the present situation in Algeria in the *World Around Press*, March 1, 1956, as follows:

The situation in Algeria which, only a few weeks ago, caused the French Premier, Guy Mollet, to be pelted with rotten fruit and stones, is not likely to undergo substantial changes for the better until the crux of the problem is understood far more widely than it appears to be. The background of the crisis is as complex as its consequences may be implacable unless the historical facts are broken down and viewed in their proper light.

France began to occupy the Algerian Sahara in 1890. The actual conquest and the policing were done by the French Foreign Legion, recruited mainly from citizens of other countries. Individuals who, for one reason or another, were seeking refuge from organized society in the scorching heat of the African desert and the rigorously disciplined ranks of the Legion.

The occupation was completed in 1901, but the skirmishes between the native Berber tribes and the Legion did not cease then and have not ceased yet.

World War II brought havoc to Algeria and only

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in 1943 was order restored. An army was re-formed, composed largely of native troops. The nucleus of it, however, remained the Foreign Legion with four regiments, and with general headquarters in Oran and Algiers.

The commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the 'Legion Etrangere" are native born Frenchmen, whereas the legionnaries, the men without a country or a name, become eligible for French citizenship after one term of service of five years and may retire on a pension after three five-year terms of service.

These retired legionnaires, for whom Algeria has become a place of immunity, are known as "les Colons" or settlers. Among them may also be found many of the pensioned officers and non-coms who, after serving a long time in the African colonies, also have no other place to go to.

These settlers are the ones who pelted Premier Mollet with 'rotten fruit and stones." They are the ones whose lifework has been to subdue the natives and who have developed and Europeanized the Algerian coastline. Now they fear that they may lose their sanctuary and all that they have built up, if the natives, who outnumber them 9 to 1, should be given more political rights.

Algeria is a French dependency under a Governor-General who is flanked by a Consultative Council. Legislative power, however, rests with the National Assembly in Paris, to which body each of the three Algerian provinces or 'departments" sends one senator and several deputies.

In 1936 census revealed a population of 6,237,684 native Algerians, 853,209 French, 20,929 Italians, 2,976 Maltese and 91,942 Spaniards. Since then the population has increased to about 9 million natives and 1 million French.

The original population are Moslems. French citizenship was granted, in 1919, to all monogamous Algerians who (1) fought in World War I, (2) were landowners and (3) could read and write the French language. In 1944 this law was modified and citizenship was conferred on all French-speaking Algerians with no strings attached in regard to their Moslem practices. And Government positions were opened to Moslems who qualified for French citizenship.

All of this goes back to 1944 but in 1956 there are to be reckoned with are: (1) the "colons" or settlers who have found security on Algerian soil and will hold fast to it as well as to what they have themselves created, (2) the natives who, having had a breath of freedom, now demand independence and (3) France's economy which cannot afford to lose Algeria and if Algeria goes Tunisia and Morocco will follow.

It will be difficult to find a solution which will satisfy all these three parties. Nevertheless a solution must and can be worked out if those who are primarily concerned with it are left alone and are given opportunity to work it out peaceably.

Swiss Group Creates Dairy Industry for Nepal

Zurich,—For the first time in history the markets of Katmandu, capital city of Nepal (110.000) are being supplied with dairy products. A private group of Swiss citizens (*Schweizeriches Hilfswerk fur Aussereuropäische Kebiete*) set up in Zurich last June, is offering specialized technical aid to areas outside of Europe. The creation of a dairy industry for Nepal is the first of its projects and already the collection and distribution of milk in Katmandu is bringing economic and health benefits to many of Nepal's citizens.

The same Swiss group, privately financed, is assisting some public-spirited citizens of Iraq in setting up a Pestalozzi-type village for mentally and physically deficient children. While international organisations are working along these lines on a larger scale, the Swiss group offers highly specialised skills and personnel "capable of inspiring the natives with a desire for progress without in any way harming their traditional cultures."—*World Around Press*, March 1, 1956.

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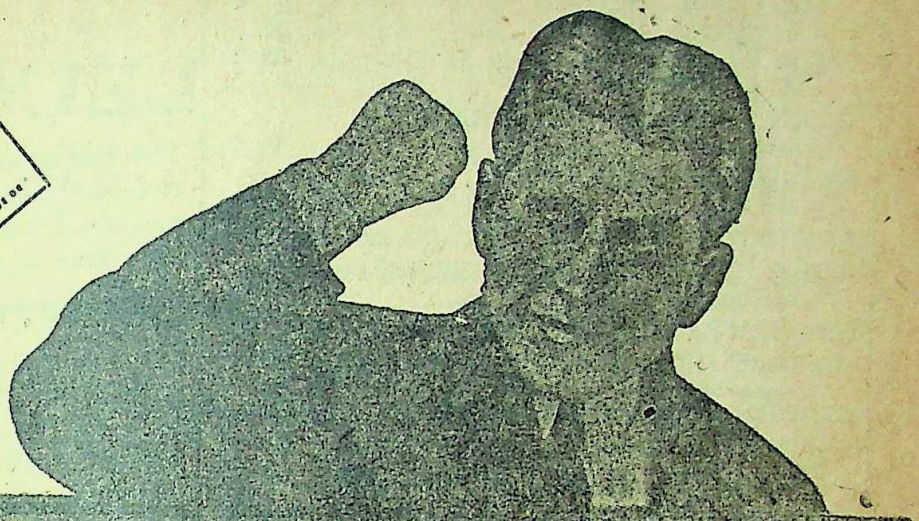

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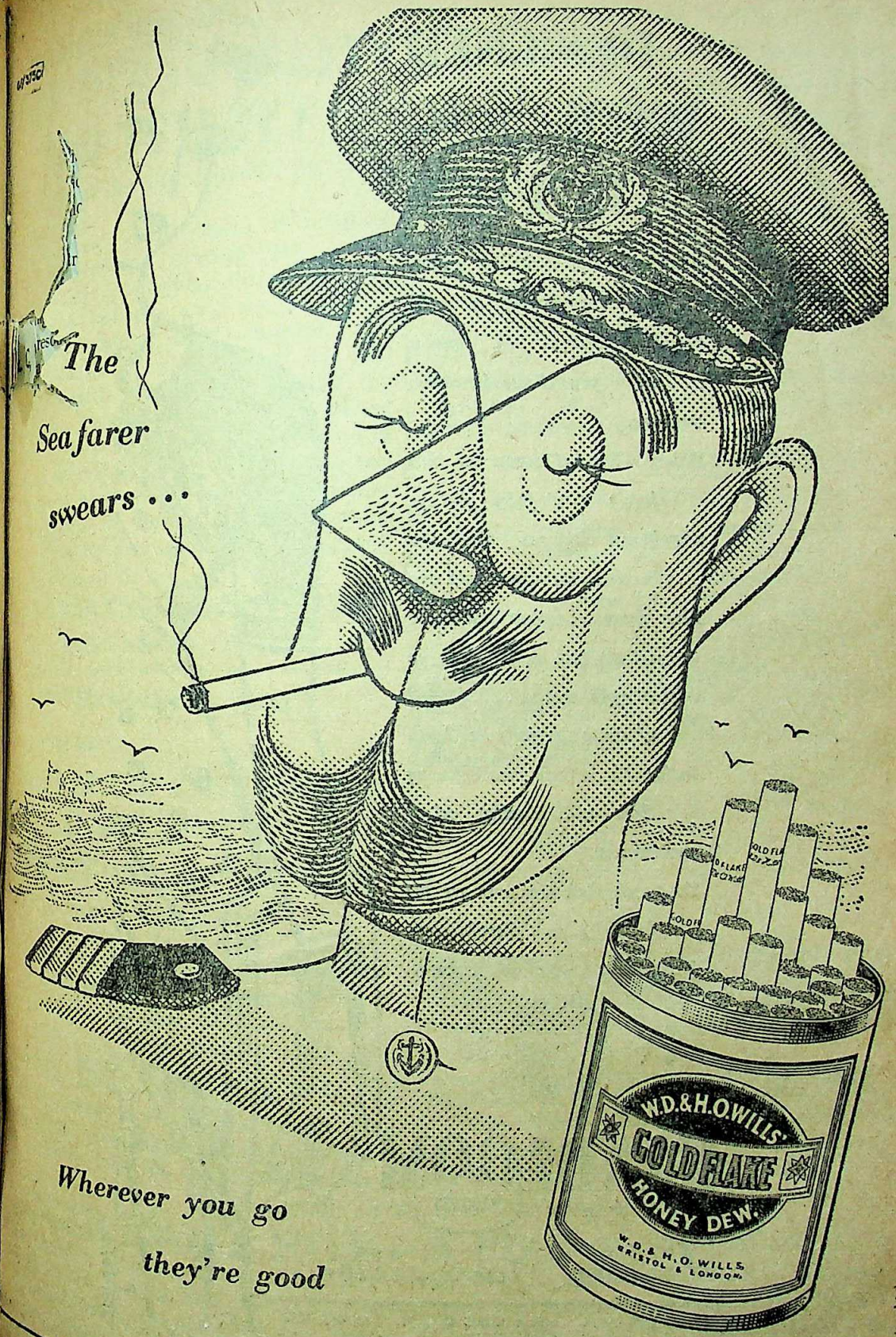

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. LXXXXX, No. 1

WHOLE No. 3[illegible]

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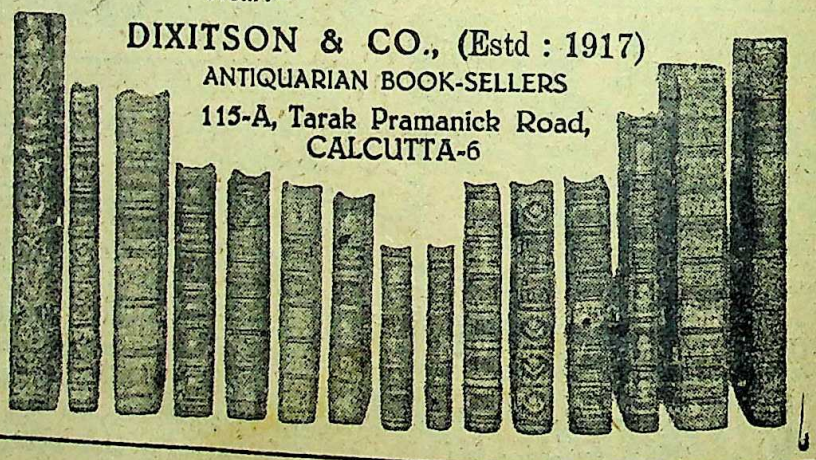

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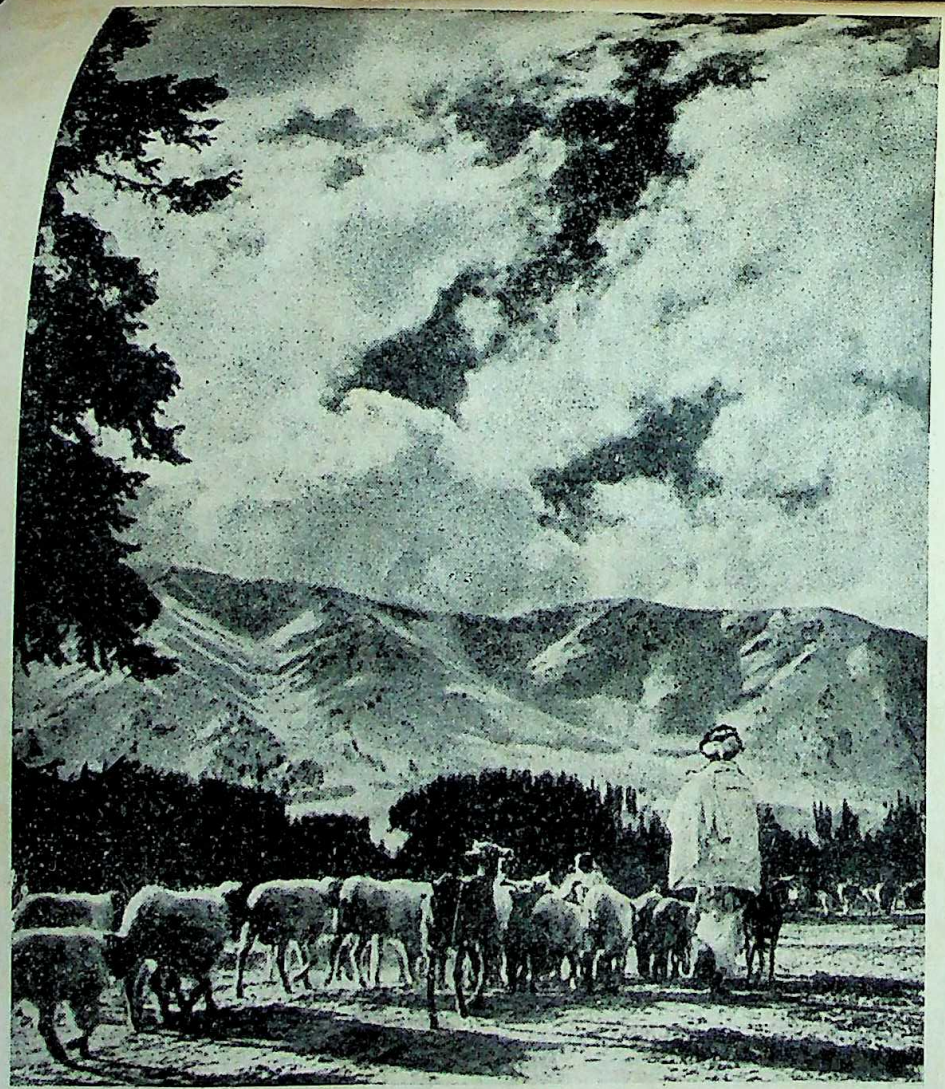

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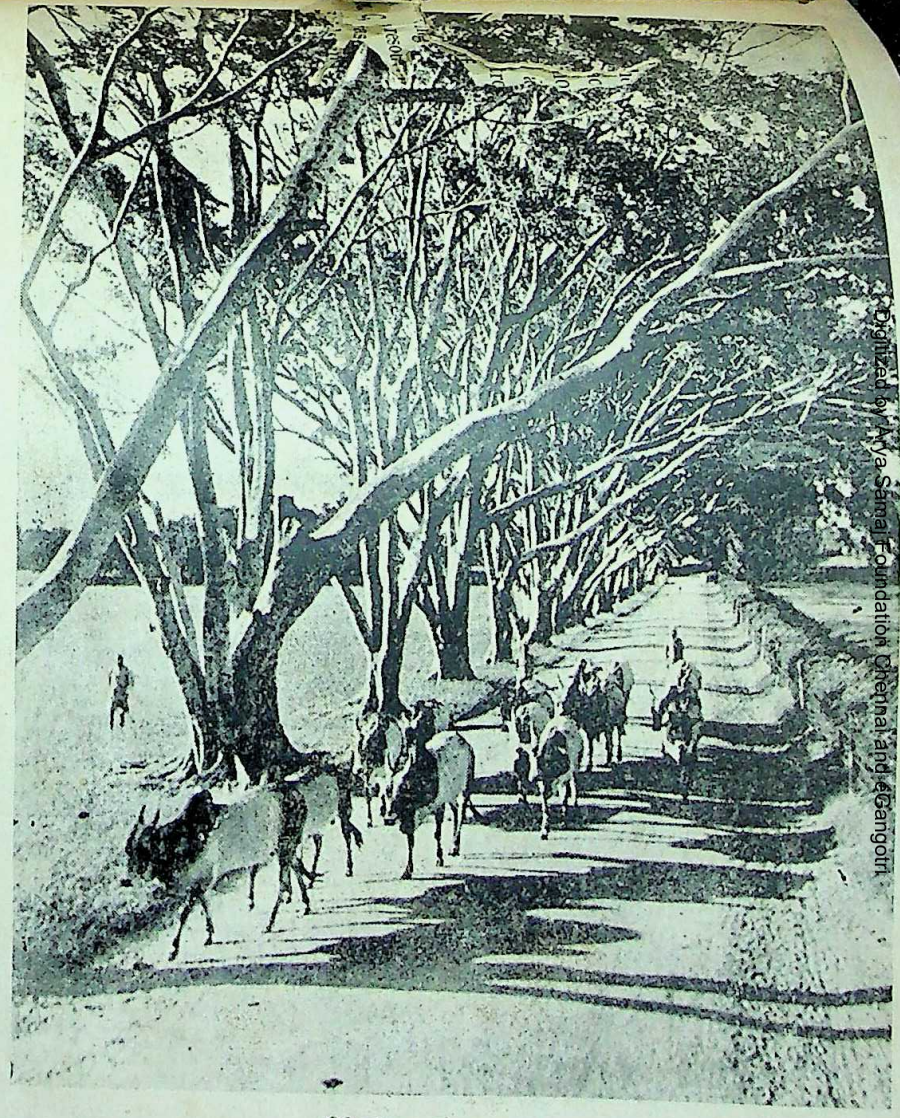

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY 1956

No. 1 WHOLE No. 595

NOTES

Retrospect

The closing month of the current half-year, crowded with events. Amongst them, of significance to the group of people that linked together in the British Commonwealth of Nations, is the meeting of Prime ters in London proceeding now. From the that have reached us till now, it seems though all members of the Conference were equally sure about the sincerity behind the policy enunciated by the Soviets, they were nevertheless agreed on the point that the Cold situation had considerably eased since last meeting.

This statement gives the key to the world tion to-day. Doubts and suspicions, covert openly declared, are the main barriers the restoration of normalcy in world

The initiative, at present, in this easing of world situation has been taken by the leaders. Contrawise, the dissenting men are led in the main by some spokes- the United States of America.

example, Mr. Secretary of State John Dulles, recently made a statement at State College, in which he said :

The principle of neutrality pretends that tion can best gain safety for itself by being erent to the fate of others. This has asingly become an obsolete conception, except under very exceptional circum- es, it is an *immoral* and *shortsighted conception*. The free world today is stronger and peace is more secure because so many free nations courageously recognise the now demonstrated fact that their own peace and safety would be endangered by assault on freedom elsewhere."

In commenting on this statement, we quote a remark made by Sir Percival Griffiths, the noted British authority on South-East Asia in the course of a discussion following a lecture on his 48th tour of India, Pakistan and Burma, on the 19th of January of this year. In reply to a question whether the Russian visit had incidentally engendered anti-American activities in India, he said:

"There are no anti-American activities in India, but it is true to say that India is not particularly fond of America at the present time and that the egregious Mr. Dulles made things just as bad as possible by his entirely unwanted and unneeded intervention in the matter of Goa. He has a sublime gift, Sir Percival added, for saying the wrong thing at the wrong time, and he does not exercise it anywhere to more effect than with regard to India."

We would finish with Mr. Dulles by adding that now he has made bad worse, by this recent ridiculous exhibition of unreasoned fanaticism alloyed with malice. It is only necessary to add that Dulles does not in any way speak for all America, or even for his chief, the President of the United States. All the same this attempt

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at dividing the world in three parts, namely, We the Righteous, They the Wrongdoers, and those that are Beyond the Pale, shows the state the World is in.

And further, the recent delivery of 40 jet fighters, of the latest model, to Pakistan, has not in any way added anything to the cause of peace in this world. Indeed, on the contrary.

The S.E.A.D.O. group met at Singapore at the beginning of June, with a brave rolling of drums, while Pakistan was making a pact with Russia for a "favoured nation" deal. It is indeed a queer world!

For the present, our own troubled continent of Asia, is in a state of peace, although it is very uneasy in the Palestine area, where a minor clash occurred on the Israel-Jordan border on June 24. Jordan, it may be noted, has become an active participant in the Arab-Israel disputes after the dismissal of Glubb Pasha.

Fierce skirmishing and bloodshed is still going on unabated in Algeria, where the dispossessed Algerians are trying to retrieve their ancient heritage from the intrusive elements of French colonialism. 400,000 French troops are fighting 20,000 Algerians, in the crushing of Algeria's attempt at freedom. It might be remarked in passing that of the vast grain crops of Algeria, from 9000,000 acres of land, almost half is produced by the better and well-irrigated lands of 20,000 French *colon* farmers, whereas 700,000 Algerian farmers get the other half from theirs. About a million half-starved Algerians who eke out a livelihood by intermittent work on the French farms, are out on boycott.

In Cyprus, the British are engaged in an effort at crushing the Enosis movement by force, despite very strong opposition from the Labour party. And there was a minor rebellion in Argentina about the middle of this month.

It should be noted here that even in France there is a strong reaction against the dragooning into submission of the Algerians.

On the positive side, the evacuation of the Suez Canal by the British forces was completed on June 18th, after 74 years of British occupation, thus closing a troubled chapter in Anglo-Egyptian relations. And there was the rapprochment between Yugoslavia and the Soviets which was finalised in a joint declaration on June 20th.

All along, the tests of atomic weapons continue. The latest reports from Japan indicate that both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. made major atomic tests in the latter half of June. The British also made some minor tests on the 19th of June.

In retrospect, it is to be remarked that although President Soekarno had clearly stated the stand-point of the people of the underdeveloped regions of Asia and Africa, during his recent visit to the United States, the attitude is as yet not very perceptible in the U.S.A.

All the same, since the Soviets have come forward to help, the position is clearer. It is increasingly understood in the Western world that the Cold War is not only retarding the progress of civilization, but it is rendering the atmosphere more and more poisoned due to the awakening consciousness of the exploited peoples. The West can not escape nemesis if it makes substantial amends for the centuries of exploitation in the past. The chief obstacle is the race for arms. This is why even Monsieur Pineau of the French Cabinet, has issued an appeal to end the Cold War.

At home, a crop of bitter recriminations and resignations follow in the aftermath of the S.R.C. Report. To add to the confusion, the Language Commission, whose work was nothing but openly public, is going to submit its recommendations to the Parliament.

Banking Developments

The year 1955, states the Reserve Bank in its latest Annual Report on the Trend and Progress of Banking in India, was significant not only for the increased volume of banking business but also for the momentous and far-reaching organisational changes that occurred in the banking system. Steps were taken to ensure wider banking facilities and to strengthen the banking structure so as to equip it better for its important role in the coming years in the finance of diverse forms of economic activity. The generally healthy trend of economic activity in the country was also reflected in the trends in banking business during the year. Over 1955, scheduled bank credit expanded by Rs. 80 crores, as against an increase of Rs. 57 crores in 1954 and a fall of Rs. 5 crores in 1953. This figure, however, conceals seasonal variations. The expansion of bank credit in the busy season of 1954-55 at Rs. [illegible] crores was lower by Rs. 5 crores than in the

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sion of 1953-54. What was of greater interest, however, was that in the ensuing slack season, the return of funds to the banking system was more than Rs. 32 crores which meant that over two-thirds of the total credit made available remained in the pipe line. The Report observes that the tendency towards contraction of financial slack season, noticed recently, might be interpreted not so much as an aberration of pattern but as a reflection of the beginning of underlying trend of a general increase in, and deepening of, credit demands as a result of the ...ing diversification of the Indian economy. The resources position of the Indian banking system was, taking a broad overall view, fairly comfortable in 1955. An interesting feature as regards the Reserve Bank's lending operations has been that while hitherto the Indian banks have been the main borrowers under the Bill Market scheme, in 1955 exchange banks also evinced considerable interest in the scheme. This development gives ground for the belief that the Indian money market is acquiring a greater degree of autonomy. In 1955, in continuation of the trend in the two preceding years, the deposits of scheduled banks increased by Rs. 91 crores to Rs. 1,013 crores, passing the Rs. 1,000 crores level for the first time in seven years. The expansion in deposits in 1955, though similar in magnitude differed markedly from that which prevailed in 1954. In 1954, demand deposits went up by Rs. 35 crores, whereas in 1955, the expansion of time deposits was somewhat more significant at Rs. 47 crores, as against an increase in demand deposits of about Rs. 43 crores.

Over the year 1955, the relatively larger increase in bank deposits than credit and the accretion of cash reserves helped scheduled banks to add to their investment portfolios by as much as Rs. 42 crores. Of this, more than Rs. 36 crores represented investments in Government securities. The additional gilt-edged investments entirely accounted for by Indian scheduled banks were made in the second half of the year, partly through subscription to the Central Government Loan floated in July 1955. The ownership pattern of scheduled bank gilt-edged securities underwent some interesting variations. During the year, the total number of offices of banks recorded an increase for the first time in the post-war period. The increase was mostly in the offices of scheduled banks which increased by 91 to 2,793. There was an increase by 1 to 66 in the offices of exchange banks, while the number of offices of non-scheduled banks declined by 28 to 1,258. The Report then refers to the State Bank's branch expansion programme. According to the State Bank Act, the Bank has to establish not less than four hundred additional branches within a period of five years or such extended period as the Central Government may specify; as a first step in its expansion programme, a list of 100 centres covering mostly the important district centres has been prepared with the approval of the Central Government and the selection of centres has, for the time being, been confined to Part A and Part C States. Up to June 30, 1955, the State Bank of India had opened 63 branches in Part A and Part C Sstates out of the 114 it was expected to open in pursuance of the recommendations of the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee (1950). In the first six months of its working, the State Bank opened branches at 20 centres out of the 51 left over to be opened by the former Imperial Bank of India. Thus, the trends in branch banking as a whole reflected the steady widening of the area of the banking system by extension of branches into the interior of the country.

The scope of branch banking is greatly influenced by costs of operation—mainly by establishment charges. In this regard, the Report refers to the appointment of the Bank Award (Gajendragadkar) Commission to conduct a fact-finding enquiry and make recommendations as regards further modifications, if need be, of the decision of the Labour Appellate Tribunal as modified by the Government in August 1954. The recommendations of the Bank Award Commission submitted towards the end of July 1955 were accepted in full by the Government and accordingly, the Industrial Disputes (Banking Companies) Decision Act, 1955, was passed in September under which the terms and conditions of the Award will remain in force for a period of five years from April 1, 1954.

The profit and loss accounts of 18 larger Indian scheduled banks showed that during 1955 their gross earnings registered a rise of Rs. 3.8 crores to Rs. 35.0 crores, over three-fifths (Rs. 2.4 crores) of this being accounted for by the rise in interest and discount earned. Total expenses also rose significantly—by Rs. 3.4

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crores, more than one-third of which was made up of an increase in interest paid on deposits, borrowings, etc. Net profits, therefore, went up by Rs. 0.4 crores to Rs. 5.7 crores.

In the sphere of banking organisation and control, the outstanding event of the year was the inauguration of the State Bank of India. The Report briefly recapitulates the circumstances which led to this major step in the building up of a co-ordinated banking system. The expansion programme of the State Bank, and its role in the fields of industry, trade, commerce and rural finance are also explained briefly in the Report. With its network of branches reaching into the interior of districts the State Bank is expected to be of assistance in devising institutional remedies for difficulties connected with short-term finance for rural and small-scale industries, the development of which has been accorded high priority in the Second Five-Year Plan. Apart from this, the State Bank's part in furthering rural credit may be visualised in the provision of vastly extended remittance facilities for co-operative institutions, and of financial assistance through purchase of debentures of land mortgage banks or through direct advances against agricultural produce or small-scale industry products, and generally in co-ordinating its activities with those of co-operative institutions in a variety of ways.

The Report indicates how some of the other important recommendations of the Rural Credit Survey Committee were also translated into law. Thus, to enable the Reserve Bank to play an active part in the organisation of the co-operative structure and facilitate the supply or rural credit, the Reserve Bank of India Act was amended so as to provide for the setting up of the National Agricultural Credit (Long-Term) Operations Fund and the National Agricultural Credit Stablisation Fund. Efforts continued to be made to tone up the quality and standards of the existing banking system. The Reserve Bank's regular inspection of banking companies initiated six years ago is referred to in the Report. The first round of inspections of practically all the reporting banks has been completed and periodical reinspection of banks has also been undertaken. While the general position of the banking system continues to be sound, undesirable features have been observed in the operation of some banks. The Report observes that these defects are gradually being rectified though they have yet been completely eliminated. How... inspection of banks and the advice tendered... the Reserve Bank in following up inspections... been tended to bring about a change for the b...

During the year licences were issued to... Indian scheduled banks under Section 22 of... Banking Companies Act thus raising the... number of licences issued to 46. Besides... there are four banks, namely, the State Bank... India and three other major State-associated... to which the provisions of Section 22 of... Banking Companies Act are not applicable... deposits of these 50 banks as at the end of... year 1955, aggregated Rs. 980.9 crores... accounted for 90.8 per cent of the total de... of banks (both scheduled and non-scheduled)... this country. The Second Five-Year Plan... naturally entail for banks not only an exte... of both their area of operations and range... functions but also an expansion in the magn... of that type of banking business which is... being performed, viz., the provision of wo... capital requirements to trade and ind... Attempts are being made to correct the lop... branch distribution of Indian banking with... concentration in the towns through a progr... of branch expansion of the State Bank of... and the enlargement of facilities for rem... of funds. With the establishment of the integ... credit structure as contemplated by the R... Credit Survey Committee, the range of func... of banks will be considerably widened... importance of sound management is of par... relevance in a period of sizeable increase in... resources and the wider opportunities for... expansion which the growth of the eco... would open out.

To facilitate easy credit conditions and... widen the influence of the Reserve Bank... the Indian money market we deem it ess... that the Reserve Bank should start redis... ing genuine trade bills instead of the p... improvised system of bill market. The p... practice of rediscounting bills started by... Reserve Bank in 1952 has not yet started a... fledged bill market in this country as it ex... in other developed countries of the West, p... cularly in Britain. Under the existing sc... bill market scheme, the Reserve Bank p... cally gives loan against the promissory no... scheduled banks drawn on the strength of...

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promissory notes of the constituents of the banks. The result of the lack of a proper self-liquidating bill market is that there is limited turn-over of bank money and the credit base is considerably restricted.

As regards the proposed amendment to the Reserve Bank Act, we have something to comment. We view with dismay the proposal to abolish the Local Boards. The notes on clauses of the Bill states that with the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank, the need to retain Local Boards has disappeared, because they attended to share transfer work. In the Reserve Bank there is nothing to restrict the work of the Local Boards to mere share transfer. Its scope of functions could have been effectively enlarged to look after the regional interests. The abolition of Local Boards would certainly be a retrograde step in so far as it will lead to bureaucratism and too much centralisation of power to the detriment of regional interests. In the USA, the central banking institution is to a great extent a federation of twelve regional central banks that are entrusted with the task of looking after local interests. The abolition of Local Boards will be harmful to the interests of Cacutta, the industrial capital of India. The main office being situated in Bombay, the regional interests of Calcutta and Madras will not receive prompt and due care. Had the head office been situated in a central place like Delhi, the local interests might have received due attention. There is absolutely no point in abolishing Local Boards.

As regards the currency reserve, we are glad that the present system of proportional reserve is going to be abolished. In this journal of ours we have been repeatedly urging upon the authorities to do away with the system of proportional reserve which is a costly affair and does not impart flexibility to currency expansion which is much needed today to finance the second Five-Year Plan. Under Section 33(2), the total amount of assets, not less than two-fifths shall consist of gold coin, gold bullion or foreign securities; provided that the amount of gold coin and gold bullion shall not at any time be less than forty crores of rupees in value. In other words, 40 per cent of total assets of the Reserve Bank must be in gold or foreign securities. In view of this provision, a large amount of foreign assets has got to be immobilised for maintenance of reserve against the issue of currency notes and this involves a great disadvantage to India.

Under the proposed amendment, the issue of currency will have no relation with reserve of foreign securities or gold. There will be a fixed minimum holding of Rs. 400 crores in foreign securities and Rs. 115 crores in gold in the Issue Department of the Reserve Bank of India. This fixed minimum method of reserve will impart greater elasticity to currency expansion. The volume of currency will have no relation with the maintenance of reserve. On March 30, 1956, Rs. 697 crores were kept in foreign securities and this amount India can ill afford to maintain as reserve in view of her increasing expenditures on the second Plan. In Britain, there is the fiduciary system of note issue and that means notes are issued without any gold reserve. There can be no greater credit than a country's credit, and gold reserve is a costly wastage. During the second Plan there will be a deficit of foreign exchange to the extent of Rs. 1,100 crores. The amendment will remove the rigidity in currency expansion by providing for the statutory minimum reserve of gold and foreign securities in absolute terms. Henceforth, foreign securities can be in any currency and the minimum amount of such securities should not ordinarily be less than Rs. 400 crores; but on special occasions, it may be lowered to Rs. 300 crores. The volume of gold and gold coins in the currency reserve will be raised to Rs. 115 crores from the present amount of Rs. 40.01 crores. The increase in gold holding will be achieved simply by revaluing the gold. The gold holdings are at present valued at 8.47512 grains of fine gold per rupee and this is the old parity that prevailed before the devaluation in 1931. The new parity will be valued at 2.88 grains of fine gold per rupee and this is at the International Monetary Fund's value for gold, namely, $35 per fine ounce. It may be noted here that for some time past we have been advocating for the revaluation of the gold holdings of the Reserve Bank as the old valuation was out of date and it is indeed a step in the right direction to revalue the gold holdings. The revalued gold will not be added to foreign securities for determining the currency reserve; it will be kept separately as the irreducible

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minimum. The revalued gold will have a comparable size against the increasing volume of note issue.

As regards the foreign securities, the maintenance of such a large amount is uncalled for. No other country has linked up her currency issue with foreign securities. India's is a costly measure in this respect, because the balance of payments position will impart confidence to the country's currency issue and the reserve of foreign securities is redundant. However, the proposed measure is devised to maintain a link with the past and to maintain confidence in Indian rupee of foreign countries. Another notable change in the banking field is the change-over from the fixed reserve ratio to variable reserve ratios. On this point we shall turn on again when the measure is put on the Statute Book.

High Level Resignations

The following news is about the three recent resignations at a high level. The most important is that of Shri Deshmukh, Union Minister of Finance, who has been forced to resign due to the stand taken by the Maharashtra Congress group, and the members of his own constituency. It is needless to say that the loss to the Cabinet would be immense, but of course, there are even greater considerations in this complex problem.

Mr. S. K. Handoo, who is one of the ablest Indians in the banking circles, has resigned because of some questions and answers in the Rajya Sabha. Recently a group of irresponsible persons have been tiltering against high-pay for some officials. We have seen nothing but pure unreasoned grudge and malice in most of them. We could understand if they wanted to raise the level of pay, but we cannot make out the reasons for cutting down the pay of faithful and able servants of the State.

"Madras, June 22.—The Finance Minister, Mr. Deshmukh, confirmed here today the report of Dr. Matthai's resignation from the Chairmanship of the State Bank.

"Mr. Deshmukh said: 'Dr. Matthai has informed us that for many reasons that he does not find it convenient to continue. He has asked to be relieved by the end of August. We are considering what action we should take.'

"Asked about the resignation of Mr. S. K. Handoo, the first Managing Director of the State Bank, Mr. Deshmukh said that that was another affair. 'I have not seen the Managing Director's resignation because it was submitted to the Bank's Board. What reasons there are I have not discovered yet. I did hear that he was somewhat aggrieved by some replies given in Parliament in regard to his retention and pay. Probably he thought the references were not very appreciative of him.' Mr. Deshmukh gave an assurance that no offence was meant and he expressed the hope that the Board would talk to Mr. Handoo and explain matters.

"Mr. Deshmukh indicated that he was prepared to reconsider his decision to resign from the Union Cabinet if the Pataskar formula regarding the future of Bombay City was incorporated in the States Reorganization Bill.

"The Finance Minister, who arrived here this evening, said: 'If that provision is not made in the Bill, my decision to resign is irrevocable.' According to the Pataskar formula, he said, the offices of the Maharashtra Government were to continue in Bombay City and the city would be in Maharashtra after two or three years, unless Parliament for good reasons wished to continue the arrangement for some time more.

"According to a P.T.I. message from Bombay, Dr. Matthai, in his letter of resignation submitted to the Ministry of Finance about ten days ago, is understood to have requested the Government of India to relieve him of the post as early as possible.

"The Board of Directors of the State Bank of India is meeting in Bombay on June 29 to consider Mr. Handoo's letter of resignation. Mr. Handoo, it is learnt, resigned in protest against certain remarks made in the Rajya Sabha when the emoluments and service conditions of the Managing Director of the Bank were discussed last month. Mr. Handoo was associated with the Imperial Bank of India for over 30 years and became the first Managing Director of the State Bank of India."

Kaldor on Indian Taxation

In order to reorganise the taxation structure of India, the Government of India invited the noted Cambridge Economist, Mr. Kaldor, to study the Indian Taxation structure and

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suggest steps as how best to raise maximum finance out of taxations in this country. Professor Kaldor's suggestions have become to a certain extent controversial and they do not seem to have found much favour with the Finance Minister of Indna, Mr. Deshmukh. Prof. Kaldor's main suggestions are as follows:

That the maximum rate of tax on income should not exceed 45 per cent (as against the present 92 per cent); that there should be a tax on wealth on the excess of capital value over Rs. 15 lakhs at the rate of 1 to 1½ per cent; that there should be a personal expenditure tax at a maximum rate of 30 per cent on a net personal expenditure per head over Rs. 50,000 per annum; and that there should be a gift tax at the maximum rate of 80 per cent on gift received by the persons whose total estate, including the gift, exceeds Rs. 40 lakhs. The suggestion has been made that all realised capital gains should be taxed at the same rate as income (that is, subject to a maximum rate of 45 per cent).

In the view of Prof. Kaldor, the present system of direct taxation in this country is both inefficient and inequitable. It is inequitable because the present base of taxation, that income (as statutorily defined) is defective and biased as a measure of taxable capacity and is capable of being manipulated by certain classes of tax payers. It is inefficient because the limited character of the information furnished by the tax payers, and the absence of a comprehensive reporting system on property transactions and proper income makes large-scale evasion through concealment or understatement of profits and property income relatively easy.

The Indian taxation structure like most western countries has been in the grip of a vicious circle as far as progressive taxation is concerned—evasion and avoidance by cutting down the potential revenue led to higher nominal rates of taxation and this in turn to further evasion and avoidance and still higher rates. It is a vicious circle, says Prof. Kaldor, of charging more and more for less and less. He, therefore, comes to the conclusion that from every point of view it is far better to have a self-proof system of taxation with a moderate rate schedule, than a system which has the appearance of high progressivity, but which cannot be effectively or impartially administered.

With a view to make the Indian tax system more effective and efficient and to break the vicious circle, he suggests an integrated base of five taxes on a moderate scale. The five taxes—income tax, capital gains tax, annual capital tax, personal expenditure tax and the gift tax—would all be assessed simultaneously on the basis of a single comprehensive return; and they are self-checking in character, both in the sense that concealment or understatement of items in order to minimise liability to some of the taxes may involve an added liability with regard to others, and also in the sense that the information furnished by a tax-payer in the interest of preventing over-assessment with regard to his own liabilities automatically brings to light the receipts and gains made by other tax-payers.

Prof. Kaldor observes that the effect of these proposals on the tax revenue will provide the greater part of the requirements to ensure the success of the Second Five-Year Plan and indicates that the estimated yield will run on the following lines: Rough calculations suggest that reforms of personal taxation (taking into account both the revenue from the new taxes and the additional yield due to greater efficiency of assessment and collection) would be of the order of Rs. 100 crores a year or more—though it would take some years before the full benefit is reaped. It is not possible to make any proper estimates of the various changes suggested in the taxation of business profits. The combined effect of the narrower definition of deductible expenses and of the various measures suggested for the control of evasion might yield at least a further sum of Rs. 20-30 crores a year.

Under the Second Five-Year Plan, Rs. 450 crores will be raised by way of new taxation by the Centre and the States in the Plan period. Deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 1,200 crores have to be incurred and there remains an unfilled gap of Rs. 400 crores. Prof. Kaldor maintains that the volume of deficit financing per year should not exceed Rs. 150 crores and during the five years period, the deficit financing would aggregate Rs. 800 crores. Mr. Kaldor has thus to find new tax avenues for a total

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sum of Rs. 1,250 crores during the Plan period or Rs. 250 crores a year. In the opinion of Prof. Kaldor, the raising of Rs. 1,250 crores in five years would be possible if his suggestions are followed.

As regards the shortfall between the expected yields from Mr. Kaldor's proposals for new taxation and the goal of Rs. 1,250 crores, he states that the remainder of the additional revenue would have to be raised from land revenue and excise duties, which are outside the scope of his report. He considers the case of the middle-class Indian and indicates that the lowest limits of expenditure tax would exempt reasonable middle-class living standards from liability to this tax structure. In his opinion, when the marginal tax is 90 per cent, the net profit on any particular concealment is a 1,000 per cent of the post-tax income. He says that the adoption of a comprehensive tax-base would be a great deal easier—imposing fewer strains on the social fabric and on the administration of the tax system—if it were introduced with a moderate rate schedule; and this would nevertheless inaugurate a more truly equitable and progressive tax system, as well as bringing in a good deal of additional revenue. Prof. Kaldor holds that the amount of evaded tax annually stands between Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 crores and hidden income amounts to Rs. 576 crores a year. The Finance Minister does not agree with Prof. Kaldor over the volume of tax evasion. The Finance Minister puts tax evasion at Rs. 30 crores a year; while the Central Board of Revenue has placed it at Rs. 214 crores.

The capital gains tax is no innovation in this country. It was introduced in Liaquat Ali Khan's budget, and withdrawn in the next year. If there be a betterment levy on urban property, there could be no objection to a capital gains tax. As regards the extent of tax evasion in this country, the Board of Revenue is not agreeable to accept Kaldor's estimates on the ground that Prof. Kaldor bases his calculations on slender statistics. Of course, Prof. Kaldor is aware of that and it may be said that the Board of Revenue's estimates for tax evasion are based on no better statistics than what have been used by the Professor. Professor Kaldor's report deserves consideration and there is a tendency among the authorities to sabotage his suggestions. He is blamed by the Central Board of Revenue for introducing an element of subjectivity in his calculations. He is stated to have assumed a very high proportion of taxable total income on figures the basis of which is not known. Moreover, the Board maintains that he has based his conclusion on an erroneous notion of income. He does not take into account depreciation concessions and various other exemptions which, it is said, have been made after prolonged considerations.

We submit that apart from the controversial issue of tax evasion, Prof. Kaldor's report contains valuable suggestions which ought to be taken into consideration for the purpose of implementation. The Central Board of Revenue itself is at fault when it tries to find fault with Kaldor's findings of tax evasion. Depreciation consideration relates only to the organised sector of the economy and not to all the people subject to the payment of income-tax. In 1953-54, the total contribution of the organized sector to the national income was Rs. 790 crores and this amount was net of depreciation. There are no exact data as to the rate of depreciation and wear and tear of fixed assets. The depreciation figures in the Census of Manufactures have been taken from the returns for income tax assessment. Kaldor was right in not taking again the cost of depreciation. Kaldor holds that evasion is extensive among the large income groups, while the Finance Minister maintains that the evasion is widespread among the lower income groups. In this respect Mr. Deshmukh is a great supporter of Mr. Birla who recently while presiding over the annual meeting of the West Bengal State Finance Corporation that money in India has one way movement, that is, it moves into the countryside never to return and it is there hoarded. There the villages should be taxed indirectly. Mr. Deshmukh has acted upon this suggestion while imposing tax burdens over essential grains in his bid to catch up even the poor man living in the village.

Our own experience and knowledge is that the worst hit are the middle-class tax-payers and they are the most severely treated victims of the tax-collection department. Those who are supposed to be of a non-taxable income contain a very large number of small traders with taxable incomes no doubt.

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Publication of Text-books

The Andhra Government appointed some-
ago a seven-member committee headed by
S. Govindarajulu Naidu, Vice-Chancellor
Sri Venkateswara University, to consider
question of preparation and publication of
books by the State. The report of the Com-
ee, released a few days ago, made a review
present system of approval of text-books
Andhra and other states, pointed out their
s, and offered some recommendations for
removal.

Reviewing the current system of selection
ks by the Andhra Text-Book Selection
ittee the report said that the machinery
proving books was capable of improve-
While no book actually used in schools
be said to be unsuitable, generally the
were not as good as they ought to be
they did not compare favourably with text-
s in other countries. Moreover, the report
there was a widespread belief that books
prescribed by managements for reasons
than their being the best among the
books. "The biggest complaint, how-
with regard to the schools managed by
bodies other than the Government. The
reason for that is that a district board
larger number of pupils in schools under
rol than any other single management.
lisher can get a district board to choose
ks he stands to gain a great deal by this
successful canvassing. The impropriety
is not always of bribery by money. It
exercise of influence of people in autho-
by others whose support may be needed
relatives or to a particular community
political party."

Referring to the defects of publication and
of books the report referred to the lack
on the part of publishers which pre-
them from getting books written by
authors. The publishers had no
through which they could come in con-
the results of modern research in
writing. Technical advice on book
and production was not available to
publishers even if they had the financial
to pay for it.

In view of the defects of the present sys-
the Committee recommended that in Andhra "text-book production should not be left to private publishers, that a Government Department also is not suitable for the purpose and that it should be entrusted to an autonomous statutory corporation." The Corporation was proposed to consist of eleven members—three Government Officials in *ex-officio* capacity, the Director of Public Instruction, the two Vice-Chancellors of the Andhra and Sri Venkateswara Universities, three persons nominated by the State Government (one representing printing, publishing or book-trading concerns, one representing teachers in schools and one from the teachers in training colleges), and two other persons nominated by the Government.

The Committee suggested a phased programme for the publication work of the corporation to be carried out within a period not exceeding five years.

The recommendations of the Andhra Text-Book Enquiry Committee may be studied with profit by other State Governments also.

Soaring Prices

Prices of essential commodities have again begun to rise after about two years of relative stability. The rise has been steep and persistent. According to the *Statesman*, a survey of the Calcutta prices of thirty-five important items of daily consumption showed an overall increase of 26% over those in January, 1956 and of 20% over those a year before in June, 1955. The rise in prices has not been uniform in the case of all commodities and has been more marked in those most required for daily consumption, *e.g.*, rice, dal, vegetables, fish, mustard and coconut oils, chillies, betel nuts and cloths. The middle and poorer classes have thus been particularly hard hit by such price increases.

Part of the increase in prices in some of the commodities may be explained by seasonal factors. For example the rise in the price in vegetables might have been due to the shortfall of production on account at first of drought and then of heavy rains. But that the high prices even of the vegetables were certainly induced in part by the general rise in prices is beyond doubt.

The alarm caused by the steep and steady rise in the price of rice induced the State Government to undertake the distribution of rice at economic prices through authorized dealers—with apparent initial

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success in checking the upward trend of the price of rice. But as more recent developments have revealed the problem is too deep-rooted to be solved by such palliative measures as opening token fair price shops for one commodity only. The West Bengal Government, now seems to have come to realize the seriousness of the situation and the part of the hoarders and profiteers in its creation and it is now reportedly considering the adoption of measures under the Security Act for the seizure of the stocks of rice, dal, mustard oil and other daily necessities for the distribution to the public through selected shops.

The measures proposed by the Government though belated are nonetheless welcome and if it means its job seriously it is sure to carry public sympathy.

The Naga Problem

Recent events in India's north-east frontiers involving hostilities between the Indian army and the Naga rebels have revealed the intensity and magnitude of the Naga problem. An excellent background of the present troubles has been furnished by Shri K. C. Chakravarti in an article entitled "The Demands of Naga land" in the *Economic Review* of June 9.

Shri Chakravarti points out Indians in general had no idea about the realities in the north-eastern frontier of India or of its special problems. Because of this ignorance most Indians were not able to realize the seriousness of the situation in Nagaland.

The Nagas were a primitive people living in villages called *punjis* in the hills and jungles. They had various totems and taboos and carried a great pride of their ownselves. Lying, theft and adultery were quite foreign to the Nagas. The civilized Indians from the plains of Assam, however, looked upon the Nagas with contumely. The common Nagas suffered such humiliation without protest. But under the influence of over a century of missionary work many Nagas acquired western ideas and habits and they not only felt "that they are different from the Indians in the plains of Assam but they also feel bitterly the contempt and ridicule which are meted out to their fellowmen." While the educated Nagas resented the contemptuous attitude of the Indians from Assam plains they bore no malice against India or Indians as such. "If the India inspires no emotion of love in heart, it produced no bitterness either," Chakravarty remarks. "The Naga sentiment bitterly hostile against the Indians living the adjoining plains of Assam with whom really come into daily contact, and from they receive nothing but hatred and ridicule. The Nagas are hostile to the Assam Government and towards those officers either of Assam Government or the Central Government who administer the areas.

The Nagas undoubtedly received support from the missionaries but such support could not explain the violent and organised revolt of the Nagas. The relaxation, of independence, of the restrictions imposed by British Government upon the entry of India in Nagaland was, according to the writer, of the contributory causes to the estrangement of the Nagas. Certain administrative measures undertaken by the Assam Government were partly responsible for Naga discontent.

Shri Chakravarty has very strong to say about the policy of the Assam Government. He writes : "Just as the Europeans believed that it was the White Man's to civilise the coloured savages of Asia Africa, the civilized people of Assam think it is their burden to civilise the uncivilized Nagas. It is difficult to support this morally. Yet, now that the Nagas have cated their strong dislike of being civilised Assam, the Assam Government has sought port from the Indian army."

The Nagas were no match for the organized or heavily-armed Indian army positional warfare. But the geography and mate of the region was highly favourable the Nagas who took recourse to sniping guerilla warfare. Because of the operations the Nagas many roads were virtually closed the public resulting in very great hardship people in those areas. The result was that Indian army is chasing an enemy who everywhere but cannot be found anywhere.

In conclusion Shri Chakravarti writes. Naga problem is really connected with bigger problem of the reorganisation of north-eastern frontier."

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Decimal Coinage

Referring to the Government of India's recently announced decision to introduce new decimal coin throughout the country on April 1, the *Hitavada* editorially writes that decimal coinage had undisputed advantages over the existing arbitrary system in that it made for speed and simplicity of arithmetical calculations thus saving considerable accounting time. It was also beyond doubt that the present time was also the most opportune moment for such a far-reaching monetary reform. Therefore, the only weighty criticism against decimal coinage was that it would cause a lot of difficulties during the transition and particularly to the poor illiterate people who would not be able to perform the complicated arithmetic involved in conversion of existing coins into decimal coins and *vice versa* in their daily transactions. The two ready-reckoners published by the Finance Ministry announcing the relative values for the old and new coins below one rupee, in no means provided any guide to those who needed it most but, as Shri Rajagopalachari had observed, "would confuse even literate people, to speak of the illiterate masses for whose benefit they have been prepared." Moreover, the illiterate people would not be expected to carry a copy of the ready-reckoner whenever they would want to purchase anything. "It is clear," the *Hitavada* writes, "that at best the ready-reckoner has a strictly limited value."

The *Bombay Chronicle* expresses itself more strongly on this point and writes : "What is more important is that both the ready reckoners and the notes appended to them indicates an attitude of mind which is far from being sympathetic to the trouble that will be caused to the vast masses of poor and unlettered people in this country."

In the circumstances both the *Hitavada* and the *Bombay Chronicle* urge upon the Government of India to consider the feasibility of the proposals put forward by Shri Rajagopalachari.

The *Hitavada* writes :

Under the system envisaged by the Government the Rupee is to be divided into 192 units of Naya Paisa as against the existing division of the rupee into 192 pies or 64 pies. Mr. Rajagopalachari has made a suggestion which deserves close consideration by the Government, as it eliminates the need for consulting ready-reckoners. He has suggested that we should retain the "paisa" at its present value and work the decimal system upwards from below instead of from top to bottom as envisaged by the Government. In other words instead of having a "Naya Paisa" we will continue to have our existing "paisa" at its current value, and 100 of these "paisas" will make a "Naya rupee." The new rupee would be equivalent to Rs. 1-9-0 of the present currency, or 25 present rupees would yield 16 new rupees. This will obviate the difficulties in the infinite number of small transactions, which must suffer under the scheme proposed by the Government. Accountants and book-keepers in offices and banks will experience little difficulty in dealing with "naya rupee" suggested by Rajaji. There is also another advantage which will accrue by accepting Mr. Rajagopalachari's scheme. The ready-reckoners published by Government have admittedly ignored fractions of pies, but in the countryside even these fractions of pies have value in terms of articles of consumption. A poor villager will be loth to leave out of count fractions of pies, as to him they will mean a little more of vegetables or some other cheap consumption article. Mr. Rajagopalachari's plan, by retaining the existing value of the lowest unit of currency, imposes no such hardship. No doubt his suggestion will mean appreciation in the value of the rupee, and a person drawing Rs. 100 as salary now will get only Rs. 64 of the new rupees, but so long as the purchasing power of the lowest unit of currency does not suffer a change, a "reduction" in salary in terms of the new rupee will be immaterial."

Communist Stock-taking

Stalin's posthumous dethronement by his leading disciples in the Soviet Communist Party has led the non-Soviet Communist leaders to make a reappraisal of their relationships with the Soviet Communist Party and has thus provided the world public with the rare spectacle of the Soviet Communist leaders, who were once considered to be incapable of committing any wrong, being openly cavilled at by fellow-Communists. In the past all critics of Soviet party were either liquidated or ostracized. The new element in the present situation is that the critics now have implicit, in some instances even open, support of the non-Soviet Communist

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world for their criticism. Such Communist stalwarts as Maurice Thorez of France and Palmiro Togliatti of Italy have openly proclaimed their renunciation, although only partial, of the monopoly of leadership so long claimed and practised by the Soviet Communist Party. But it would not be correct to read too much in such indignant outbursts, which might have been prompted by angry protests from the rank and file of the party, because the Soviet Communist Party itself had expressed similar sentiments during its twentieth congress.

The most profound attack on the present Soviet leaders yet made by a fellow Communist came from Signor Palmiro Togliatti, leader of the Italian Communist Party, which was the biggest Communist Party in western Europe. He said that the prestige of the present Soviet leaders had suffered because they had not opposed the creation of the Stalin myth when Stalin was alive. Signor Togliatti expressed his disapproval of the manner in which the Soviet leaders were trying to absolve themselves of their share of the responsibility during the Stalin era and said: "At one time all that was good was due to the superhuman positive qualities of one man (Stalin), now all that is bad is attributed to the equally exceptional and even staggering defects of the same man."

Signor Togliatti rejected such an attitude as un-Marxist and said: "The real problems escape notice—such as the method by which and the reason why Soviet society could and did stray so far from the democratic path and from the legality which it had traced out for itself arriving as far as degeneration."

The political committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain in what described as a "profound Marxist analysis of the degeneration in the functioning of the Soviet democracy" which had made the rise of Stalin possible, expressed its full agreement "with the observations of Comrade Togliatti and the French Communist Party" in criticizing Khruschev and his colleagues for putting all the blame for past Soviet mistakes on Stalin.

Dr. K. S. Shelvankar, London correspondent of the *Hindu* says, "The statement of the British Communist chiefs also echoed the French Bureau's complaint that Mr. Khruschev's attack on Stalin had been published in Western newspapers before it was available to Communists outside Russia. The British Communist said the statement followed consideration of Mr. Khruschev's report to the private session of the Soviet Communist Party. It disclosed that at a private session of the Eng[illegible] party's 24th National Congress on April 1, a resolution was passed and sent to Moscow 'regretting that a public statement on the question had not been made by the central committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union'."

Mr. Howard Fast, prominent American writer and Stalin Prize winner, wrote in an article published in the New York Daily *Worker* that in future he would remain a friend of Russia but would also be "a severe and implacable critic." The *Daily Worker* of New York, daily organ of the Communist Party of the USA., itself also editorially castigated the Soviet leaders' conduct in not having fought the creation of the Stalin myth and for not publishing Khruschev's secret report to the Congress.

It should, however, be pointed out that all of the above-mentioned critics agreed on the merits of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in exposing the Stalin myth.

"Is Bulganin Finished?"

Boris I. Nicolaevsky in an article with the above caption in the New York *New Leader* April 23, writes that a review of the proceedings of the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led one to the conclusion that the Congress, far from consolidating the victory of the Khruschev-Bulganin bloc which it was generally expected to achieve, in fact, "uncovered a major rift in that bloc . . . we may well ask: Does the Khruschev-Bulganin bloc still exist—or are we now faced with a completely new alignment of forces in the Kremlin?"

The writer refers to the existence of a "personal conflict between Bulganin and Zhukov (the former had the latter exiled to distant provincial posts right after the war)" symbolising the long-smouldering hostility between the police-political apparatus (represented by Bulganin) and military commanders (represented by Zhukov) the balance now being in favour of the military as would appear from the new elections to the Party's central

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mittee. "Not a single member of the political administration was elected either a member or a candidate of the central committee—an unprecedented event in the history of the Soviet Communist Party. On the other hand, Zhukov was not only elected a member of the C.C. but became first candidate member of the Presidium. This represented a complete victory for the military leaders over the political apparatus of the Army—again, the first such victory in party history," writes Mr. Nicolaevsky, who concludes from such analysis that Bulganin "is becoming a mill-stone around the necks of the collective leadership."

Mr. Nicolaevsky in his article quotes some facts about the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which are quite interesting. He writes: "According to figures cited by G. P. Moroz in publications of the Munich Institute for study of the USSR, in the last months before the Congress 9,500 new secretaries were named for party cells in the Ukrain, comprising some 20 per cent of the total; in the Uzbek Republic, new secretaries were chosen for 36 per cent of the cells, etc. The higher the organization, the more new appointments; in a number of provinces, almost every regional committee secretary was dismissed."

How Truthful is the Soviet Press ?

In the past instances were not wanting when the Soviet press indulged in distortions and calumnies to feed its readers according to the line set by the Communist Party. It appears that in spite of the many welcome changes—in internal and external policies—the Soviet press still continues to be interested more in catering Party line propaganda than publishing truthful and complete information. This tendency was highlighted by the comments about the internal situation of U.S.S.R. made by India's Vice-President during his recent visit to that country. Below we append *Reuter's* report on the matter :

"Moscow, June 16.—India's Vice-President, Mr. Radhakrishnan told Pressmen here today that he had noted big omissions in Soviet Press reports of speeches he made yesterday when he arrived and later at a reception at the Kremlin.

"Asked by reporters at the Indian Embassy reception given in his honour by the Indian Ambassador Mr. K. P. S. Menon, whether he planned any protest he replied : 'No. I note and I go on.'

"A passage omitted from his speech came after a reference about 'attempts to liberalize' the Soviet regime.

"It read : If these changes continue I am convinced many difficulties will be eliminated and that nightmare in which we lived before may become a thing of the past. We do not want to die for our doctrines. We hope to live for our ideals in the future.

"Dr. Radhakrishnan's speech at the Kremlin, which lasted nearly twenty minutes, including the translation, was summarized in six paragraphs in the *Pravda* and *Izvestia*.

"Soviet Press reports did not also contain any reference to his remarks about 'strict control' inside Russia and 'suspicion' of what was outside or about the 'tendency for the relaxation of both these.' Nor his remarks about 'concentration camps' and the need for 'real democracy' or references to Sir Winston Churchill were published.

"The Vice-President said he had not raised the matter during his 'very useful' talks with Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev. He declined to give any details about their talks as they were 'confidential'.

"It was understood that Dr. Radhakrishnan conveyed to the two Soviet leaders the same sentiments that he expressed in his speeches yesterday and that they were well received.

"The Vice-President told reporters that he had tried to show in his speeches that there had been rasons for strictness in the Soviet regime at one time but there was no need for it now."

Development of the Sahara Desert

The Sahara Desert is five million square kilometres in area extending from the North African Tell to the banks of the river Niger and from the Atlantic coast into the very heart of Central Africa. About 7 to 8 lakh nomads live there with considerable difficulty. This vast area had been almost neglected until recent researches disclosed the existence of extraordinary mineral and power resources in that area.

M. Georges Marcey writes that methodical prospectings of the Sahara desert were being done for some years now and the results were highly optimistic. "In the East Sahara notably,

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petroleum has just gushed forth. In the north-west area, towards Colomb-Bechar, important deposits of iron, copper, zinc, manganese, lead, tin and phosphates have been explored. The coal mines of Kenadsa and Abadla to the extreme south of the first section of the 'Mediterranean-Niger' railway line have already been successfully exploited. In High-Mauritania, towards the post of Fort-Gourand, as on the southern borders of Moroccan territory, toward Tindouf, there exist reserves of mineral-ore that are on a world scale, three milliard tons, it is estimated. In Low-Mauritania the Akjoujt mine is capable of producing a quarter of the annual French copper consumption. And in addition, the Sahara is going to be the chosen country for solar energy."

The development of the Sahara desert was not going to be smooth and besides the solution of technical, and economic problems would also require the resolution of involved political questions. The Sahara territory, at the moment, were divided between three large French administrative systems: Algeria, French West Africa, and French Equatorial Africa. The whole north part of the desert belonged to Algeria, the eastern region as far as the confines of Libya of the Sudanese Republic to French Equatorial Africa, the western and southern areas to French West Africa. A move was afoot in France to get the three areas merged into one "French Sahara Africa" and in the present circumstances such a move was bound to raise grave political controversies.

Women's Vote in U.S. Elections

Women's franchise, even in Western democracies, is of recent origin. For example, French women gained the right to vote only after the Second World War. Because of this fact there has still been a lively interest whether vote of women has made any difference in the domestic politics of those countries where they have been accorded the franchise.

Discussing the influence of women's vote in the United States elections, Dr. George Gallup writes: "It is often said that women vote as their husbands do. You could turn this statement around and with logic say that men vote as their wives do.

"There is a large measure of truth in both statements," Dr. Gallup writes. The reason was that most husbands and wives came from the same communities and the same type of background and thus possessed a common outlook on almost all questions of life. So it was no indictment on either husbands or wives that they viewed politics in the same light.

"But," Dr. Gallup adds, "while it must be put down as a political fact that most husbands and wives tend to vote alike, such differences as do exist are most revealing.

"In the United States, and in every country where polling organisations make comparisons possible, the vote of women has been found to be more conservative than the vote of men. In European countries fewer women, proportionately, voted for Communist candidates than men. The position of women on the political dictum might be described as "slightly right of centre."

Women, who outnumbered men by two millions in the USA, had their first chance of voting in the national elections in 1920 after the adoption of the 19th amendment to the U.S. Constitution. In that first election only 9 per cent of the women voters cast their votes while in the last Presidential elections, in 1952, 60 per cent of the eligible women voters exercised their franchise. If this trend continues more women might vote in this year's elections.

Referring to the question of the possibility of the election of a woman as President of the USA Dr. Gallup writes that in August, 1949 when the first Gallup Poll had been published the figures showed 33 per cent favouring the idea and 63 per cent opposing it with the remaining 4 per cent having "no opinion." The results of the last poll on this issue taken in March, 1955, disclosed that 52 per cent favoured the idea of having a woman President of the United States while 44 per cent opposed it. The "no opinion" remained constant at 4 per cent.

Dr. Gallup writes: "Women themselves are almost as prejudiced as men when it comes to the question of a woman President in the White House. Only a little more than half of the women (57 per cent in the latest poll) said they would vote for a woman President."

Rising Prices in the United Kingdom

A White Paper on The Economic Implications of Full Employment was recently published by the British Government focussing attention on

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problem of continually rising prices which full employment had brought with it and suggesting measures for adoption by the British Government to achieve reasonable price stability in the future. According to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Harold Macmillan, this was the fourth in a series of documents dealing with full employment in U.K. and related subjects. The first was the Coalition Government's White Paper, 1944, the second was published in January, 1947 and the third was the white Paper on personal incomes, wages and prices of February, 1948.

The White Paper said that the application of the policies set out in 1944 to be pursued after the war to maintain a higher stable level of employment had been quite successful so that except for a few weeks in 1947 unemployment rate in the U.K. as a whole never exceeded [illegible] per cent since the war and was now about only [illegible] per cent. Since 1946 the national output of goods and services rose by 30 per cent while industrial production rose by 56 per cent. There was, however, no proportionate rise in the standard of living because much of the increase in production had to be utilised for national reconstruction and investment, and for boosting up exports in order to make up rising import prices and the loss of pre-war income from overseas investment. A substantial programme of rearmament also claimed part of the increased productions.

In spite of the exhortations of the previous White papers for keeping down the prices by all possible means the prices of the final output of goods and services of all kinds in U.K. increased by about 50 per cent between 1946 and 1950. Of this increase, about one-seventh was attributable to the net effect of changes in subsidies and indirect taxes. The rest was determined by movements in import prices and in U.K. costs of production. Although the rise in import prices had been greater than the rise in cost of production, it was the latter which had been responsible for by far the greater part of the increase in final prices. The general level of prices with the increase in the import prices but it did not fall when import prices fell, because the gain from lower import prices had been more than offset by the rising trend of incomes and internal costs. Much of the rise in prices in U.K. were due to abnormal world conditions. But even apart from these abnormal factors there has been in the United Kingdom—to a greater extent than in many other countries—a continuing tendency for prices to rise as incomes increase faster than output."

The White Paper showed that between 1938 and 1948 while prices of consumer's goods and services roughly doubled, wages and salaries had rather more than doubled, and dividends of nationalized companies had risen by about one-tenth. Over the period 1948-55 while consumer prices had risen by nearly one-third, both wages and salaries and dividends increased by nearly two-thirds, dividends in the last few years having had caught up with wages and salaries. "Taking the period 1938-1955 as a whole, wages and salaries have increased by very much more than dividends; and the real value of wages and salaries has increased by 40 per cent over the period, while that of dividends has decreased by 30 per cent."

The White Paper said that in order to maintain full employment without inflation, it was the job of the United Kingdom Government to make continual adjustments in fiscal, monetary and social policies as the pressure of demand rose and fell. In a full employment economy it was possible for the employers to concede large wage increases without any curtailment of their profit margin—the cost being passed on to the consumer. But then there would appear inflation. The maintenance of successful full-employment economy was therefore dependent upon the self-restraint observed in making wage-claims, fixing profit margins and prices, so that total money income rose no faster than the total output.

The Kashmir Issue

The following news was published on the eve of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference at London:

"London, June 25—Mr. Mohammed Ali claimed here today Kashmir belonged 'by right to Pakistan, in accordance with the very basis of partition, in accordance with every other criterion —geographical, strategic and economic.'

"'Nevertheless,' Mr. Ali told a luncheon meeting in his honour by the Foreign Press Association, 'we do not claim that Kashmir must come to Pakistan.'

"'All we say is this, let the people of Kashmir be given an opportunity to decide their own fate by means of a free vote. India is bound under an international agreement to allow this. Let that solemn undertaking be carried out.'

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"The Pakistan Prime Minister asked why India was opposed to this plebiscite and then said: 'At various times various reasons have been advanced by the apologists for India. They have talked of the prosperity of that part of Kashmir which is under Indian occupation—an argument in the best colonial tradition. They have argued that since there has been no agreement on the prerequisites to a plebiscite during the last six or seven years and meanwhile other developments have taken place like military aid to Pakistan, no plebiscite can be held. This is an extraordinary plea.'

"He added: 'Both countries (India and Pakistan) can enjoy the fruits of freedom fully only when they have succeeded in raising the standard of living of their peoples conferring upon them the social and economic benefits which freedom brings.

"These objectives will remain largely unrealized if Pakistan and India continue to be at cross purposes living in fear of each other in a state of constant tension.

"Mr. Mohammed Ali when asked whether the Kashmir issue would be discussed at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, said that one of the working rules of the conference was that only questions which were mutually agreed should be raised there. 'It is quite a good rule—and so I will say no more about it.'

"He described the Kashmir problem 'a very important question for the Commonwealth as a whole.' There was little doubt, he said, that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers would be interested in a peaceful and just solution of it. In the past they had taken 'an active interest in attempting to find a solution to this question.'

"Mr. Ali said that he had stated time and again that the Kashmir problem had to be settled by peaceful means and added, 'I repeat that.' There had never been any question of Pakistan using the assistance of the regional organizations to which she belonged in settling the Kashmir problem militarily, he said.

"Replying to another question, the Pakistan Prime Minister said that the Kashmir problem differed in two fundamental respects from the issue of India's claim on Goa. On Kashmir there was an agreement that the question should be decided by a free and impartial plebiscite. Secondly, Kashmir was really a part of the problem of partition of the sub-continent and it was against that background that it should be looked at."

This statement, like hundreds of previous statements made by Pakistani spokesmen including the threats of *jehad* by sabre-rattling indicate how miserably our own Government has failed in countering this kind of propaganda.

Is it not time that the full story of the Pakistani planned raid on Kashmir, with loot, rape, arson and murder let loose on the innocent people of Kashmir, Moslem and Hindu alike, was published in full?

It is clearly seen that Pakistan wishes to take advantage of the reticence of India. We think there can be no communal repurcussions now so let the truth be told.

Suez Canal Zone Freed

The following is the news report about the handing over of the Suez Canal Zone to Egypt:

"London, June 18.—Lieutenant-Colonel Nasser, Egyptian Prime Minister, hoisted the Egyptian flag over Navy House at Port Said today to mark the end of Britain's 74 years of occupation of the Suez Canal Zone.

"He smiled broadly as he performed the ceremony marking the beginning of four days of festivities to greet this new era for Egypt. Navy House was the last installation in the Canal Zone to be occupied by the British forces before their departure last Tuesday.

"Colonel Nasser proclaimed Egypt free and independent to the frenzied acclamation of the people there and the shrieking of sirens from ships of many nations in the port. Guns silenced since a British bombardment in 1882 boomed today as part of the ceremony.

"A new Palestine Arab Army led by commando units held a parade in Gaza today to mark the evacuation. The director of the Gaza Municipality, speaking 'on behalf of Palestine' proclaimed the Palestinians' support for Colonel Nasser as 'the leader of the struggle until Palestine and Algeria are rescued.' He told the troops: 'The day of your return to your homeland is approaching. Israel is only a fish which will be overwhelmed by the Arab ocean.'

"In Cairo hundreds of thousands of Egyptians from the provinces crowded the streets and squares. Two hundred Egyptian

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political prisoners were released today, including many described by the authorities as 'Communists.' This was in accordance with a promise by Colonel Nasser to free political detainees by evacuation day. Criminal prisoners who had served more than half their sentences were also released under a general amnesty."

Nuclear Research in Russia

The news report given below carries a hint but clear significance, in the race in nuclear research.

The U.S.S.R. seems to be confident now of holding her own in this work, or else there would not have been so much of an "open door" invitation to the visiting scientists from the U.S.A.

It also indicates a new orientation in the attitude towards atomic warfare, where the U.S.S.R. is concerned.

New York, June 21.—American scientists, who have returned from a tour of laboratories in the U.S.S.R. said that the Soviet Union would overtrip the rest of the world in pure nuclear research within the next decade.

The scientists, who went to the Soviet Union on an invitation to participate in a scientific conference in Moscow, based their conclusion on their first-hand knowledge of the research carried out in Soviet laboratories and their talks with Soviet scientists.

Whilst they were in Russia, they said, they mixed freely with about 1,000 leading Soviet physicists and were entertained in the homes of their Russian colleagues. They were also permitted to visit any laboratory they liked.

'They asked us to tell them what we wanted to see. We saw everything we wanted. They answered every question. We were permitted to bring our cameras right into their experimental laboratories and take pictures of everything we wanted.'

Professor Wiesskopf, of the Massachussetts Institute of Technology, who speaks fluent Russian, said that Soviet research was already benefiting from the return to the universities and institutes of scientists who had been held in labour camps.

The scientists also reported that the Soviet Union had its own version of the "Openheimer case" (Dr. Openheimer, the American atomic physicist, who played a prominent part in the development of the atom bomb but later opposed the development of the hydrogen bomb and was dismissed from his post of head of the research team of the Atomic Energy Commission on the ground of being a security risk.)

Russia had parallel cases, the scientists said. One of them said: "I learned of Russian scientists who were subjected to similar treatment—or worse—by the Soviet Government because they refused to engage in certain lines of weapons research which the Government demanded."

Humanity and "Fall-out"

There have been some press reports recently about the radiation contamination from atom-bomb test "fall-outs" at distant places like India. The news given below is interesting in that connection:

London, June 13.—A Medical Research Council committee of medical experts and atom scientists announced here last night that the danger to humanity was "neglible" from external radiation caused by hydrogen and atom bomb test explosions.

But the committee gave a warning about internal radiation, which was beginning to accumulate in human bones.

This comes from strontium-90, one of the constituents of a "fall-out," which retains radio-activity for long periods and is deposited on the ground. It may contaminate drinking water or agricultural crops.

"At the present level, no detectable increase in the incidence of ill-effects is to be expected," the committee's report said.

But the possibility could not be ignored that if the rate of firing increased and greater numbers of thermo-nuclear (hydrogen) weapons were used, ill-effects might eventually be produced in a small number of the population. Absorbed into human bones, it could cause cancer.

The committee, probing the whole field of radio-activity, made a discovery which poses a big new problem for medical science. This is that radiation from some types of X-ray examinations is more than 22 times as heavy as that from an H-bomb fall-out.

Perturbed by this finding, the team of experts is now urging a review of medical diagnosis by radiology.

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Riots in Ceylon

The recent riots in Ceylon, which were brought under control subsequent to the news report given below, also have a racial complexion. The present government is friendly to India, so we refrain from any comments beyond hoping that amendments would be made in the Bill that caused the flare-up.

Colombo, June 15.—After a record all-night session the House of Representatives this morning passed by 65 votes to 28 the controversial Bill to make Sinhalese the single official language of Ceylon, as reports trickled in from the Tamil areas of Eastern Province of large-scale violence, arson, sabotage, and assaults.

Policemen returning from trouble spots in Eastern Province said that the Gal Oya Valley, colonized by Sinhalese and Tamil peasants, was like a "battlefield."

The President of the Federal Party, Mr. C. Vanniasingham, said he had received a cable from the M.P. for Batticaloa, main town in Eastern Province, that there was a reign of terror in Gal Oya. Thousands of panic-stricken peasants of both communities were fleeing from the valley, some taking refuge in the near-by jungles.

According to the M.P., a crowd broke into the large magazine in the valley and took away ammunition and sticks of dynamite. The police have arrested 23 Sinhalese and a Tamil in Batticaloa who were caught in the act of preparing bombs. The police have also averted attempts to dynamite important bridges in the valley.

Armoured cars and troops have been sent from Colombo to reinforce the troops and police in the valley. An unofficial curfew has been imposed in the area. Military doctors have also been sent to attend to the injured there.

Secret Treaties in Ceylon ?

The following news from Colombo throws a curious light on the workings of a ministry that was under the influence of the British:

"Colombo, June 13.—Mr. Bandarnaike, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, today accused the previous Government of Sir John Kotelawala of having destroyed important papers relating to internal public security service and, possibly, those relating to British bases in the country.

"'With the exception of some documents that were found fallen inside the crevices of the desk, which are somewhat interesting and intriguing, all other papers relating to internal public security service were destroyed by the previous administration,' he told his weekly press conference here.

"Mr. Bandarnaike said: 'There was a defence agreement with the U.K., which made no reference whatsoever to the bases. It only said that the two countries would co-operate.'

"It was only a general phrase that mutual agreement the two countries would each other. Under this, some arrangement been made in regard to Katunayake and Trincomalee. If so, I do not have a scrap of paper on the subject.

"It may be that while the previous Government was assuring in Parliament that no bases were secretly granted, it had come to some understanding granting bases of which even documents are not available. I do not know whether this is the case or not, because no papers available."

The S.E.A.D.O. Meeting

The following statement by the C.-in-C. of Britain in the Far East, is worthy of note in view of the fast changing outlook of the political world of Asia:

"Singapore, June 11.—General Sir Charles Loewen, Commander-in-Chief of Britain's Far East Land Forces, told 80 military planners of the South-East Asia Defence Organization countries today that S.E.A.D.O. was 'a shield of freedom.'

"Opening the third S.E.A.D.O. military planning conference near here, he declared the organization was not a 'threat to peace,' as some of its critics claimed. It was designed as a shield under which people could freely develop their own ways of life.

"The conference is a continuation of the military planning talks held at Pearl Harbour in November and at Melbourne earlier this year.

"After today's public opening, the [illegible] session will continue behind closed doors at the Sembawang Royal Naval Air Station. Countries represented are Pakistan, Britain, the U.S.A., France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Thailand.

"Lt-Col Dawson, chief of the New Zealand delegation, told the conference that New Zealand, being a small country, 'must rely on collective arrangements for her own ultimate defence.'

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"Brigadier Haider of Pakistan said his country would do all it could to strengthen S.E.A.D.O., because peace 'can be guaranteed only through strength'.

"'Our aim is to sufeguard the peace and security of the treaty area and prevent aggression from any quarter,' he stated.

"The leader of the Philippines delegation, Brigadier-General Cruz, said, in his country 'there is an air of impatience and a growing feeling that nothing concrete is being done by our organization.'

"He said members of S.E.A.D.O. 'close to the potential area of aggression' wanted to turn the alliance into a 'vital and vigorous organization'.

"'Those of us who live close to these potential areas of aggression feel and see the threat against our way of life.'

"'This threat varies in techniques, but the objective remains the same.'

"In the afternoon there was a closed session." —Reuter.

Pakistan and Russia

The following news would be of interest to the S.E.A.D.O. countries:

"Karachi, June 27.—The Pakistani Government tonight announced the signing this afternoon in Karachi of a Pakistan-Russian trade agreement.

"The announcement said that 'among goods destined for export from Pakistan to the U.S.S.R. are jute and jute manufactures, cotton, wool, hides and skins and tanned leather, tea and other commodities.'

"Among goods included for export from the U.S.S.R. to Pakistan, the announcement added, are various kinds of industrial equipment, machines, tools, and instruments, tractors and agricultural machinery, ball and roller bearings, metals, chemicals, petroleum and petroleum products, timber and other commodities.'

"It did not mention the quantities involved or the values of the items to be imported. It also did not mention the duration of the agreement but it is understood the agreement is for a year and subsequently renewable every year by mutual agreement.

"All payments will be made in Pakistani rupees, the announcement said. It added: 'In order to facilitate trade under the agreement, the Government of the U.S.S.R. will shortly be setting up trade representation in Pakistan located in Karachi.'

"The announcement said that 'the agreement provides for developing trade relations between the two countries on principles of equality and mutual benefit. Under the agreement the two countries will extend the most favoured nation treatment to each other in matters affecting imports and exports, etc'."

Flare-up in Argentina

The position in Argentina has again demonstrated its instability since the deposition of Peron the dictator by a military junta.

"Buenos Aires, June 11.—Fourteen military officers and men were executed by firing squads during yesterday's short-lived revolt in Argentina, the Presidential Press office announced today.

"Colonel Congorno, said to have been the rebel leader in La Plata, where the revolt broke out, was captured 'after attempting to escape' and was executed under the country's martial law decree a few hours later.

"Other executed leaders, it was stated, were Colonel Cortines and Colonel Ibazeta, who led the revolt in campo de Mayo.

"The Government early today also announced that it had clamped a 9 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew on Buenos Aires Province, centre of the rebellion. Buenos Aires city itself was exempted.

"The revolt is believed to have had the aim of returning former President Peron to power."

Pineau on the Cold War

In view of the discussion in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference now going on in London, the following is of interest:

"Paris, June 12.—The French Foreign Minister, M. Pineau, said here today he believed the chief reasons for the 'new look' in Soviet foreign policy were economic.

"He said that the economic factors which made for a change in Soviet policy had existed before Stalin's death but Stalin's policy had prevented their being taken into account.

"After Stalin's death the new leaders of Russia realized that the country's internal resources were insufficient, that they could not live any longer cut off from the rest of the world and

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that contacts with the West would enable them to raise Soviet living standards more rapidly.

"Russia had also gained a certain feeling of security through possession of the hydrogen bomb.

"In reply to the Soviet 'new look,' M. Pineau said, the West should finally end the cold war, try to reach agreement on disarmament, concentrate on economic problems, particularly aid to backward countries, and get rid of the idea that 'all countries that are not with us are against us.'

"'I think that all those that are not against us are with us.'

"M. Pineau said it would on the other hand be very dangerous to neglect collective security. The West must not appear weak. 'We must and we do strongly favour American presence in Europe.'"

Hindu Succession Bill

With the passing of the Bill, the numerous anomalies that surround the term "Hindu" will be eradicated to a great extent. In marriage and inheritance, there were so many different practices, between caste and caste and between national groups, that no general statement could be made about the basic laws. Now at least there would be some uniformity, as the news below indicates:

"New Delhi, June 18.—The Hindu Succession Bill which was passed by Parliament has received the assent of the President.

"The enactment of the Bill completes the most important part of the Hindu Code suggested by the Rau Committee in 1947. The first instalment was the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, dealing with the law relating to marriage and divorce among Hindus.

"The Hindu Succession Act is intended to evolve a fairly uniform system of law in the entire country with respect to intestate succession. The list of heirs has been rationalized and can be said to be based on the love and affection theory. There are several notable features of this Act which make it a landmark in the social history of India.

"The Act will apply to all Hindus—a term which is defined to include all persons not professing the Muslim, Christian, Parsi or Jewish faith.

"The biggest change made by the Act is that women are now eligible to inherit and hold property in the same way as men. In the past even where women inherited some property they had only limited rights over it; they could not, for instance, sell it except in certain circumstances and they could use it only in their lifetime. The present Act has removed these disabilities.

"The Act has for the first time provided the daughter with a share in the father's property, both self-acquired and ancestral.

"Certain safeguards have been provided in the Act for preserving intact family dwelling houses."

The Next Elections

The following press release is published for record, in view of the coming elections. It would handicap splinter groups undoubtedly.

"New Delhi, June 9.—The Election Commission will in future take no official notice of local, regional or countrywide electoral alliances between political parties, whether they are recognized or not, and whether such alliances are reported to the Commission by the parties concerned or not, an official Press release said today.

"The release, which specified procedure to be followed by the Commission in future in certain matters, also announced that the Election Commission had restored the recognition of the Praja Party, Andhra, as a State party.

"The procedure was being announced, the release said, so as to avoid confusion of the kind that had arisen in the case of the Praja Party of Andhra, resulting in the withdrawal of recogniton from the party in February this year.

"The release said that the Commission had re-examined the case on a representation made by the party and had restored recognition to it as a State party. Accordingly, the symbol of the 'rising sun' allotted to it would no longer be a free symbol in Andhra State for future elections."

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STANDARD OF LIVING IN INDIA

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By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A., (Geog.), M.Com.

The economic status of any social group is determined by the amount of wealth and sources of income, social position, and the mode of living. This economic measure to a great extent determines the standard of living of any group or society. The mode of living in any country depends primarily on the fundamental factors of food, shelter and clothing, and an individual's power to get them. But in different countries the standard of living varies, due to the physiography of the various regions, racial characteristics of their people, and the differing values of money. Even in the same country the standard of living may vary from region to region and from one group to another due to occupational stratification, social stratification and environmental life.

There are more forces than one which control and regulate the mode of living of any social group in a country. Since a society undergoes modification with every change in economic, social and political life, the standard of living of the people must necessarily change with each such modification. The concept of "standard of living" has, therefore, been elaborated by many economists and now its wider sense has become fraught with various social and psychological values.

A "standard of living" is not the same as the usual manner of living of a class or a community. It is an attitude towards, or a way of regarding, a given mode of living. It is the "scale of preferences," the plan for material things which directs our expenditure into certain channels, and satisfies our sense of propriety and decency as a mode of living.[1]

The factors that enter into the concept of standard of living consist of the following elements:

(a) There are those elements which are regarded as possessing survival value for individuals, food, clothing, and medical service;

(b) The "conventional necessities" or "prestige values" which indicate the existence of social status and have survival value for the group, such as a clergyman's coat or the academic cap and gown; they are symbols to designate social status and enable the individual to identify himself with the group;

(c) There are those further elements which represent the group concept of welfare, including values which mark the particular bias or interest of the group, whether puritanic or commercial.[2]

The normal standard governed by an average income is one which conduces to healthy and symmetrical development, physical efficiency and mental and moral growth of a person. That measure of necessities and scale of comfort which a person has come to regard as indispensable to his happiness, and to secure which he will make any reasonable sacrifice, is the true standard of living. It must be noted that the rise in the standard of living implies, "an increase of intelligence, energy and self-respect, leading to more care and judgment in expenditure and to an avoidance of food and drink that gratify the appetite but afford no strength, and of ways of living that are unwholesome physically and morally."

Rural Vs. Urban Standard

The following points may be enumerated as the chief features of the rural and the urban standards of living:

1. The cash income and expenditure of farmers and peasants are low, because of the possibilities for direct appropriation from nature of many of the items in their living, such as food, fuel and house rent.

2. The single family dwellings, open air, healthy surroundings, and comparative safety for children, are things which may be bought in towns only by the expenditure of a large sum of money. The greater quantities of food consumed by farm families are difficult to evaluate.

3. As regards food consumption, rural classes need more food because they do more physical work and live outdoors. They consume more food in the course of a year, but it is of a poor quality. They eat coarse grains, pulses and occasionally vegetables, while urban classes consume more wheat, vegetables, meat and dairy products. Moreover, the direct consumption of food produced in the farms lead to a greater

1. Hazel Kyrk: *A Theory of Consumption*, p. 175.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

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use of coarse food without variety, while the urban classes have a variety of refined foods available with a higher vitamin content and sufficient calories. The following table shows the proportion of food materials and calories in various working class diets in India :[3]

Distribution of Quantities of Food Materials and Calories in Working Class Diets in India

	Proteins in grammes	Fats in grammes	Carbohydrates in grammes	Total calories
U. P. Textile worker	90	45	530	2800
Miner in Bihar	75.88	22	551.75	2694
Bombay woman mill worker	57	38.0	413	2234
Bengali Jute worker	66	41	526	2752

Only a small amount of clothing is required in the country. Most of it is work-clothing which is standardized (a loin cloth) and is unaffected by changes in style and fashion. Rural people are satisfied with home-made things that do not involve much expense. Their clothing requirements are not only few but seasonal and periodical.

Thus we find that so far as the physiological needs are concerned the average standard of living of the rural population is lower than that of the urban. Moreover, the urban families have a certain percentage of a greater net spendable income available for saving and non-physiological purposes like social and religious purposes, recreation, education of children, etc. The living of the peasants and farmers is inseparable from the business of the farm, because their surplus spendable income is first distributed between business and living expenses before the individual items of living are given preference. But urban business life and home life are widely separated. Because of these combinations the rural class has less incentive for saving and investment for rainy days. The same conclusion may be drawn from a comparison of the property accumulated by the rural and urban groups. Although the agricultural class is to a certain extent proprietorial, nevertheless the average wealth and income of the peasant proprietors fall much below that of the city proprietorial classes, their income being more nearly equal to that of the urban labouring classes. Moreover, the religious, political and recreational activities enter as [illegible] into urban budgets in a greater degree than [illegible] do into rural budgets, because people in rural areas have neither a surplus spendable income [illegible] facilities for such things. Therefore, we conclude that the proportion of budget expenses use for [illegible] physiological purposes averages less in the country than in the city; hence, the proportion of the budget expended for items of current consumption other than so-called basic necessities is the best index of the level of living.

Growth of Family and the Lowering of the Standard of Living

India stands at the bottom of the ladder in respect of the standard of living of its masses when compared with that of the Western countries. India has such a low standard of living that it touches the minimum of subsistence. Sir J. Megaw aptly observes :

"It is useless to tell people to drink more milk or to eat more fruit and vegetables, unless we show them how these articles can be obtained in addition to and not instead of the part of the [illegible] diet. Already many people cannot get enough rice or other bulky cheap foods to satisfy their hunger. To suggest expensive foods to these people would be [illegible] as reasonable as the remark attributed to Queen Marie Antoinette who, when told that the people of Paris were clamouring for bread, was said to have replied 'If they have no bread, why don't they eat cake?'"

In many parts of "Northern India, the industrial workers cannot afford anything more than pulse, gram and coarse sugar for the mid-day fast, the evening meal generally consisting of wheat flour, [illegible] and lent vegetables; oil, ghee and fruit enter [illegible] into their dietaries. In the rice-eating areas, as [illegible] or Bengal, the position is not substantially different; a meal of cold rice with salt or breakfast, rice and lentils mid-day and repeated at night; with very [illegible] vegetables, practically no fruit, milk or ghee."[5]

Very large numbers are unable to pay for the education or medical treatment [illegible] healthy dwelling houses are rare, specially in [illegible] towns. A large number of artisans and labourers and even small cultivators possess insufficient clothing for cold weather, while in many parts of the country the food of the labourers is [illegible] sufficient to enable them to do a full day's work.[6]

The low standard of living in India

3. R. K. Mukerjee : *Indian Working Class*, p. 271.

4. J. Megaw : *Social Service in India*, p. 210.

5. Shiva Rao: *Industrial Worker in India*, p. 61.

6. Moreland : *Introduction to Economics*,

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largely due to poverty, illiteracy, custom and tradition to which the masses are blindly wedded, and an unchecked population growth without a proportionate increase in the means of production, or facilities for migration and colonization. The restraining power of a high standard of living upon an increase of population has clearly failed in India, where social customs and traditions, rather than economic postulates, determine the growth of families. This point of view was strong also among the early immigrants to the U.S.A., but a decline in the birth rate of the second generation was easily noticeable with the correspondingly large increase in the income of the family.[7] A similar decrease in birth rate in the 18th centuary in England, France and Germany witnessed a parallel advance in the high standard of living. But the rapid increase of population in India is due to the economic condition, the low standard of living of the exceedingly harsh economic exploitation of the people, to the social subjection of women and the resultant lack of education and perhaps, last of all, to the religious doctrines which bless marriages.[8] In India the rapid growth of population is discernible in the lower strata of society for it is a well-known fact that the tendency of multiplication is greatest when men have no stake in existence, where they have no hopes of improving their condition, and their children if born would not be more miserable than their parents. Poverty accentuates the progress of multiplication; multiplication intensifies poverty. But when some chance of better condition is visible, when a better education, better education, some savings and capital accumulation appear within reach, when it seems that more mouths to feed mean a lessening opportunity of utilising such an opportunity, then the propensity for multiplication is more and more held in check.[9]

A country has a higher standard of living when its people are prudent and restrain the desire for family life until they may also satisfy other reasonable wants. But a country will always have a low standard of living if the needs of its people are subordinated to the sexual instinct, *i.e.* when its people undertake the responsibility of a family before they are economically able to support it. Not only does a large family tend to diminish the volume of personal and social satisfaction which the parents enjoy, but an ever-increasing influx of rural population into urban areas pulls down the standard from the margin of existence to that of starvation. Moreover, an increasing army of proletariat render it difficult for the better class to improve their own standards, because "the standard or living of each man rises slowly, constantly sucked down by the lower standards of the masses."[10] The enormous increase in the ranks of immigrants, unspecified and landless competing wage-earners, who are to a great extent unemployed or under-employed, has greatly reduced the standard among the masses of the working people in this country, without giving promise to improve their own condition. The difference in the size of the family tends to reduce the amount of spendable income per adult unit in the rural family. The average number of children per family in India is 4.5 against 4.3 in rural areas and 4.2 in urban families; and the proportion of the total number of children surviving per mille born, is appreciably higher in rural areas. It should be noted that an increase in the number of non-working dependents, specially in lower-class rural families is a great drain on their family income. The ultimate result of this growth is that the proportion of the budget expended for the items of basic necessities like food, clothing and housing, is increased at the expense of non-physiological expenses like education, health and medical and recreation facilities. It should therefore be clear that a large-size family on the one hand, and the growth of non-working dependents on the other, without an increase, or proportionate increase, in the spendable income of rural classes, has considerably lowered their standard of living.

Family Budgets and Standard of Living

The family budget presents a picture of the economic standard of living of the family and also gives some index of those phases of living that may be called uneconomic in the sense that though they are not translatable into money, yet they serve to satisfy the desires of the family. It shows the sources from which income is

R. Jenkins: *The American Standard of Living*, p. 6.
Louis de Villbiss: *Birth Control*, p. 83.
Marshall: *Principles of Economics*, Vol. II, p. 231.

10. J. R. Commons: *Races and Immigrants*, p. 112.

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derived and the purpose and channels of expenditure. Economists generally divide the nature and sources of income into wages and salaries of labouring classes and employees, interests and profits of capitalists and rents of landlords. The income of the rural class, with the exception of the hired labourer, represents a combination of almost all kinds of income. The net spendable income of the rural class is low, because of the possibility for direct appropriation of many of the items of living (such as food, rent and fuel from nature). Similarly, many items of expenditure do not enter into the budget. It is interesting to note that in Switzerland, 61 per cent of the total income of the rural families is in cash and the rest of the income is derived from natural products that are either given by them by their employers or are secured from their farms. Similarly, in America, Hawlchrone found that 38 per cent of the farmers' needs were supplied by the farm. But in India the conditions are quite different. The agricultural serf gets only food and housing but no cash; the landless field-worker or the unspecified labourer recieves cash wages but no allowance, while the cultivating labourer receives money income through appropriations from his farm.

The comparative figures of percentage of total expenditure used for different items throw ample light on the standard of living maintained by the working classes in rural areas. Below are given the family budgets of the agricultural in South India :[11]

(*Table—See below*)

A striking feature about the above budget is the large proportion spent on food by all classes. As income rises, the proportion spent on food falls. The working classes spend all their income on the bare necessities of life. Similarly, an enquiry conducted by Sri Deshpande and Dr. Ghurye into the economic condition of 145 families in four villages of Kolaba District also reveals the same sad tale that the largest portion of the total expenditure is devoted to food only. The authors conclude that there are reasons to believe that 56 per cent of the families live below the minimum level of subsistence, and that comforts are so few that they may be said to be non-existent.[12] Dr. Bhagat's enquiry in the Bhiwandi Taluka (Thana District) in 1939 into the family budgets of 527 families out of 760 in 32 villages is found to yield similar results. The families were divided into three groups according as they were (a) families possessing or cultivating more than 10 acres of land, (b) families possessing or cultivating at least 5 acres of land or having some other income, and (c) families which were either landless and subsisted on labour or cultivated insignificant plots. An analysis of the budgets of these three groups reveals the following results :[13]

Vadamalaipuram

Items	Rent-receivers			Cultivating land-holders			Tenant-labourers		
	Rs.	as.	Per cent	Rs.	as.	Per cent	Rs.	as.	Per cent
Food	639	15	59.1	302	0	63.6	125	15	73.8
Tobacco, drink	64	15	6.4	30	13	6.3	8	10	5.0
Fuel and lighting	36	2	3.2	11	0	3.1	3	2	2.0
Clothing, footwear	131	2	11.9	38	0	7.4	11	8	7.1
Household utensils	10	0	1.0	4	9	1.0	1	1	1.0
Other items	201	6	18.4	88	11	18.6	9	13	6.1

Expenditure Per Capita After Reducing Children and Families to Adult Equivalents

Items	A				B				C				All amounts			
	Amount			Per cent	Amount			Per cent	Amount			Per cent	Amount			Per cent
Food	62	0	9	63.3	54	0	8	67.5	45	7	0	71.2	53	3	1	66.[illegible]
Clothing	10	15	0	11.2	8	6	0	10.1	5	8	7	8.6	8	2	10	10.[illegible]
Medicine	3	7	5	3.6	2	6	0	3.1	1	10	9	2.5	2	8	2	3.[illegible]
Religious Ceremony	1	12	7	1.8	1	10	1	2.0	1	7	9	2.4	1	10	8	2.[illegible]
Tea, sugar Tobacco	11	15	0	12.2	7	13	5	9.6	5	8	4	8.6	8	2	4	10.[illegible]
Miscellaneous	7	11	8	7.9	0	9	0	7.4	4	4	0	6.7	6	0	1	7.[illegible]

11. Thomas & Ramkrishnan : *Some South Indian Villages—A Re-Survey*, p. 395.
12. Quoted by Wadia & Merchant in *Our Economic Problem*, p. 237.
13. M. G. Bhagat : *Farmer—His Wealth and Welfare*, p. 178.

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Dr. Lorenzo also gives us the results of the survey of family budgets of three typical groups of agricultural labourers in Oudh.[11] The obvious conclusion he arrived at is that the agricultural labourers spend more than 60 per cent of their income on food, alone, whereas this figure stands at 39 for U.S.A., 55 for Russia, and 56 for England,[12] which is an index of the low standard of living of our workers. In the case of well-to-do tenants this percentage is not high as in the case of landless field-workers who stand on the lowest rung of the economic ladder.

Another important feature of these budgets is that in the majority of cases, the percentage of expenditure on physiological and basic requirements is the highest whereas the percentage of expenditure on non-physiological and secondary requirements is almost negligible. However, the percentage of expenditure on non-physiological and secondary requirements is higher in the case of urban industrial workers than in the case of agricultural workers in rural areas which again is a sure index of the low standard of living of the agricultural labourers as compared with their confereres in their urban areas:

	Per cent of expenditure Physiological and Basic Requirements	Non-Physiological and Secondary Requirements
Average Agricultural Worker (Rural)	88.9	11.1
Average Industrial Worker (Urban)	73.8	26.2

According to the findings of the All-India Rural Labour Enquiry Committee, the income per agricultural labour family is Rs. 447 and the average annual expenditure (including Rs. 7 incurred on ceremonies). There is thus a deficit of Rs. 14. An idea of the level of living can be had from the fact that out of Rs. 461 spent on recurring items of expenditure, as much as Rs. 393 or 85.3 per cent is spent on food and Rs. 29 or 6.3 per cent on clothing. The average annual expenditure on the rest of his necessities, viz., shelter, fuel, light and miscellaneous items like tobacco, liquor, washing soap and medicine, etc., came to only Rs. 39 or 8.4 per cent of the total expenditure. The following statement gives the actual and percentage expenditure on consumption groups for the different zones and for India as a whole :[16]

(*Table—See next page*)

Agricultural labour forms an integral part of the rural population and as such their economic condition is intimately linked up with that of other rural families. In the following table, a comparison has been made of the agricultural labour families with all rural families in respect of the level and content of their living :[17]

Annual per Capita Expenditure (%)

	Consumption Group	Agricultural Labour families (A.L.E. 1950-51)	Rural families N. S. S. (1949-50)
I	Food	85.3	71.4
	Food-grains	4.0	47.7
	Pulses	1.0	3.9
	Vegetables	2.3	2.5
	Edible Oil	0.7	4.1
	Milk and Milk Products	1.4	8.4
	Meat, Fish and Eggs	1.1	2.3
II	Fuel and Lighting	0.8	3.5
III	House-rent	6.3	0.6
IV	Clothing and Foot-wear	6.5	13.4
V	Services and Miscellaneous	6.5	11.1
	Tobacco	2.3	1.9
	Intoxicants	0.7	0.8
	Total Expenditure	100.0	100.0

Judged by the per capita expenditure of Rs. 107 of agricultural labour families as against Rs. 204 of all rural families, the level of living of agricultural labour families is deplorably low.

Standard of Living of Industrial Workers. Family Budgets

It would not be out of place if we just compare the standard of living of the agricultural workers with that of the industrial workers. It will be found that the industrial workers are much better off than the agricultural population. Below is given the analysis of some family budgets of industrial workers in India:[18] (1943-46).

11. A. M. Lorenzo : *Agricultural Labour and Market Gardening* pp. 63-65.
12. Zimmerman & Galpin : *Systematic Source Book in Sociology*, Vol. III, p. 372.

16. Dr. B. Ramamurti : *Agricultural Labour—How They Work and Live* (D. L. 261), pp. 31, 45 and 64-65.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
18. R. K. Mukerjee : *Indian Working Class* (1951), p. 267.

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Average Annual Expenditure Per Agricultural Labour Family

	Average annual income per family	Average annual expenditure on: Food		Clothing and foot-wear		Fuel and lighting		House rent and repairs		Services and miscellaneous		Total	Average debt per family
	Rs.	Rs.	%	Rs.	%	Rs.	%	Rs.	%	Rs.	%	Rs.	Rs.
Northern India	551	464	84.7	43	7.8	6	1.1	4	0.7	31	5.7	548	[illegible]
East India	506	464	87.9	26	4.9	6	1.1	5	1.0	27	5.1	528	[illegible]
South India	382	323	81.3	27	6.8	5	1.3	5	1.3	37	9.3	397	[illegible]
West India	391	327	83.4	34	8.7	7	1.8	2	0.5	22	5.6	392	[illegible]
Central India	417	374	87.4	26	6.1	4	0.9	1	0.2	23	5.4	428	[illegible]
N.-W. India	651	571	84.7	52	7.7	6	0.9	3	0.5	42	6.2	674	[illegible]
All India	447	393	85.3	29	6.3	5	1.1	4	0.8	30	6.5	461	[illegible]

This table also reveals that 44.5 per cent of the families (or 7.8 million) were in debt, the average debt being Rs. 105 per family. The main purpose for which the debts were incurred was consumption which accounted for Rs. 78 out of the debt of Rs. 105. This shows the insufficiency of the income of agricultural labour families to meet even their primary necessities.

Locality	No. of budgets	Average income Rs. a. p.	Percentage of expenditure on: Food	Cloth	Rent	Fuel light	H. requisites	Miscellaneous
Calcutta	2707	70 8 4	65.66	7.74	6.71	7.28	0.06	12.55
Ahmedabad	1820	134 5 8	52.74	12.51	5.40	8.99	2.11	18.25
Bombay	2030	87 2 3	51.96	11.72	7.20	10.16	0.50	18.46
Sholapur	778	66 15 6	48.75	14.47	3.64	12.20	0.96	19.68
Jamshedpur	691	92 13 3	65.76	10.07	4.69	5.43	0.36	13.69
Jharia	999	52 0 0	77.70	6.56	0.00	0.47	0.63	14.64
Cuttack	168	43 8 0	67.15	6.88	2.97	8.86	1.64	12.60
Ajmer	375	62 12 8	63.74	7.90	2.97	8.17	0.50	16.72
Delhi	581	66 4 11	60.98	9.18	6.35	8.84	3.27	11.43
Kanpur	729	25 8 6	48.12	7.44	8.76	6.02	1.75	27.01

A comparative study of the percentage figures in the above table reveals that nearly two-fifths of the families in Bombay, three-fourths in Ahmedabad, are in receipt of income exceeding Rs. 100 a month. The corresponding figures for Jharia and Sholapur are 3 per cent and 11 per cent respectively. Only 1.72 per cent of the families in Ahmedabad, slightly less than one-third in Bombay, two-thirds in Sholapur and more than four-fifths in Jharia are receiving less than Rs. 70 per month.

All that this table tells us is that taking an average income of Rs. 73 per month about 60 per cent of the income is absorbed in food which works out an expenditure of Rs. 44 per month for the family. If we consider the first four items of expenditure in the table the average expenditure amounts to over 75 per cent of the total income. If we include other necessary expenses like washing, bedding, and household requisites, the percentage will increase to 85 per cent. Thus the proportion spent on the necessaries of life is an evidence of the inadequacy of the wages and the narrow margin between subsistence and semi-starvation.

The percentage of expenditure on the various groups among the workers in different industrial centres in India may be compared with the respect of the working class family budgets in some foreign countries, a detailed analysis which is given below :[10]

Analysis of Family Budgets of Industrial Workers in Some Foreign Countries

Locality	Annual	Food	Cloth	Rent	Heating
China—					
Peiping	$ 210	58.2	4.6	9.4	11.8
Shanghai	—	55.8	7.4	8.5	6.5
Japan—					
Land workers	Average	41.2	7.9	15.2	6.0
Industrial workers	,,	38.5	11.3	13.6	4.1
U.S.A. Farm families	$1983	39.5	13.8	11.6	7.2
Lowest bare existing	$ 744	48.2	18.2	19.3	6.7
Great Britain—					
Agricultural	Wages not exceeding	48.4	9.1	8.3	8.6
Isdustrial	£ 250	40.1	9.5	12.7	7.6
Germany	—	46.6	13.5	10.6	3.8
Belgium		59.6	15.8	6.4	5.0
Netherlands	—	40.1	9.0	15.8	5.7

19. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

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It will be evident from the foregoing table that the percentage of expenditure on such necessaries as food and clothing in respect of the total family expenditure is far higher in India than in most industrial countries in the world. According to the well-known Law of Engels this is indicative of the lowest plane of living of the industrial workers associated with the greatest urgency of food requirements as compared with other needs of the family, *e.g.*, the percentage of expenditure on food and clothing is 60.72 in Bombay, 66.45 in Nagpur, 67.03 in Jamshedpur, 74.7 in Madras and 74.4 in Calcutta. Even in plantations and coal fields the living standard is still lower as shown by the overwhelmingly high percentages of expenditure on necessities, 80.3 and 79.7 respectively.

Wages and Living Standards

Almost all over the country the method of wage-payment differs from class to class and from place to region. Both the cash and crop wages are paid on daily or monthly basis. Now the growing tendency is to substitute cash for grain payments. Besides receiving the wages in cash, the worker sometimes also takes a plot of land free rent-free or at a nominal rental in lieu of wages. Since a large number of non-food articles enter into the family budget of a labourer, cash wages are supplanting other forms of payment even in remote rural areas. But the rates of wages prevalent in different parts of the country are so low that the majority of agricultural labourers live in a state verging on starvation. The wages are not uniform. They differ with the nature of the job, such as ploughing, sowing, weeding, reaping, shading, cattle-tending, irrigation, etc. Further the wages of female labourers are lower but no such distinction is made when the payment is made in kind. It is very pathetic to see that everywhere the wage level is very low in agriculture compared with industry, as will be clear from the table given below for some countries in the world before the war :

Wages Per Week in Pre-war Conditions

	Year	Unit	Industrial wages Male	Industrial wages Female	Agricultural wages Male	Agricultural wages Female
U.S.A.	1939	$	22.08	13.44	8.15	5.44
Canada	1939	$	36.72	22.80	8.96	——
Germany	1938	Sh.	69.00	32.50	34.58	——
Italy	1938	Fr.	297.12	164.16	150.96	106.80
Poland	1940	RM	34.13	22.94	10.32	8.52
Italy	1935	Lire	84.48		54.72	34.64
Japan	1936	Yen	14.49	4.43	3.51	2.54
Australia	1939	Sh.	104.50	57.00	83.42	——
New Zealand	1939	Sh.	93.30		65.00	——
U.S.S.R.	1935	Rub.	45.30		37.22	——
India	1939	As.	88.46		27.50	——

There is also a wide disparity between the wages of industrial and agricultural workers in India and in foreign countries, but also there is a great disparity in India itself, *e.g.*, the average earnings of the cotton weavers in 1937 were between 25 and 30 rupees and those of the spinnrs ranged between 14 and 20 rupees. The jute spinners on an average earn Rs. 17|4|- and the weavers Rs. 31 per month. The average monthly earnings for men for all engineering occupations excluding unskilled workers range from Rs. 22 to 41-8.[20] Coal-cutters get between Rs. 10 and Rs. 15 per month, while unskilled men sometimes get only Rs. 10.[21] The average rate of wages for unskilled industrial workers is Rs. 16 in Nagpur, and Rs. 18 in Kanpur and if we add the amount earned by women the representative family income comes to Rs. 24 and Rs. 22 respectively.[22] In the villages the level of money income is still lower. The unskilled agricultural labourers in Oudh earn from Rs. 6 to Rs. 9 per month and even after adding the earnings of women and children the average family income does not exceed Rs. 12 per month. In Western Punjab a day-labourer may expect only Rs. 5 per month, with a blanket and a pair of shoes at the end of the year, while in the canal colonies he may earn form Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per month. In Bengal the wages of the unskilled agricultural workers range between Rs. 8 and Rs. 18 per month; in East and North Bengal the rates are generally higher than that in West Bengal.[23] In Eastern U.P. the wages range from Rs. 3-12 to Rs. 7-8 per month while in Western U.P. they range from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4-5 per month;[24] Rs. 10 in the Central. The wages of plantation workers in India are the lowest. According to Rege Committee the average monthly cash earnings of settled labourers on the books were in 1944 Rs. 9-10-3; Rs. 7-13-1 and Rs. 5-14-0 per man, woman and child respectively in the Assam

20. *Industrial Wage Census*, 1937.
21. *Report of Royal Commission on Labour in India*, p. 166.
22. R. B. Gupta : *Labour and Housing in India*, pp. 76-78.
23. R. K. Mukerjee : *Land Problems of India*, pp. 221-222.
24. Shridhar Misra : *Rural Wages in U. P.*, p. 44.

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Valley. These wages were supplemented by concessions in the shape of land for cultivation, free housing, medical attendance, fuel and grazing facilities, chief foodstuffs and clothing. In South Indian plantations benefits are very meagre.[25]

Comparative Wage Rates in Agriculture, Factory & Plantations[26]

States	Agriculture (1950-51)	Plantations (1950-51)	Factory Industries (1950)
1	2	3	4
Assam	29.8	18.5-20.5	60.8
Bihar	20.2	——	68.8
Bombay	17.6	——	67.2
Madras	15.5	19.5-21.8	33.6
Travancore-Cochin	21.4	20.0	——
M.P.	12.6	——	52.8
Orissa	11.5	——	38.4
Punjab	28.6	——	44.8
U.P.	18.8	——	52.8
West Bengal	27.0	19.5-21.5	45.6
All India	17.5		54.4

It is evident from these figures that the general standard of living is very low in the towns. In the villages, the level of money income is still lower. It is true that the needs of the agricultural workers are but few and simple and their diet of necessity is very cheap but after making allowance for all these, there is no doubt of general poverty among the agricultural workers. The remuneration of the industrial worker is on a higher level than that of the agricultural worker almost everywhere in the world. But in a country like India, where there is always a vast surplus of rural labour ready to press into the factories for any wage which will enable them to live, the disparity between industrial and agricultural wages cannot be stretched beyond a certain point.

"Industrial wages and with them the living standards of industrial workers cannot anywhere exceed rural levels by more than a certain ratio; and the rural levels are depressed by population increase to a point where they afford only the barest subsistence."[27]

It is therefore futile to suppose that the ard of industrial workers can be improved out raising the rural levels by increasing purchasing power.

FOOD BUDGETS AND FOOD CONSUMPTION

The quantity of food consumption does offer a true index to the standard of living of class or group of people. The quan variations are due largely to regional and logical conditions. The true index, there can only be set by the quality and variety of consumed by the rural and urban lab classes. Since the rural classes almost cons supplement their diet with fruits and vege of the season, it is difficult to estimate the nature of their food budget, which is possib the case of urban families where all thing purchased from the market. Throughout it is only the high-class and well-to-do culti who consume good-quality food and draw tion from a variety of sources. But in the of poor labourers, who constitute the bulk rural population, the diet is monotonou limited to coarse cereal, flour, pulses, veg oil and occasional dishes of vegetables. How bulky, their diet falls short of the opti standard required to maintain vigorous heal efficiency.

The effective consumption of basic food as rice or atta, and dal or vegetables; and gizing food, such as fruits, vegetables, mil milk-products, oil or ghee, gur and con in reasonable combinations result in ra feeding and determines a high standard ing. It is not the volume of basic food, derivation of nutrients from a number of to form balanced rations for a greater tive absorption of certain basic chemical ments which determines a high standard food consumption. The following table the proportion of basic food to energizing consumed by the well-to-do cultivators landless workers in some provinces:

Food Budget of Well-to-do Cultivators

Province	Total amount of food consumed (ozs)	Basic food (ozs)	%	Energizing food (ozs)
Punjab	58	31	53.4	27
U.P.	42	20	47.6	22
Bengal	36	12	52.8	17

25. *Rege Committee Report on Labour* (1946), pp. 259-61.
26. Dr. Rammurti : *Op. Cit.*, p. 23.
27. Lorenzo : *Agricultural Labour Conditions in Northern India*, p. 126.

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Food budget of landless agricultural labourers.

	40	81.6	9	18.4
	49	87.9	4	12.1
Punjab	33	22	78.6	6	21.4
U.P.	28			
Bengal				

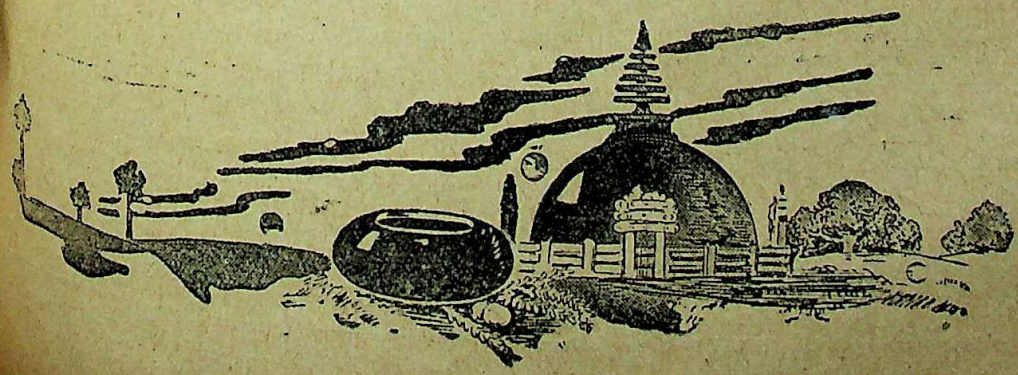
It will be seen from the foregoing statement the amount of energizing food consumed well-to do tenants comes up to the standard, we can safely conclude that this class is well-and efficient, and maintains a high level of because the consumption of energizing d is greater, yielding a higher chemical e and excess of protein. On the other hand, effective consumption of energizing food in case of field-workers hardly exceeds 18 per of the total amount of food consumed.

The Health Survey and Development Com-e reports that the diet of the workers in ries, mines and plantations is generally of a standard and lack the essential nutritive ents. The staple diet of the workers in ras and Bengal is particularly of a low ity. Milk consumption is unsatisfactory in parts of the country. The average level of s in Bombay and Ahmedabad being higher, e nutritious diet is available for workers in two cities than in other parts of India.[28] ample Survey reports "a definite fall in ake of food-grains among working fami-urban areas."[29]

Thus it will be observed that our country-re doomed to a low standard of living not because of their poverty but also due to ignorance. They do not have the capacity to their expenditure wisely, thus failing to even that satisfaction which they can pos-get.

The inadequacy and injudiciousness of consumption of the people of India result in various evils. People who hardly get the bare necessaries are bound to develop a weak constitution. They remain inefficient in their occupation and earn low wages. What more, they fall an easy victim to the various minor and major diseases, which either prove fatal or render them weaker still. Children and such physically bankrupt people are apt to be very weak and inefficient. Many of them swell the figures of infantile mortality, while the survivors are made worthless by the want of proper nourishment and sufficient clothes, of proper education and necessary training. When they grow to manhood they join the rank of unskilled labourers. Their poverty leads to inefficiency, and their inefficiency to poverty. This is the vicious circle in which the masses of the country have been enveloped, and from which an escape must be made.

The standard of living of the masses can be raised only if we remove the basic causes of the low standard which have been pointed out above. The removal of poverty is, in fact, the most difficult problem to solve. Our economic machinery will have to be entirely overhauled and in many cases replaced, for only a bold step can break the vicious circle of poverty leading ultimately to greater poverty. Efforts should be made to remove the ignorance of the masses. Let the schoolmaster be abroad, primary education be made compulsory, adult education be developed and arrangements be made for vocational training. Public health campaigns should also be carried on with a view to impress on the people the necessity of sanitation and cleanliness. The masses should be made to realise the value of a materially rich and full life and their hearts should be inspired to herald the Sun of Happiness.



Reports of the Health Survey and Development Committee, p. 81.

General Report No. 1 (1952), p. 30.

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SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(IX) Fundamental Rights : Right to Freedom *(Continued)*

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I

As stated in our preceding article,[1] we propose to deal in this article with the comparative merits and defects of the American expression "without due process of law"[2] and the expression in Article 21 of our Constitution "except according to procedure established by law."

II

"The due process clauses of the United States Constitution—the one in the Fifth Amendment (1791), a limitation upon the federal government, and the one in the Fourteenth Amendment (1868), a limitation upon State governments[3]—are," observes Professor Willis,[4] "the most important clauses in the United States Constitution. They have been involved in more litigated cases than have all the other clauses of the United States Constitution combined, and the end is not yet. What their future history is going to be, no one can prophesy, but it is safe to say that they are going to have a great deal more history. The guarantee of due process of law is so all-inclusive that all other constitutional guarantees could be abolished and there still would be sufficient protection of personal liberty. The due process limitation has already been extended to include many of the other constitutional guarantees, and there is no rational reason against its being extended to include all of them; the tendency is in this direction. Due process of law applies to personal liberty, to social control, to procedure, to jurisdiction, and to substantive law. It applies to the police power, to eminent domain, and to taxation. It applies to the three great branches of government: the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. It applies to State governments in the same way that it does to the federal government. It applies in favour of individuals. It applies to every interest which an individual may assert whether a right, power, privilege or immunity, whether civil or political. Due process of law, better than any of the other constitutional guaranties, gives the Supreme Court the opportunity to draw the line which ought to be drawn between personal liberty and social control . . . The due process clauses permit of this rationalization. Whenever there is a proper exercise of the police power, the power of taxation, or the power of eminent domain, it is due process of law. But whenever there is not such an exercise of one of these powers, the government nevertheless takes some action, such as is depriving a person of his liberty without due process of law. No better scheme could have been evolved to permit the Supreme Court to strike the proper balance between personal liberty and social control. Legislatures may have reasons for the enactment of laws but the United States Supreme Court measures the legislatures' reasons by its own intellectual yardstick.

"The most important use," Professor Willis further remarked,[5] "to which the United States Supreme Court has put the due process clause is to enable it to declare unconstitutional any acts of legislation which it thinks unreasonable . . . Even without a due process clause which applies to matters of substance, does through equity jurisdiction about the same thing as the Supreme Court of the United States does under due process of law in matter of substance . . . In the United States judges not only declare statutes invalid if in violation of prohibitions in the written Constitution, but also of doctrines read into the Constitution by the United States Supreme Court. Therefore, in the United States the role of the written Constitution is insignificant, and the role of the due process clause and the Supreme Court is very significant."

1. See *The Modern Review* for April, 1956, p. 284.

2. "No person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."

Again,

"No State shall . . . deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."

See Amendments V and XIV (Section 1) to the Constitution of the United States of America.

3. See foot-note 2 above.

4. See Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, pp. 642-43.

For a detailed history of the development of the Doctrine of Due Process of Law in the United States, see Willis, *op. cit.*, Chapter XXII; also Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1929, Chapter XCI; Fenn, *The Development of the Constitution*, Chapter IV; also *The Constitution of the United States of America : Analysis and Interpretation*, 1953, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, pp. 846-64 and pp. 971-81.

5. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 657 and pp. 645-46.

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This view of the importance of the due process clauses in the United States Constitution has in essence also been held by Professor Willoughby[6] and others.[7] It may be noted here that the phrase "due process of law" in the Fifth Amendment to the said Constitution appears to have virtually the same meaning as it has in the Fourteenth Amendment thereto.[8] Further, corporations as well as natural persons "are protected against deprivation of life, liberty or property without due process of law."[9] And as to the natural persons protected by the due process clause, these include," says an official American publication,[10] "all human beings regardless of race, colour, or citizenship." Thus, aliens as well as citizens are entitled in the United States "to the constitutional protection against deprivation of life, liberty or property without due process of law."[11] But it should also be pointed out here that "the due process clause protects only against governmental action" (State or federal), and that "it does not protect against the action of individuals, or other natural or artificial persons."[12]

Another point worthy of note in connexion with the question of due process of law is that there are two kinds of due process—*procedural and substantive.*"

"Procedural due process," observe Professors Corwin and Peltason,[13] "refers to the methods by which law is enforced. It requires, to paraphrase Daniel Webster's famous definition, a procedure which 'hears before it condemns, proceeds upon inquiry, and renders judgment only after (a) trial, in which the essentials of justice have been preserved."

Thus procedural due process "signifies a right to be heard," and when "the Constitution requires a hearing it requires a fair one, held before a tribunal which at least meets currently prevailing standards of impartiality. An opportunity must be given not only to present evidence but also to know the claims of the opposing party and to meet them."[14] Further, a law "itself may violate procedural due process if it fails to establish a definite (and ascertainable) standard of guilt or provide for fair procedures."[15] According to Professor Harold Zink,[16] procedural due process requires that (1) "a fair trial must be given"; (2) that "the court or agency which takes jurisdiction in the case must be duly authorized by law to exercise such prerogative"; (3) that "the defendant must be allowed an oportunity to present his side of the case"; and that (4) a "certain assistance, including counsel and subpoening of witnesses, must be extended."

"In every case, whether criminal or civil," Professor Zink further observes:[17] 'The interested parties must be given an opportunity to present their evidence. Moreover, 'procedural due process,' he adds,[18] 'demands that reasonable amount of public assistance be given to litigants in those cases where for reasons of impecuniousness or lack of knowledge adequate defence has not been made. The right to counsel is specifically set down in the Constitution, but due process would go further and lay down the rule that such counsel must be reasonably competent. Likewise, the services of the public authorities are provided for the subpoening of witnesses, but due process would again go further to inquire whether an honest attempt was made by the public authorities to locate the desired witnesses."

As a jurist, Professor Willis essentially agrees with these views. According to him,[19] too, the requirements of due process as a matter of procedure are (1) a notice, (2) an opportunity to be heard, (3) an impartial tribunal, and (4) an orderly course of procedure. These pro-

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6. Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 1681.
7. For instance, Corwin and Peltason (*Understanding the Constitution*, 1952, p. 97); also Ogg and Ray (*Introduction to Government*, 9th Ed., p. 170).
8. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 1682; also Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 644.
9. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, pp. 1682-83.
10. *The Constitution of the United States of America*, etc., Government Printing Office, Washington, p. 981.
11. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 1683.
12. See Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 644.
13. Corwin and Peltason, *Understanding the Constitution*, 1952, p. 97.
14. *The Constitution of the United States of America*, etc., Government Printing Office, Washington, pp. 847-49.

"In all cases, that kind of procedure is due process of law which is suitable and proper to the nature of the case, and sanctioned by the established customs and usages of the Courts (Ex parte Wal, 107 U. S. 265, (1883).—*Ibid.*, pp. 846-47.

We also find in the judgment of the United States Supreme Court (1934) in *Snyder* vs. *Commonwealth of Massachusetts* (291 U. S. 97):

"Procedural due process has to do with the manner of the trial; dictates that in the conduct of judicial inquiry certain fundamental rules of fairness be observed; forbids the disregard of these rules, and is not satisfied, though the result is just, if the hearing was unfair."—See Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1950, p. 688.

15. Corwin and Peltacon, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
16. Harold Zink, *Government and Politics in the United States*, 1947, p. 102.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
19. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 661-75.

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cedural formalities have always to be followed "in the case of a judicial tribunal performing judicial functions."[20] And the usual rule is that due process, as a matter of procedure, also "applies to executive and administrative action, whether the governmental power exercised is a tax power or the power of eminent domain, or the police power."[21]

Going into details, Professor Willis observes,[22] in the first place, that "when notice is required by due process of law, in order to be sufficient it must notify a person of the time and place, including the tribunal before whom a claim is to be made; apprise him of the nature of the cause against him; come to a person of reasonable intelligence; and afford him sufficient opportunity to prepare and make his answer." Secondly, he says[23] that "when a person is entitled to legal procedure by due process of law, another thing to which he is entitled is an opportunity to be heard"; that this "is a requirement which is concurrent with notice"; and that "to condemn without a hearing is repugnant to the due process clause." In the third place, Professor Willis has observed[24] that "wherever a person is entitled to legal procedure because of the due process clause he is entitled to an impartial tribunal." But "an impartial tribunal," he has added, "does not necessarily mean a judicial tribunal . . . . A judicial tribunal is not required so far as facts are concerned either in a tax case, or in an eminent domain case, or in a police power case." Finally, so far as the fourth requirement of due process, namely, an orderly course of procedure, is concerned, it requires a court, according to him[25] "to examine the entire record, to ascertain the issues, to discover whether there are facts not reported, and to see whether or not the law has been correctly applied to the facts." Further,[26] it requires, among certain other things,[27] "the presence of witnesses when the opportunity to defend oneself is involved" as well as "a public trial," and "it is due process of law to compel the attendance of witnesses. An orderly course of procedure "also includes the right to counsel and proper opportunity to counsel to prepare a case."[28]

We shall now say a few words about what is known as *substantive* due process. While procedural due process is concerned[29] with the *manner* in which governmental power may be exercised," acts as a safeguard "against arbitrary and unfair judicial procedure,"[30] it demands that the actual conduct of a trial should be "in conformity with objective standards of justice,"[32] substantive due process is concerned with "the substantive content of legislation," and requires that "the Court be convinced that the law—not merely the procedures by which the law would be enforced—is its very purpose—is *fair, reasonable, and just.*"[33] Further, it requires that the law should operate equally and without discrimination and that it should be clear and accurate enough to guide the conduct and conscience of those who are to be subject to it.[34] Thus, the principle of substantive due process may be "invoked as a norm or test for determining the validity of a law.[35] And all this occasions judicial review.

It may be noted in this connexion incidentally that "originally, 'due process of law' meant," as Professor Corwin has stated, "simply the modes of *procedure* which were used at the common law, especially in connexion with the accusation and trial of supposed offenders," and that "today 'due process of law' means 'reasonable' law or 'reasonable' procedure, that is to say, what a majority of the Supreme Court find it to be *reasonable* in the or other sense of that extremely elastic term. In other words, it means, in effect, *the opinion of the Supreme Court.*" This development of the implications of the term "due process of

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 662-64.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 664.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 664-65.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 665-67.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 668.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 672-73.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 673-75.
27. See *ibid.*, pp. 672-74.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 674.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Corwin and Peltason, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
31. Ogg and Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
32. Zink, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
33. Corwin and Peltason, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
34. Zink, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105.
35. Ogg and Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

According to Professor Willis, "the protection of due process as a matter of substance applies to all three branches of the federal and state governments."—See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 708-709.

36. See Corwin, *The Constitution and What It Means Today*, 1947, p. 170.

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...ecured, according to Professor Willis,[37] "about the eighties" of the last century, when "due process of law was extended to matters of substance," that is, to "the substantive content of legislation." And, says the official American publication[38] referred to before, "it is because this extension of the term 'due process of law' beyond the procedural field that the Court has been asked to pass upon literally hundreds of State enactments since about 1890 on the representation that they invaded the 'liberty' or property of certain persons 'unreasonably.' In short, this development of the meaning of 'due process of law' came in time to furnish one of the principal bases of judicial review, and as such it still[39] remains such so far as State legislation is concerned."

We shall now pass on to an important point in connexion with the question we are discussing. What *exactly* is meant by the doctrine of due process of law which constitutes an important feature of American constitutional jurisprudence as we have seen above? Professor Munro right when he says[40] that "legal phrases in the whole history of jurisprudence have proved so elusive" as due process of law?

There is no doubt that there are certain great difficulties in the doctrine of due process of law. The Constitution of the United States has not defined the expression "due process of law." Nor has any "court of higher jurisdiction" in the United States ever clearly defined the expression. Justice Frankfurter has observed in the course of his judgment in *Adamson* vs. *Balkcom*[41]:

"The process is that which comports with the deepest notions of what is fair and right and just. The more fundamental the beliefs are the less likely they are to be explicitly stated. But respect for them is the very essence of the Due Process Clause. In enforcing them this (Supreme) Court does not translate personal views into constitutional limitations."

There is certainly some amount of indefiniteness in what Justice Frankfurter has stated. As Professor Swisher has rightly observed:[42]

"The Justice (Frankfurter) commits the (Supreme) Court to the task of interpreting 'the deepest notions of what is fair and just and right.' In spite of his disclaimer it is hard to see how in that process it can altogether avoid translating 'personal views into constitutional limitations'."

We may also note here what the Supreme Court of the United States itself has stated in regard to the meaning of the due process clauses in the American Constitution. In *Holden* vs. *Hardy* it declared[43] in 1898:

"Recognizing the difficulty in defining, with exactness, the phrase 'due process of law,' it is certain that these words imply a conformity with natural and inherent principles of justice, and forbid that one man's property, or right to property, shall be taken for the benefit of another, or for the benefit of the State, without compensation; and that no one shall be condemned in his person or property without an opportunity of being heard in his own defence."

The expression "natural and inherent principles of justice" in this extract is certainly not free from a certain amount of vagueness.

Again, we find that in *Twining* vs. *New Jersey* the Supreme Court observed[44] in 1908, with reference to the expression "due process of law":

"Few phrases of the law are so elusive of exact apprehension as this . . . This Court has always declined to give a comprehensive definition of it, and has preferred that its full meaning should be gradually ascertained by the process of inclusion and exclusion in the course of the decision of cases as they arise."

Thus, the highest American tribunal has, as Professor Munro has remarked,[45] "refrained from committing itself to any hard and fast definition of the term" due process of law.

We may also note in this connexion what Walter Dodd has stated[46]:

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37. Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 705; also Swisher, *The Theory and Practice of American National Government*, 1951, pp. 458-59.
38. *The Constitution of the United States of America*, etc., Government Printing Office, Washington, p. 846.
39. Professor Swisher, however, is of opinion that "beginning with the 1930's . . . the (Supreme) Court gradually receded from its interpretation, so that business now gets little protection under the process clauses except the procedural protection which is left of the original meaning. Today it is only most of civil liberties that due process gives much more than procedural protection."—Swisher, *op. cit.*, p. 459.
40. See in this connexion Pritchett, *Civil Liberties and the Supreme Court*, 1954, p. 3.
41. 339 U.S. 9 (1950). See Swisher, *op. cit.*, p. 458.
42. See Swisher, *op. cit.*, p. 458.
43. *Holden* vs. *Hardy*, 169 U.S. 366 (1898)—See Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1950, pp. 824-25.
44. *Twining* vs. *New Jersey*, 211 U.S.78 (1908).—See Fenn, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
45. See Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 520.
46. See Walter F. Dodd, *Cases and Materials on Constitutional Law*, 1949, pp. 79-80.

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"What is due process of law? We get little help from the courts as to the meaning of this term as it is now applied to limit legislative power . . . Speaking for the (Supreme) Court in 1921 (four of the nine judges dissenting), in holding invalid an Arizona law . . ., Mr. Chief Justice Taft said that 'the legislative power of a State can only be exerted in subordination to the fundamental principles of right and justice which the guaranty of due process in the Fourteenth Amendment is intended to preserve' . . . In the types of decisions just referred to, the Court in applying 'due process of law' is guided by nothing more definite than 'the fundamental principles of right and justice,' and has no standard other than the views of a majority of the judges by which to separate 'permissible from improper legislation.' One judge, because of his tranining and experience, may have one view as to what are such fundamental principles and how they apply in a particular case, and an equally competent judge may have precisely opposite views. The same individual may have different views at different periods of his life as to what is 'permissible' and what is 'improper' . . . In passing upon the validity of statutes, the judicial theory was, and still is, in the language of the courts, that of applying to legislation a precise constitutional standard, and of resolving all doubts in favour of constitutionality. In theory every statute not directly and clearly in conflict with constitutional language is valid. . . . Under this theory, if a statute is held unconstitutional, it is through no fault or responsibility of the judges. They merely apply standards given them by the people, who are responsible for the terms of the constitution. If the people are dissatisfied with the yardstick, it is said that they should change it, and not blame the judges whose duty it is to apply the yardstick as long as it remains unchanged. This theory has merit if the yardstick is precise and unchanging, and if the judicial result comes from a mere mechanical application of the measuring rod. But if the length of the yardstick may change from case to case according to the discretion of the judges who apply it, then the result is not mechanical . . . . . For example, the supreme court of Illinois in 1895 declared it improper to regulate the labour or hours of women differently from that of men, and in 1910 arrived at precisely the opposite view, without any change whatever in the State constitution . . . . . This is but an illustration of what State courts have done over and over again in order to readjust their views to the changing needs of the community. Had a definite and precise meaning been given to 'due process of law,' such changes of judicial attitude would be more difficult."

It is evident from what has been stated above that "in the last analysis due process is," as Professor Zink has put it,[47] "what the courts, particularly the Supreme Court (of the U[illegible] States), say it is." Professor Willis agrees [illegible] this view. He says[48]:

"The Supreme Court still refuses to defi[illegible] phrase 'due process of law,' yet whatever it m[illegible] the present time is what the Supreme Court [illegible] means. It is true that the phrase 'due process' [illegible] has very ancient origin, but its meaning at [illegible] sent time is not at all what it was at first; [illegible] meaning in the future may be very different from [illegible] it is at the present time. . . . . In the deve[illegible] of the doctrine (of due process of law) the S[illegible] Court has not always been consistent. Some[illegible] has favoured personal liberty and sometimes [illegible] control. . . . . Frequently, the reason for [illegible] seemed to be the personnel of the bench, but [illegible] sionally overpowering social needs seem to have [illegible] the reason. . . . The justices have not [illegible] to disagree among themselves."

Notwithstanding this limitation [illegible] doctrine of due process of law, the due p[illegible] clauses in the Constitution of the United S[illegible] have in effect become "a palladium of indiv[illegible] and corporate rights as against all g[illegible] mental authority in the country."[49] J[illegible] Frankfurter of the United States Supreme C[illegible] has gone so far as to eulogize[50] the doctri[illegible] due process as "perhaps the most majestic [illegible] cept in our whole constitutional system." [illegible] what he has further said in connexion wi[illegible] doctrine is also worthy of note here.

"The requirement of 'due process,' [illegible] observed,[51] "is not a fair-weather or timid [illegible] It must be respected in periods of calm and [illegible] of trouble; it protects aliens as well as citiz[illegible] 'due process,' unlike some legal rules, is not [illegible] cal conception with a fixed content unrelated [illegible] place and circumstances. Expressing as it do[illegible] ultimate analysis respect enforced by law [illegible] feeling of just treatment which has been [illegible] through centuries of Anglo-American con[illegible] history and civilization, 'due process' cann[illegible] prisoned within the treacherous limits of any [illegible] Representing a profound attitude of fairness [illegible] man and man, and more particularly bet[illegible] individual and government, 'due process' [illegible] pounded of history, reason, the past course [illegible]

47. Zink, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

48. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 657-59.

49. See Ogg & Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 169; also Munro, [illegible] p. 520.

50. In connexion with his judgment in *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee* vs. *McGrath*, 341 U.S.123 [illegible] Pritchett, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 236 and 287.

51. See *ibid.*, p. 236.

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...ss and stout confidence in the strength of the ...ance faith which we profess. Due process is not ...ment instrument. It is not a yardstick. It is a ...ess. It is a delicate process of adjustment ...ably involving the exercise of judgment by ...whom the Constitution entrusted with the un...ing of the process."

III

We have discussed above the merits of the ...ine of due process of law in American ...tutional jurisprudence. In the light of ...discussion we should now like to consider ...merits of the expression "except according ...procedure established by law" in Article 21 ...Constitution. Before, however, we do ...we should like to refer to a historical ...as it might help the reader to under...the Indian position.

As we have stated before,[52] in Article 15 of ...Constitution of India corresponding to ...21 of our present Constitution, the ...ing Committee of the Constituent Assem...India had substituted the expression ...according to procedure established by ...for the words "without due process of ...as originally suggested by the Advisory ...ittee on Fundamental Rights appointed ...Constituent Assembly on 24th January, ...and adopted by the Constituent Assembly ...its session held in April-May, 1947), ...e former expression was "more specific." ...en the matter came before the Consti...Assembly, there was a very strong ...ion[53] from several members of the ...ly to the suggestion made by the Draft...Committee, and an amendment was, in ...moved that "for the words 'except ...ing to procedure established by law' the ...without due process of law' be substi...Reference was made in this connexion ...merits of the American doctrine of due ...of law. And it was argued that the ...ce of the suggestion made by the Draft...mittee would "open a sad chapter in ...y of constitutional law" in India; that ...if a court of law were satisfied that ...edure established by law had been ...d with, it could not "interfere with any law which might have been capricious, unjust or iniquitous"; that the court of law should be placed in a position of going "into the question of the substantive law as well as procedural law"; that when a law was enacted, the court should "have the right to go into the question" whether it was just or not, whether it was good or not, and whether, as a matter of fact, it would protect the liberties of the people or not, and that if the court came to the conclusion that the law was unconstitutional, unreasonable or unjust, then it should have the power of declaring it so, and the law should not "have any further effect." Thus, it was held that our judiciary should have power to review legislation, as in the United States, both in respect of procedure and in respect of its substantive content. Against this view a member[54] referred to the limitation of the doctrine of due process of law as it had developed in the United States and, particularly, to the conflicting nature of the judicial decisions there, based on the interpretation of the due process clauses in its Constitution. Strangely enough, the Chairman[55] of the Drafting Committee adopted a non-committal attitude towards this controversial question, and left the decision thereon to the discretion of the Constituent Assembly. Referring to the amendment we have mentioned before he said[56]:

"I must confess that I am somewhat in a difficult position with regard to Article 15 (in the Draft Constitution) and the amendment moved . . . . for the deletion of the words 'procedure according to law' and the substitution of the words 'due process.'

"It is quite clear to any one who has listened to the debate that has taken place . . . . that there are two sharp points of view. One point of view says that 'due process of law' must be there in this article[57]; otherwise the article is a nugatory one. The other point of view is that the existing phraseology is quite sufficient for the purpose. Let me explain what exactly 'due process' involves.

"The question of 'due process' raises, in my judgment, the question of the relationship between the legislature and the judiciary. In a federal constitution, it is always open to the judiciary to decide whether any particular law passed by the legislature is

...The Modern Review for April, 1956, pp 279-80.

...Constituent Assembly Debates, Official Report, 6th and ...ber, 1948, pp. 842-57 and pp. 999-1001.

54. Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar.

55. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

56. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 13th December, 1948, pp. 999-1001.

57. *i.e.*, Article 15 of *Draft Constitution of India*.

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ultra vires or *intra vires* in reference to the powers of legislation which are granted by the Constitution to the particular legislature. If the law made by a particular legislature exceeds the authority of the power given to it by the Constitution, such law would be *ultra vires* and invalid. That is the normal thing that happens in all federal constitutions. Every law in a federal constitution, whether made by the Parliament at the Centre or made by the legislature of a State, is always subject to examination by the judiciary[58] from the point of view of the authority of the legislature making the law. The 'due process' clause, in my judgment, would give the judiciary the power to question the law made by the legislature on another ground. That ground would be whether that law is in keeping with the certain fundamental principles relating to the rights of the individual. In other words, the judiciary would be endowed with the authority to question the law not merely on the ground whether it was in excess of the authority of the legislature, but also on the ground whether the law was good law, apart from the question of the powers of the legislature making the law. The law may be perfectly good and valid so far as the authority of the legislature is concerned. But, it may not be a good law, that is to say, it violates certain fundamental principles; and the judiciary would have that additional power of declaring the law invalid. The question which arises in considering this matter is this: We have no doubt given the judiciary the power to examine the law made by different legislative bodies on the ground whether that law is in accordance with the powers given to it (*sic*). The question now raised by the introduction of the phrase 'due process' is whether the judiciary should be given the additional power to question the laws made by the State on the ground that they violate certain fundamental principles.

"There are two views on this point. One view is this: that the legislature may be trusted not to make any law which would abrogate the fundamental rights of man, so to say, the fundamental rights which apply to every individual, and consequently, there is no danger arising from the introduction of the phrase 'due process.' Another view is this: That it is not possible to trust the legislature; the legislature is likely to err, is likely to be led away by passion, by party prejudice, by party considerations, and the legislature may make a law which may abrogate what may be regarded as the fundamental principles which safeguard the individual rights of a citizen. We are, therefore, placed in two difficult positions. One is to give the judiciary the authority to sit in judgment over the will of the legislature and to question the law made by the legislature on the ground that it is not good law, in consonance with fundamental principles. Is that a desirable principle? The second position is that the legislature ought to be trusted not to make bad laws. It is very difficult to come to any definite conclusion. There are dangers on both sides. For myself I cannot altogether omit the possibility of a Legislature packed by party men making laws which may abrogate or violate what we regard as certain fundamental principles affecting the life and liberty of an individual. At the same time, I do not see that five or six gentlemen sitting in the Federal or Supreme Court examining laws made by the Legislature and by dint of their own individual conscience or their bias or their prejudices be trusted to determine which law is good and which law is bad. It is indeed a case where a man has to sail between Charybdis and Scylla and I therefore would not say anything but would leave it to the House to decide in any way it likes."

The Constituent Assembly rejected the amendment to which we have referred before and adopted Article 15 of *Draft Constitution of India* as it had been placed before the Assembly by the Drafting Committee. As a consequence Article 21 of our Constitution which corresponds to Article 15 of the Draft Constitution, appears in the shape in which it does without the "due process" provision.

In conclusion, we should like to say that having regard to what we have shown in our preceding article[59] in connexion with Article 21 of our Constitution and also having regard to what we have shown above, we feel that, on the whole, the American doctrine of due process of law is, notwithstanding its limitation, a better safeguard against an arbitrary Government action, so far as the life and liberty of an individual are concerned, than what has been provided for in Article 21 of our Constitution. As Kania C. J. has observed,[60] the expression "procedure established by law" in Article 21 "must mean procedure prescribed by the law of the State," and "by adopting the phrase 'procedure established by law'" our Constitution has given "the legislature the final word to determine the law." And "it cannot be disputed," as Mukherjea J. of our Supreme Court has stated,[61] "that a competent legislature is entitled to alter the procedure in criminal trials in such

58. This is *normally* the case in a federal Union. The position is somewhat different in Switzerland.

59. See *The Modern Review* for April, 1956, pp. [illegible]

60. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Part [illegible] III, April and May, 1950, pp. 111-113.

61. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. III, Part [illegible] March, 1952, p. 322.

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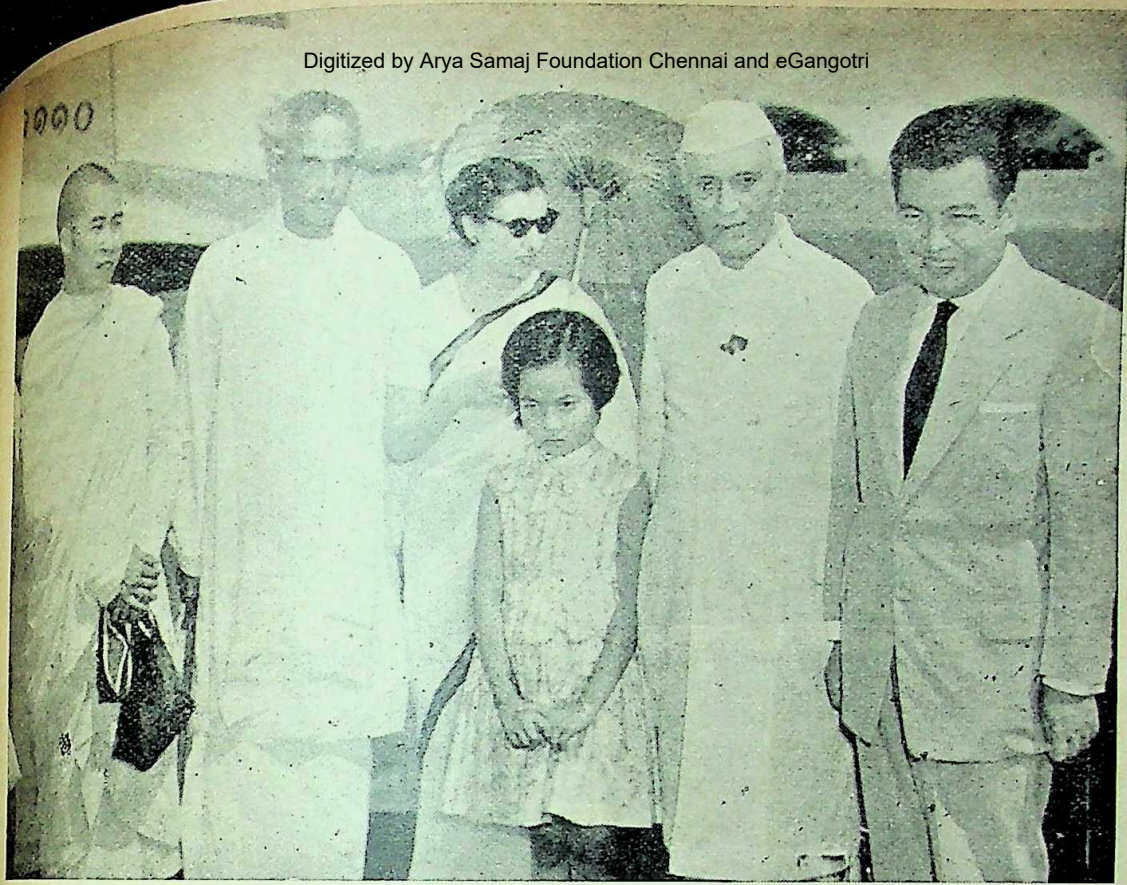

Prince Norodom Sihanouk Varman, ex-King and ex-Prime Minister of Combodia (*right*), halted at the Safdarjang Airport, New Delhi, on his way to Europe. Prime Minister Nehru along with Sm. Indira Gandhi and Sri V. K. Krishna Menon received him at the Airport

The Treaty of Cession of the Territory of the French Establishments in India consisting of Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahe and Yanaon was signed at the Ministry of Internal Affairs in New Delhi on May 28

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Naga Folk Dance by a Manipuri troupe

The spinning wheel

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...as it considers proper," of course, consis-...ly with the requirements of our Constitution. ...court of law in India cannot interfere with ...

"A procedure laid down by the legislature may," ...serves[62] Justice Das of the Supreme Court, "offend ...st the Court's sense of justice and fair play and ...tence provided by the legislature may outrage ...Court's notions of penology, but that is a wholly ...levant consideration. . . . . The Constitution ...supreme. The Court must take the Constitution as ...finds it, even if it does not accord with its precon-...ed notions of what an ideal Constitution should ...Our protection against legislative tyranny, if any, lies in ultimate analysis in a free and intelligent public opinion which must eventually assert itself. . . . . I am not convinced that there is any scope for the introduction into Article 21 of our Constitution of the doctrine of due process of law even as regards procedure.[63] I may or may not like it, but that is the result of our Constitution as I understand it."

The implication of this statement of Mr. Justice Das is very clear so far as the life and liberty of the individual in India are concerned, as contrasted with the corresponding position in the United States of America.

62. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II & III, ...ed May, 1950, pp. 320-23.

63. That is to say, not to speak of the substantive content of a legislation as in the case of *substantive* due process in the United States of America.

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GIFTS OF BUDDHISM

By Dr. (Mrs.) SURAMA DAS GUPTA, M.A., Ph.D.,

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...was two thousand and five hundred years ...that Lord Buddha, or Prince Siddhartha, ...he was known at the time, was born. He ...up to the age of eighty, and passed away ...*Nirvana*, the highest spiritual attainment ...strove for. Eighty years look such a short ...of time compared to two thousand and five ...dred years, and how short is the latter in ...parison to eternity. Again, an infinite ...of time has no meaning if it is not filled ...lived through with depth of emotion, pene-...ve thought and creative activity. Mere ...of time has no significance. But when ...ceaseless flow of time becomes impregnated ...human thought ond experience, only then ...have the fullness of meaning and value. ...not thus the mere ancient character of a ...point of time, or the far-away distance, ...Buddha's life from us that can have any ...It is the rich and varied harvest of ...al experience of Buddha himself, and of ...who followed him, that has invested his ...ory with a special sanctity, and given a ...significance to the system of thought ...he founded and which lived and grew enormously during these two thousand and five hundred years.

Message of Freedom

The personality of Buddha as a Prince, who gave up his kingdom and all usual sources of human pleasure and happiness for the quest of the great unknown, for unravelling the mystery of a Beyond, that rises above this life of ours and calls us on, stands before us with a rare charm and sacredness of its own. His later career, in which the young Prince becomes a Buddha, the Enlightened, and delivers his message of Freedom, freedom from all bondage of desire and ignorance and consequent sorrow, will never cease to be a source of inspiration, awe, and reverence to mankind. Still, it is not the person of Buddha that alone occupies our mind today; it is the fullness of his spiritual teachings which have unfolded themselves through hundreds of years, step by step, petal by petal, as it were, until they blossomed into the richness of beauty and grace of the entire range of Buddhistic schools of thought, their varied contributions, intellectual, moral and

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aesthetic, that command our deepest respect. We pay our homage to Buddha and the long series of holy men and saints who carried on his message, silently, continuously, and in all earnestness of spirit, and have left behind them a special heritage of Buddhistic thought. This has been possible because of a very unique tradition that has been preserved as regards the development of philosophy in India. No system of thought takes its stand on one thinker or preacher. One person might have started it, given the basic idea, but the great momentum of such an idea never ceases to exist with the thinker, but goes on forward and spins out in course of time a complex net-work of thought through the contribution of other thinkers around it. That is how we have schools of philosophy, and not one philosophy, that have been kept alive by fresh springs of thought flowing from individual minds through the ages.

The story of Buddha's renunciation is so well-known that it hardly needs to be retold or revived. The strength of his resolve to find a solution of the miseries of life, the wonderful arguments with which he met the objections of the prime-minister who was sent out to persuade him to come back to his home and kingdom are also well-known and remembered. What strikes us as unique, besides his great renunciation, is the boldness of his challenge to find out the truth, independent of all traditional preachings. His was the first message of free thought, liberation from scriptural instructions of the time, and he burnt with zeal and enthusiasm to solve the mystery of life, by his own efforts, by rational analysis, and had an indomitable will to conquer all obstructions of spiritual life; and the success that he achieved, paved the way to enlightenment for hundreds of others who followed him.

Origin of Misery

His first analysis of the origin of misery led to the enunciation of the twelve-fold links of a cycle known as *bhavachakra*. He started thinking what being there what happens, and came to the conclusion that *avidya*, or ignorance, and *tanha* or greed, are the roots of all evils in life. This method of argument is known as *pratityasamutpada* and is sound from a scientific point of view. We can never know what exactly the cause of a thing or an act is. All that we can say is that this being that exists. With this is associated the that nothing exists permanently. Everything this world comes into existence, produces thing as effect, and dies out. Since the thing cannot be produced a second time, cause is also not the same. Effects are diffe so are the causes. A cause is a complex mo and so is the effect. There is a flowing ser of complex, conscious units of experience, no continuity of one and the same subject object. It is the similarity of different that create the illusion of identity. Memory possible because the later moments being dep dent on the previous moments, seem to inher as it were, the renewed tendencies similar those of the past. Thus there is no self, b series of discrete moments of conscious perience. This series is possible because of greed, or desire, that creates the later mom of activity. If there is no desire, no false pe pective, there will be no series of actions experiences, the momentum of the flow will be destroyed, and existence will cease to con nue. This final extinction of all experiences *nirvana* after which there is no further strivi or misery. The nature of this *nirvana* is expressible, unspeakable, but it is the going of the world and the worldly, and is the hig good (*prapanchopasamam Sivam*).

Experiment with Truth

In our country no intellectual specula were ever empty and barren jugglery of int If it was accepted as true that nothing steady or permanent, and if it were true that greed and false perspective were the cause of misery, then it became binding that we sh all live up to those findings. The whole became a life of great experiment with t with the believers of Buddhism or other ph phical systems. Philosophy never was a th tical speculation, it was a rationalisati experience and a matter of active faith. P sophy thus became dynamic in the lif thinkers and saints. It was a great heroism their part to follow up the conclusion of rati analysis with a glowing faith. This faith been beautifully compared to the loving m who sustains and nourishes the spiritual li people and leads them to the ultimate

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Vyasabhasya on Yogasutras: *Sa hi kalyani prapitiva yoginam pati*). The great, fearless and sporting spirit with which the Buddhistic book experimented on their life and experience, as trial of passions and sorrows, speaks loudly from every page of the Buddhistic texts.

From the point of metaphysical speculation, we have the four great schools of Buddhism, the Vaibhasika, Sautrantika, Yogachara and the Sunyavada. From another view-point, that is, whether individual liberation or that of beings is the highest good, we have the Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism. We have said before that besides the fundamental assumptions of momentariness and dependent origination, there is another important point on which all schools of Buddhism agree, and that that moral purity is essential for all wisdom and enlightenment. There cannot be a wise man who is not saintly, no seer of Truth who is not pure, and there can be no efficiency without the purity of spirit. Our knowing must depend on our becoming purer in heart, on our unclouded actions and thought. Along with subtle dialectical speculations of Buddhism, there is this highest emphasis on moral life and values. In the Dhammapada in Pali, we have many other texts in Sanskrit of the Mahayana school which are full of deep and wise sayings which come out of the concrete experience of saints, on how we can educate and improve ourselves.

We have interesting discussion in the Vishuddhimagga as to how we can control our anger and be forgiving to others. An intellectual analysis of a situation helps us to understand the action of a wicked man. We realise that man is merely one of the several factors in the event, and this understanding helps to relax the tension to a great extent. This text encouraged a rational attitude towards understanding our enemies and forgiving them by laying the entire emphasis on our subjective outlook. If we are angry with our enemies, we are doing the same wrong action as he has done; if we let our minds be troubled and disturbed, then we are fulfilling the object of the enemy and spoiling our own, namely, our purity. Everything being momentary, the wrong-doer and his wrongs are gone, so is our anger; with whom can we be angry and who will be angry? This principle, of course, is intended for the inner education of man; for any social duty, or otherwise, we have to fall back on the theory of series on which rests the moral responsibility of an action.

Moral Problems

We do not have adequate time to deal with the moral problems as envisaged in Buddhistic texts involving subtle psychological issues. There is a long and elaborate discussion on the effects of conscious and sub-conscious experience of a man on his own life and that of others in the *Abahidharmakosha* of Vasubandhu. It has been discussed how can an action, mental, vocal, or physical, leave its trace on one's own mind, creating or inducing a particular type of subjective disposition, and also affecting others. All our experiences create a history. We the individuals weave out a subjective history within, by our thoughts and actions and speech, as also create a history outside in the objective world, its situation and other minds. The conscious experience and its impressions are known as *vijnapti* and the unconscious or sub-conscious impressions in the minds of a person, as also the changes in the environment unknown to himself are known as *avijnapti*. By conscious experience and action, a man thus modifies his own mind and the atmosphere (involving others) around him. This togetherness of the agent of an action, with others who are affected by it, is a very significant contribution of the Buddhistic psychology. *Avijnapti* has also been regarded by some as intermediary between an action and its consequence. As regards the possibility of different levels of consciousness, there is a huge mass of materials available from Buddhistic sources. But there is a marked difference in these from modern psychological approach. In our modern experiments, we take note of varied experience and reactions of adults and children more from the point of view of facts as they happen, and sometimes with a view to cure mental diseases. In Buddhism, there was investigation into the nature of certain types of mental facts, but the emphasis was on experimenting on these with a definite moral and spiritual objective, that is, of transforming one's whole personality in the light of the highest good as they conceived it. For instance, how to arrest the fluctuating mental states and passions; how to stop the

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flow of one state into another; how to pass through different planes of consciousness, were of the highest interest. Enormous amount of details can be had from the different texts which had an important bearing on improving human character and moral elegance.

In the field of logic, contributions of Buddhism are very marked. Their theory about inference, elaborate forms of hypothetical-categorical syllogism (in the *Kathavatthu*, about the 3rd century B.C.), theory of universals and negation, theory of causation, have occupied a very important place in Indian thought and have, in many cases, anticipated the investigations of modern logic.

It is interesting to note that an argument adduced by Vachaspati in describing Buddhist idealistic position, and also by Buddhist logicians, was repeated centuries later by G. E. Moore in the nineteenth century. The illustration given was that since the blue colour and its awareness were inseparable, they were identical (*abhedo nila-tad-dhiyoh*). In refuting idealism, Moore hit upon the same illustration. Buddhist theory of concept and intuition found its echo, hundreds of years later, in the Italian philosopher Croce. I may refer here to the International Congress, held at Naples, in 1924, where the late Professor S. N. Dasgupta read a paper on Croce and Buddhism, and showed that some fundamentals of the former's philosophical position had been anticipated by Buddhism centuries ago. Croce himself was in the Chair. At the end of the meeting, he remarked very gracefully that he had nothing to say but this: that he felt proud and happy that his line of thinking had coincided with such a great school of thought as Buddhism.

As we turn to the theory of art-creation offered by Buddhism, we find in *Atthasalini*, the commentary of Buddhaghosa on the Dhammasangani, a very nice and elaborate discussion on the aesthetic state of the mind which creates the beautiful. It is the inner representation and mental creation of the artist that has been emphasised more than its translation in lines and forms in external form. Here again we find the position that intuitive perception of the beautiful and its creation are identical which has been taken up by Croce in his work on Aesthetics.

Such is the varied nature of the gifts of Buddhism, in metaphysics, psychology, logic, ethics and aesthetics. The greatest of all the gifts is the gift of a nobler outlook and value in life as brought out by the Bodhisattvas and repeatedly emphasised by King Asoka in his rock edicts. The Bodhisattvas strove all their lives for highest wisdom, but when the time came for the attainment of *nirvana*, they postponed it for the sake of leading others to the path of the good. The greatest message of Buddhism is love for humanity, freedom from all base passions and consequent misery. It is the love for all beings and their spiritual uplift that is the aim and ideal of the Bodhisattvas. Thus we remember the prayer of saints given in the *Sikshasamuchchaya*, "Let all beings be happy, let them be without evil and enmity. "If there is anybody who speaks ill of me, or injures me, let him attain highest wisdom. Let me be of service to all, in whichever form it be needed. Let me give light to the ignorant, shelter to the distressed, help to those who want it, and let me be a humble servant of all living beings."

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NATIONALISATION AND INDUSTRIAL PEACE

By Prof. B. N. GIGRAS, M.A., Ph.D.

It is now generally conceded that a valid case for nationalisation arises not only in those sectors of a country's economy where the interests of a community are apparently paramount, *e.g.*, defence and public services, but also where private enterprise is unenterprising or it has proved to be a misenterprise. The phrase misenterprise or unenterprise obviously includes cases where the private enterprise has failed to provide and maintain a minimum civilised standard of living for the workers or opportunities for their growing urge to share control and management of the concerns in which they work and derive their livelihood from and has failed to take proper care of the community's human capital. The State has a right to control the private enterprise, and in case of incorrigibility, to take it over to maintain and improve upon its material and human resources. The record of private enterprise, as in U.S.A. and U.K. which have achieved phenomenal economic progress is a growing chasm between Labour and Capital, and exploitation of the latter at the hands of the latter, till Labour has organised itself into powerful unions and has forced capital to come to terms with it. The employers have invariably opposed and resisted the development of trade unionism among workers and the growth of labour legislation. The control and regulation of the private enterprise by the State has failed to bring about equality of income to the extent achieved by socialist countries like the U.S.S.R. Thus the case for nationalisation from Labour's point of view arises on two grounds. In the first place, under private enterprise the workers suffer economic exploitation. "They are housed, fed and clothed worse than they would be if the society were differently organised." Secondly, the workers have to act according to the terms of their master. They resent the industrial despotism characteristic of the private enterprise. Under it they are reduced to the position of wage-earners. Measures of co-operation between workers and employers like Works Committees and Joint Councils at different levels and profit-sharing and co-partnership schemes depend for their successful working upon the employers' goodwill and their co-operation. They are at best palliatives. True industrial democracy is possible only under nationalisation.

A worker in a public undertaking stands on different footing from a worker in a private undertaking. In the former he is both a master and a servant, master as a citizen of the country and servant as an employee of the undertaking.[1] As such the antagonism between Labour and Capital—the owners and the employees—is likely to be narrowed down, if not disappear altogether. It will at least lose its sting. No longer shall Labour be working for the private gain of somebody, but for the community's benefit. This in itself will have healthy effect on industrial relations and labour productivity. Labour shall be a partner and a co-trustee in the nationalised industries. The State would look after Labour's welfare and provide for adequate wages and healthy working conditions. The human capital will as much be the subject of its care as the material capital. Labour-management co-operation machinery will be perfected at various stages so that an ordinary worker would have a voice in the running of his concern. "Industrial democracy" will thus become a reality. Nationalisation is, therefore, the ultimate objective of all progressive trade unions in the country.[2]

Nationalisation, however, brings its own problems that affect industrial relations vitally. In the first place, the public judges the success of nationalised industries from the point of view, among other factors, of peaceful industrial relations. A public enterprise, unlike a private one, has to live in the fierce light of publicity. Since it is the property of the nation, every one, the consumer, the tax-payer, the citizen, the Government, the Parliament—all regard it as worthy of notice and are anxious to know about its working and its results.[3] Secondly, nationalisation tends towards monopolistic organisations, and as such industrial disputes in industrialised industries cause more serious consequences than in private enterprise. Thirdly, trade unions expect better working conditions and treatment under nationalised industries than they receive under private enterprise. Not merely that, everyone insists upon the Government being a model employer. In other words, the social costs which a public enterprise has to bear are often much higher than those likely

1. *The First Five-Year Plan: Planning Commission*, the Government of India, p. 580.

2. Vide Clause 1(ii) in the Constitution of the Indian National Trade Union Congress—"To place industry under national ownership and control in suitable form . . . in the quickest time." Also object No. VI in the Constitution of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha—"To organise for and promote the establishment of a democratic Socialist Society in India."

3. *Forms of Public Control and Ownership* by Edward Goodman, p. 85.

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to be imposed on a corresponding private concern. Fourthly, it is through a change of attitude among labour that nationalisation expects to enhance the efficiency of the enterprise. Workers have to be induced to work harder than they do under private enterprise. But habits and attitudes die hard and take a long time to change.

> "Only a strong moral motive based on a clear and dynamic conception of man's duties as well as his rights, to God, his fellow men, can replace the usual motives of greed and fear under private enterprise."[5]

Fifthly, nationalisation results in the centralisation of authority, one of whose consequences is the remoteness of those who decide policy from those who carry out the decision. Departmental managers, even when authorised to do so, are chary to use their power in redressing the grievances, and meeting the claims of workers. This results in considerable industrial discontent. Lastly, Labour is tempted to make in a public enterprise extravagant demands and the management is inclined to meet them partly because the loss is less personal, and partly because of the serious consequences of strike following refusal in a large monopoly.

> "Accordingly, a tendency may well develop for Labour and Capital management combined, to put up costs and hence, prices, as against the consumer."[6]

Let us see how nationalisation has affected industrial relations in the United Kingdom. From 1945, when the Labour Party came into power till 1951 when it lost elections in favour of the Conservatives, five major industries were nationalised, *viz.*, coal, transport, gas, electricity, iron and steel and civil aviation.[7] Their administration has been entrusted to independent corporations. In each of the Nationalisation Acts there is a section placing certain duties on the Board to establish machinery for negotiation and consultation in matters concerning constitutions of employment, etc. Nationalisation in Great Britain has not come up to the expectations of the ideologists of socialism. It has not reduced inequality of income, and has left unaffected the difference between the incomes of the manual worker and the high executive.[8] The socialists' hopes of greater production and profits have not been realised. Nationalisation has noticeably ennobled motives; the worker remains less responsive to the size of the pay-pocket.[9] On the contrary, Labour has become turbulent in the nationalised industries. Nationalisation led to diminished production in coal-mining and a complete breakdown of power in 1946. B.O.A.C. lost £12 million in the first year.

> "One of the headaches of the British Government has been to keep labour, conscious of its newfound power, from abusing it, to find a new incentive to replace the old incentives of competition and fear."

It is, however, the considered opinion of Professor Cole that the coal industry has improved not only in technical efficiency, but also in its relations with the work-people; much remains to be done but the National Coal Board has unquestionably made important headway in giving the miner a new deal.[10] But Professor Cole has admitted that the change in the status of labour and behaviour of management in the mines is a consequence not so much of nationalisation as such, but of full employment and of nationalisation under a Labour Government. According to him, the new spirit of industrial relations is not deeply rooted. As many as 6,000 unofficial strikes occurred in the coal industry between the Vesting Day and December 1950. But this in itself proves nothing. Two things have to be borne in mind while explaining such a heavy record of industrial unrest in the coal-mining industry. First, strikes might have been, who knows, larger and severer under the old regime. Secondly, "we must also remember that industrial change, as an industrial psychologist would tell us, is not only the opportunity for consultations and for co-operation in solving new problems, but also productive of unrest of maladjustments and of the other spiritual discomforts which are supposed to be behind strikes."[12] Strikes in the coal mines may be due to the speed with which the Board is going ahead with its schemes of new organisation. It may, therefore, be concluded in the words of Mr. Edward Goodman:

> "It is only reasonable caution to add that while the failure of nationalisation to work immediate miracles is no proof of ultimate incapacity, that capacity itself remains to be proved."[13]

India has not made much headway in the matter of nationalisation of the industrial sector of the country's economy. State enterprise predominantly confined to sectors where public welfare or security is dominant. It is only recently that the State has stepped

4. *Report on the Efficient Conduct of State Enterprise* by A. D. Gorwala, p. 8.

5. *Problems of Nationalised Industry*: W. A. Robson. General Conclusions by the Editor. A conservative critic opposing nationalisation points out, "It is folly to base an economy and social policy on a change in human nature for which no warrant exists and for which the people have not been educated."

6. Gorwala's *Report*, p. 26.

7. The Conservative Government has since denationalised transport and iron and steel industries.

8. *Forms of Public Control and Ownership* by Edward Goodman, p. 86.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Vide his article in the *Problems of Nationalised Industry* edited by W. A. Robson, p. 129.

11. *Ibid*, p. 129.

12. *Industrial Democracy and Nationalisation* by Clegg, p. 91.

13. *Forms of Public Control and Ownership*, p. 87.

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the industrial sector as owner and controller of business undertakings. Railways and the Post and Telegraph are the older public enterprises, in which the primary motive behind State ownership and operation is public security and welfare. Air Transport and Life Insurance are the established industries which have been nationalised because of 'misenterprise' (and to some extent of 'unenterprise') on the part of private capitalists. As a matter of fact, we are industrially so backward and our progress in this respect show that we want as much of the public enterprise as of the private enterprise. It is only in a State of a developed industrial economy and political institutions that the State thinks of superseding private enterprise. In an under-developed economy like ours the State should content itself by effectively controlling the private enterprise rather than replacing it in the general industrial sector of a country. Great Britain, where such well-organised industries as coal mining and iron and steel have been nationalised, claim to have a long history of running over 150 years of industrial development, political democracy and trade union movement. In India, the State has tried to extend the public sector by establishing new enterprises especially the key and the basic industries. How has nationalisation affected industrial relations in public undertakings in India? In this connexion it is to be noted that all the public undertakings as railways and railway collieries and Posts and Telegraphs have been started or taken over under ownership and control very recently. Industrial peace in them have not assumed any shape for any results to make. It may, however, be observed the first effect of nationalisation has been that the conscious of being owner of an industry and the likelihood that the State will meet their claims readily, is encouraged to put forward high claims and fight for them. A tendency towards voluntary settlement of industrial disputes by collective bargaining is also discernible. For instance, in 1951-52 out of a total of 893 labour disputes in the State establishments, 808 were settled mutually and only 9 were referred for adjudication. The progressive growth of unity among the workers' organisations in the State undertakings is typified by the amalgamation of the Indian Railwaymen's Federation and the Indian National Railway Workers' Federation, since the State took over the railway systems under its control and management. Thus, nationalisation encourages workers to form big unions to deal with big managements.

The fundamental labour problem of the nationalised industry, as the experience of Great Britain, as also our own, clearly demonstrates, "consists partly of inculcating all who work in the organisations with a spirit of public service, partly of permeating the lower ranks of the industry with the radical change of outlook which has taken place at the top, partly of integrating and personifying the entire authority of the Corporation at the lower levels of management."[14]

Nationalisation will yield the benefits claimed for it by the Socialists when the whole spirit and the attitude of labour undergoes a change. The difficulty in the way is the manner in, and the conditions under which, trade unionism has developed. The trade unions under the capitalistic order of society have historically developed as organs for defending and improving the workers' standard of living. This has vitiated their entire outlook and strategy. For better industrial relations in nationalised industries, the workers "need to abandon their defensive, negative, demanding attitude and to display qualities of constructive leadership, understanding and co-operation with the management."

14. *Problems of National Industry*, p. 341.

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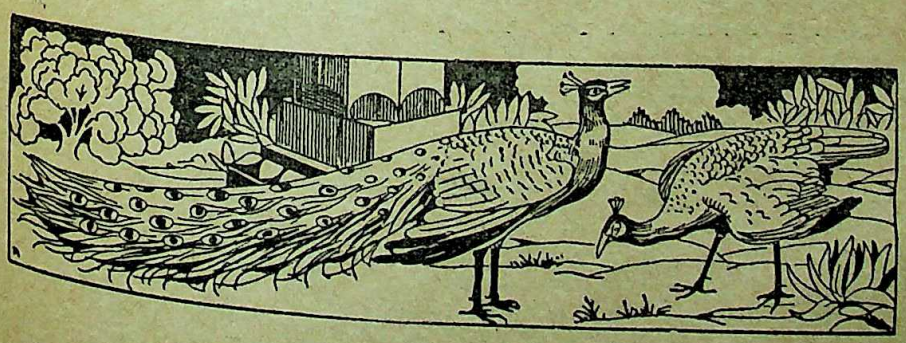

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THE POET AND THE PUBLIC MIND

By G. S. FRASER*

A month or two ago, Mr. W. H. Auden after a briskly contested election, became Professor of Poetry at Oxford, in succession to another notable poet who began to make a name in the 1930s, Mr. Cecil Day Lewis. The particular interest of this contest lay in the vigour with which he was supported and opposed. In university circles there are still many people who dislike Mr. Auden for three reasons. In the 1930s, he was a leading "radical" poet outspoken both in his opposition to Fascism and in his criticism of British domestic and foreign politics. Shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War he went to the United States, where he remained during that war; and he is now an American citizen. (He is no longer a "political" poet, but writes now from what might be called a broadly Christian standpoint). There are those who disapprove of his politics in the 1930s; and those (not necessarily the same persons) who disapprove of his absence in the United States during Great Britain's "finest hour," and of his decision to renounce his British subjecthood. There are finally those who, recognising his talent, deplore the use he has made of it. It is a tribute to Mr. Auden's great gifts that he triumphed, in his election, over these three layers of opposition. There is, perhaps, a fourth layer. There are critics—of the school of Dr. Leavis, of Cambridge—who, not deploring his "modernism," and recognising his gifts, feel that a sort of undergraduate cleverness has prevented Mr. Auden from ever "maturing" properly.

Mr. Auden's latest book, *The Shield of Achilles*, is a volume essentially of occasional poems—many of the best of them being exercises in light verse—without any pronounced unity of theme. There is perhaps no single poem in *The Shield of Achilles* as beautiful as the best poem, *In Praise of Limestone*, in *Nones*, and there are some poems that have rather a perfunctory air. Yet it is impossible to read *The Shield of Achilles* without becoming aware both of the extraordinary flexibility of Mr. Auden's technique and the range of his mind. Mr. Auden is both an oddly impersonal and an oddly unsensuous poet. His own feelings do not often inspire him to poetry, nor do the visual aspects of the outward world. He is a poet of thought and of moral intuition, whose most profound concern is with what might be called "the human condition" in general. He uses contemporary ideas poetically; in the 1930s, he drew a great deal on Freud and Marx; in the 1950s, he draws on modern theologians like Niebuhr. But man in history, man's tragic predicament, and noble responsibility, in history remains his central subject. The kind of human concern that moves him finds an excellent expression in the strong title poem of his new volume:

> Out of the air a voice without a face
> Proved by statistics that some cause was just
> In tones as dry and level as the place:
> No one was cheered and nothing was discovered
> Column by column in a cloud of dust
> They marched away enduring a belief
> Whose logic brought them, somewhere else, to grief.

It is in this moral realism, as it might be called, that his verse is strongest. The set of poems, *Canonicae*, at the end of this new volume, which are more definitely religious in intention, are also more uncertain in tone. The lighter poems sometimes decline from wit or gaiety to mere facetiousness. But this remains a much more impressive volume than most people can write nowadays. Mr. Auden's appointment at Oxford is, from an English point of view, to be welcomed. Both his technical mastery and his moral seriousness are likely to give young English poets a "lead" which at the moment they have need of; he may gather again round him, as in the 1930s, a band of his disciples. And it is possible that if he gains strength by touching his home ground, his own poetry may benefit by acquiring a warmer sense of a particular time, place, and setting, which it very vividly had in the 1930s, but which recently has tended to lose.

* Mr. Fraser is the author of *The Modern Writer and Other Essays* and two volumes of poetry. He is a regular broadcaster and contributor to London literary journals.

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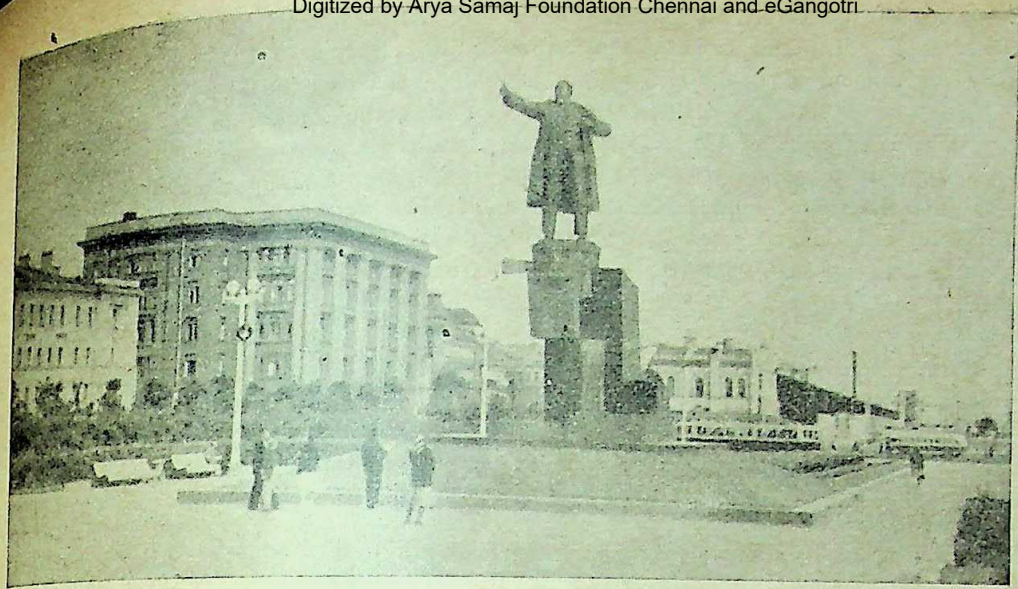

The Statue of Lenin by the River Neva near the Leningrad Station

BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

By NARENDRA DEV

I

Indian delegates to the World Peace Assembly, at Helsinki, Finland, were all cordially invited visit the United States of Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia.

During the three weeks of our extensive tour in Soviet land, from all that we observed there, as from what we gathered from our intimate contact with things around, we were not only very much pleased, but felt a little ashamed at having believed in all that the propagandists of the Anti-Soviet tried to instil in us. They scattered all over India tendentious news as would lead people to believe that men and women of U.S.S.R. were groaning under system of mechanical regimentation, that they had no political freedom, that outsiders were not allowed to what they would like to see, but that they had to satisfied with a strictly conducted official tour, that was a cursed land where the people were living in perpetual darkness behind an Iron Curtain.

They disseminated such strange stories as the following. In Russia religion was a taboo. Marriage was no longer a solemn and sacred thing; it had degenerated into a sort of companionship for an uncertain period, which could be broken off at the sweet will of either party if he or she felt tired of living together. The children of any of this temporary companionship were taken charge of by the State, as orphans. The people had no home of their own, neither any opportunity of enjoying the happiness of a family life.

The propagandists asserted: There was no freedom of the Press, newspapers and journals were not allowed to criticise any action likely to be detrimental to the interest of the public. Even the writers of the Soviet Union were subservient to the State and they had no liberty to write or publish any book until and unless it was approved by the State authorities. There were no distinction between the intelligentsia and labour. The people were all unhappy and deserted their country whenever they got an opportunity. The police and the military were a terror to the general public of the U.S.S.R. The concentration camps were nightmares to them. The factories and workshops were no better than gaols, where labourers were treated as if undergoing a term of rigorous imprisonment. It is needless to make the list longer.

At the very outset I would like to declare that the "Iron Curtain" is a myth. No such rigid system prevails anywhere here to shut out anything from the onlookers. We found the people of the U.S.S.R. very happy and contented. They have got no complaint against the Union Government, which they themselves set up through their own elected representatives to the City Soviets and through the City Soviets to the Supreme Soviets, who administer the Union Government.

All the workers in the industrial concerns of Soviet Russia are directly under their own Trade Unions. The State officers of the Supreme Council, the ministry, the police and the military authorities are all composed of the elected members of the people. Under the circumstances, no anti-Government group at all exists there.

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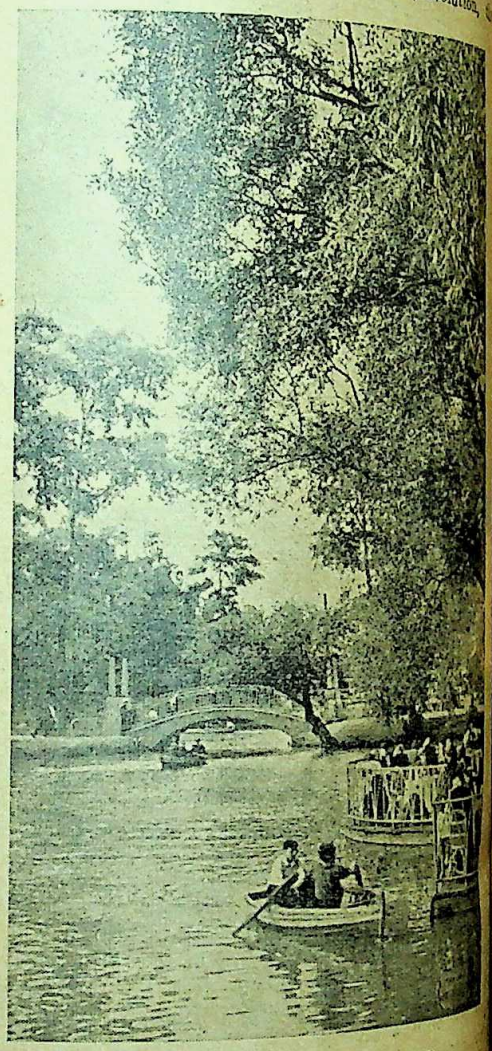
Men and women of the USSR are free to profess any religion. People may eat and drink and dress as they like. They are allowed to read any book on any subject that interests them. We have not come across any such person who is deprived of his individual freedom. As to the question regarding conducted tour, we got our first surprise when our hosts asked us to give them a list of places and things we would like to visit. They left us free to draw up our own tour programme.

The Gateway and the Victory Monument of Leningrad

The Indian delegates were composed of people from all walks of life, and naturally their interests were diverse. The doctors expressed their desire to visit the big hospitals; the lawyers, the Courts of Justice, the engineers, the public works. The representatives for the Gandhi Sevashram asked to see the Gowshalas in the villages. Men from Vinobaji's Bhoodan-movement organisation wanted to see the agricultural enterprises of the collective farms and their land settlements. The business magnets stood for factories, workshops and heavy industries, the educationists for schools and Universities, the litterateurs wished to meet the writers and visit the libraries. The scientists desired to have a look at the Nuclear Energy Institute, which was so long a top-secret of the Soviet Government. To our great astonishment our hosts readily agreed to comply with all our requests, gladly took us to all the places and showed everything to our entire satisfaction.

At Leningrad, Moscow, Stalingrad and Kiev, the principal town of Ukraine, there were some places and things of common interest to all, such as the Kremlin Palace, the Redfort in the Red-Square, where within a beautifully erected mausoleum the bodies of Lenin and Stalin are carefully preserved, the great Lenin Library of Moscow, the Metro underground Electric Railway, the Gorky Park, the "Smolney" House at Leningrad from where Lenin first directed the Revolution, the



Gorky Cultural Park, Moscow

Battleship *Aurora* that first started bombarding the Palace from the river Neva, the Summer Palace and Winter Palace of the Czars, the museums, art galleries, cultural parks, the Moscow Art Theatre, Bolsoi Theatre, Lenin Theatre and other places of amusements, such as the Puppet Dance, Opera, Ballet and Concerts, which the delegates went together and enjoyed immensely.

Next we visited the Great Agricultural Exhibition of Moscow. It had been running for over a year and a half. The Exhibition ground covers several square miles in area, with beautifully laid roads, gardens, flower-beds, fountains, artistic statues and decorated light-posts.

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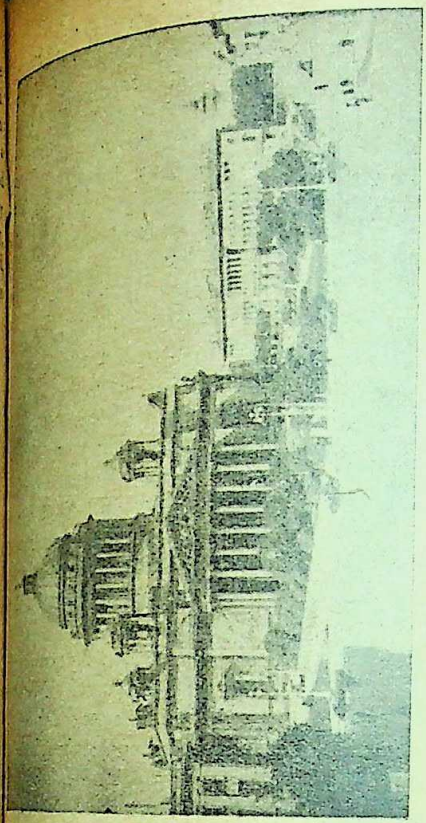
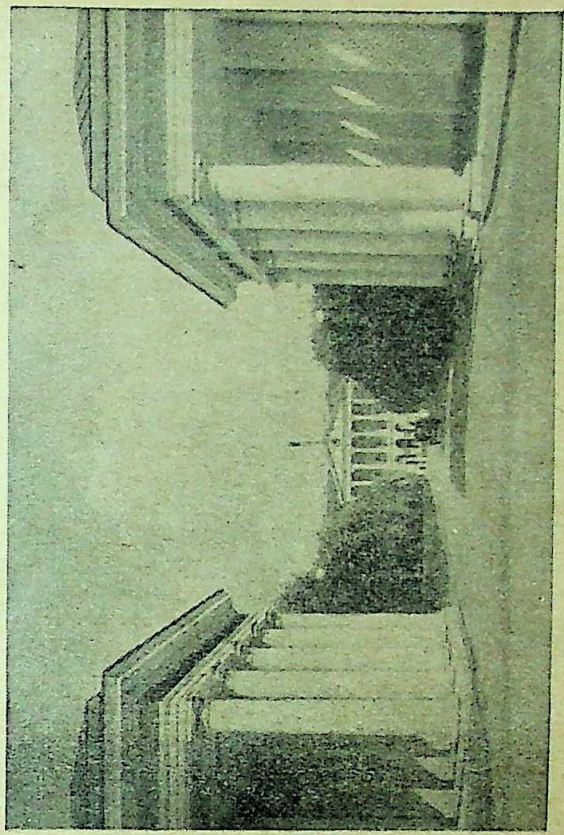
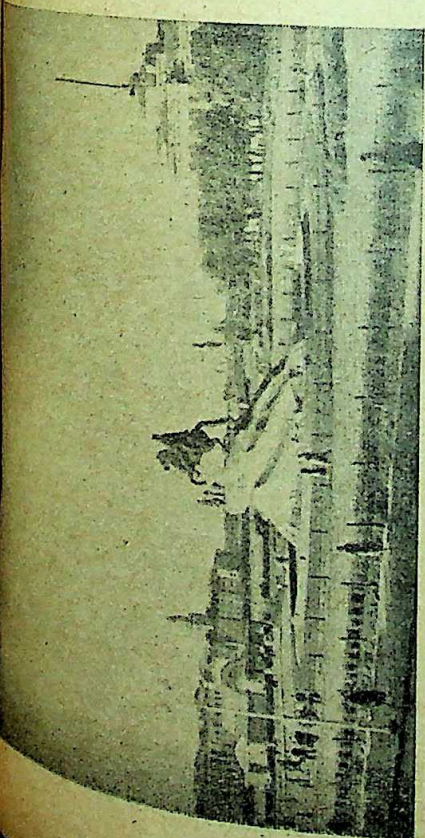


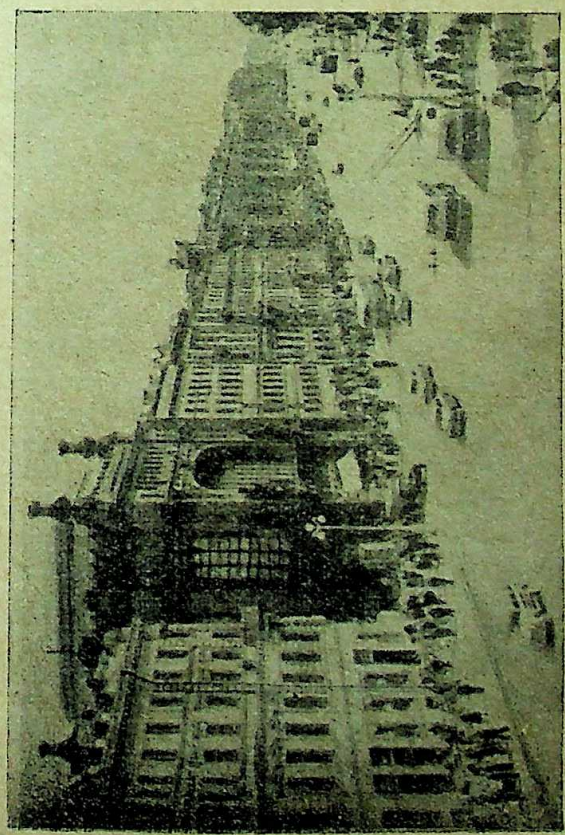
A Church in Leningrad



The first rendezvous of the Russian Revolutionaries—"Smolney"



The Statue of Peter the Great in the Leningrad Square



A Street in Leningrad

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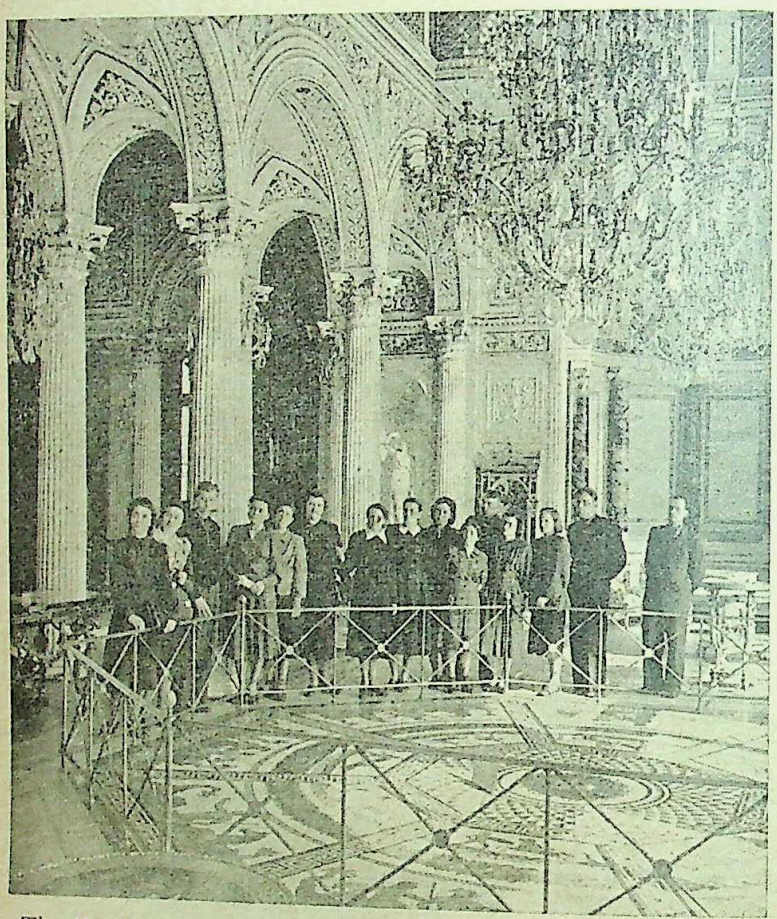
the sixteen Soviet Republics have joined in a competitive spirit in this Exhibition, vying with one another in putting up their best show. We could only manage to go through six of the sixteen pavilions erected there by each of the Republics, which can not only be described as manifestation of their wonderful architectural concepts but also all their artistic faculties; these six pavilions contained industrial products from Georgia, Kajakistan, Armenia, Uzbekistan, Azar Baizan and Tajakistan. This exhibition interested us so much that we felt a strong desire of visiting the above places, and as soon as it was conveyed to our hosts, all arrangements were made forthwith. Soviet planes took us to Kazakistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajakistan, one after another, and we got every facility to move about and see everything we wanted to see in all these places.



The Hall in the interior of the Palace 'Hermitage' in Leningrad (now Museum)

People who inhabit these places are mostly Moslems. They were almost illiterate and very backward people, who had been for centuries deprived of the light of modern civilisation. Women were confined within the Zenana under a strict Purdah system. But, we were taken aback to find that, through the influence of the Soviet regime, their life and society have undergone a complete and wonderful change, which can be well described as a magical transformation.

The old villages have all been turned into beautiful cities with high metalled roads ingeniously planned, on both sides of which there are many well-built pakka houses, shady trees and ornamented electric light posts. Tram cars, buses, and motor cars are plying on every street. There are cinemas, opera houses, theatres, and artistically laid-out public parks with flower beds, trees with green foliages, and fancy fountains. There are public libraries, museums as well as collective farms, industrial factories, hydro-electric stations, railways, telephones, posts and telegraphs, Radio broadcasting stations, nursery schools, Kindergartens, Children's Homes, high schools and colleges, etc. All kinds of amenities of modern town-life are available there. We found men and women of these Asiatic Republics of the Soviet Union steadily marching forward to an advanced stage of culture and civilisation.

We flew back to Moscow again and after passing a couple of days more there, visiting some other important places, we went to the Ukraine, the granary of Russia. But, before I write anything about the Ukraine, I would like to say something more about what we saw in Leningrad and Moscow.

When we went to visit a rubber factory at Leningrad, one of the members of our Indian delegation indirectly asked the manager as to the pay he gets for his job. This question was put to the Manager when he was gladly and with commendable patience answering many of our relevant and irrelevant questions. From the enquiries it transpired that a skilled labourer can earn two to three thousand roubles per month and an unskilled hand about five hundred to one thousand roubles. The Manager draws four thousand a month. Besides their pay the workers get more than one bonus during the year according to extra output in their production. They also get one month's leave on full pay. If a worker desires to spend his holidays at a rest-house or health resort, the Trade Union will arrange it for him without any obligation. He and his family get free medicine and the children get free education for a several course. The workers get cheap lunch at the factory canteen and standard cloth from the stores.

As to marriages, we found these were being solemnised either in the Church or at the Marriage Registrar's office. Young folks prefer the Registrar's office to a Church.

We met a very few police and military officers during our tour in the Soviet land and we came to know that cases of abuse of power are entirely absent there.

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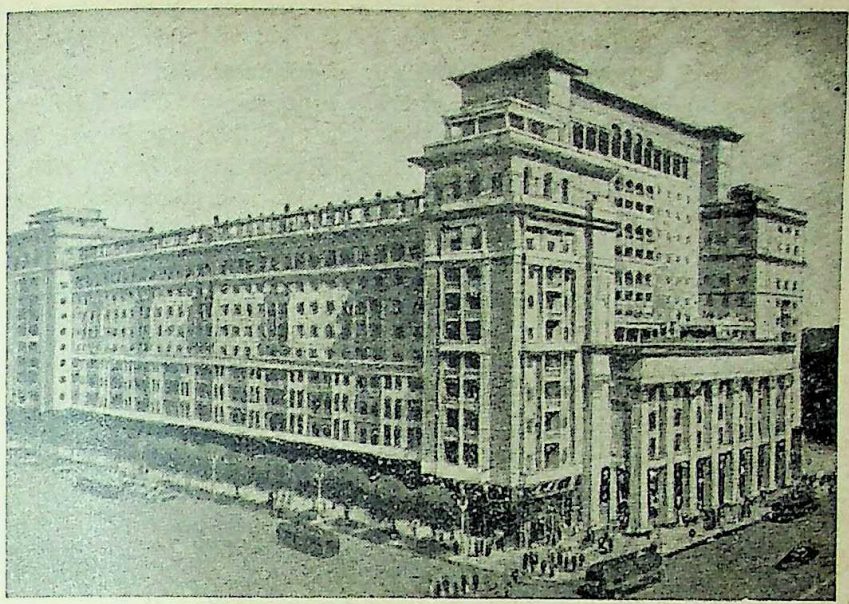
Children are taken care of by the parents at home as well as at schools, as every school has a Parents Committee who often visit them.

In case of workers where both father and mother go to the factory, they leave their children to the care of the Nursery or Kindergarten school every morning and take them back in the evening on their way home. The workers have all been provided with good quarters at a minimum rent. None of them are afraid of hard work for long hours. They are very sincere in discharging their duties to their country and nation.

Soviet Russia has entirely solved the unemployment problem. Small joint families with brothers and sisters, and old mother or father still exist there. The various amenities provided for the workers of the Soviet Union are worth immitating by those who are eager to increase their production. We cannot but applaud the success of the Soviet Union in raising the dignity of labour. There is no inferiority or superiority complex in their society. Money is not at all the criterion for judging man's position in society. It is the qualification of a man that only counts.

The intellectuals of the Soviet land appeared to be a privileged class whose income reaches fifteen to twenty thousand roubles per month. They have motor-cars and wear best dresses. But still they are not proud of their high position. We found them dining on the same table with their chauffeurs. They even help their valets light cigarettes. Men and women are regarded as equals in every respect. They enjoy an equal status in all affairs, State or industrial. We found here many girls doing heavy and hard work generally entrusted to young men of nerve in other countries. The women workers of Soviet Russia execute their duties in a wonderfully perfect way.



The Moscow Hotel

(To be continued)

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ESSENTIAL OILS—A NATIONAL ASSET

By PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE, I.O.S.

Introduction

"Life by smell" is a well-known slogan in the commercial world. Is it by accident that this slogan was coined? No. It is based on the role that the odour plays in mental dynamics. The nerves carrying the impulses of smell are directly connected with the brain. Hence, the sense of smell has a definite advantage over other senses. It is a well-known fact that memory associations connected with odour are very pronounced. The odour of perfume can influence that part of the brain which is not under conscious control, which is linked up with our emotions and moods. The reactions pertaining to smell are subjective.

Definition

It is because of this factor probably that nature abounds in aromatic articles. Various kinds of flowers and sandal-wood are conspicuous by their abundance in India. But surprisingly enough in addition to those from which a gentle breeze carry a pleasing odour to our romance and delight, there are many more which have a prime content which carries that pleasing odour. It is this 'prime content' which gives the peculiar odour a particular article has. This prime content is hidden in each article in the shape of an oil; as this oil forms the 'essence' of all odours and perfumes, the oil is technically known as Essential Oil.

Genesis

Human beings are associated with the odour sensation from the very dawn of life on our mother earth. And it is no wonder that we are in love with it. As all articles in nature are seasonal and as these could not be controlled to give us pleasure at our will and command ingenious human brain started to devise ways and means to extract the 'essential oils'

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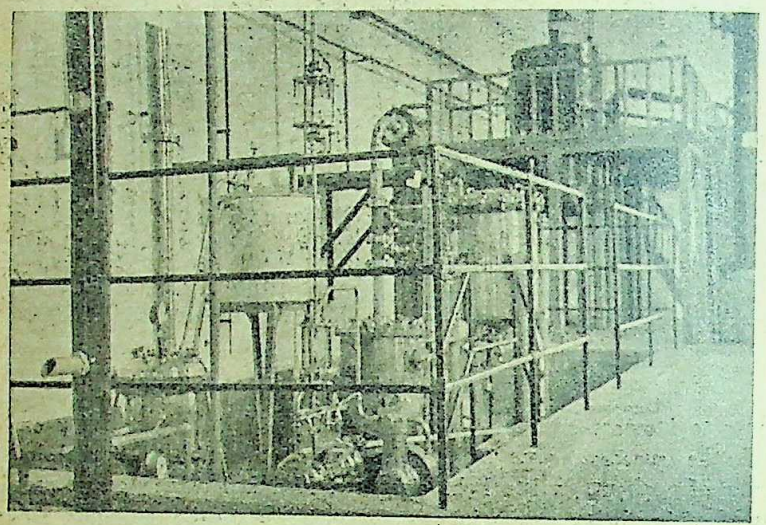
to be used, independent of nature itself, at times and occasions at our will.

Although it is presumed that the use of perfumes originated with religious observances where fragrant incense was burnt by man from ancient times at the altar of gods, yet in the opinion of many no page in human history antidates the use of perfumes and cosmetics. Although aromatic articles play an important part in thanks-offerings for annointing and embalming, and for rendering the air in places of worship pleasant-smelling, yet the application of essential oils and aromatic chemicals extends to many more branches of human activities. In addition to perfumes and cosmetics the essential oils are required for the preparation of insecticides and have become today indispensable in many other industries—rubber, plastics, textiles, paper, ink, paint, boot polish, glue, soap, writing pads, and so many others. It is impossible to stand near a tannery for the offensive smell, but addition of the essential oils and aromatic chemicols masks this bad odour to make these usuable. If you open an ink-bottle of a reputable firm it will give you a pleasing smell. On the other hand, if it happens to be one of X or Y make then in many cases you will like to throw away the bottle the moment you open the cork for use. Well, it actually happened to me. I regretted buying the unknown make.



Sectional view of the essential oils processing laboratory, C.F.P. Branch, Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun

Application and Economics

The application of essential oils is so varied and extensive that it is sufficient to state that there are very few branches of industry which do not derive benefit out of the essential oils and aromatic chemicals in one way or the other. It will, therefore, be clear that the essential oils and aromatic chemicals are very important from our national point of view. There are signs that the people are becoming conscious about this importance. But like many other this particular branch cannot thrive unless it is taken by the scientists and the industrial world. Guided by this urge a symposium was organised the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, in October, 1955. In this symposium some one hundred representatives took active part covering both private and public sectors. Certain foreign countries took great interest in the symposium and sent their products representatives. An Exhibition was organised in this connection showing the different types of essential oils and aromatic chemicals and various uses to which these put. It was quite illuminating I wondered how the public was out of touch with item of national concern. Sadgopal, the officer in charge the Chemical Branch of the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun one of the figures behind the symposium in general and the exhibition in particular was explaining with great care the implications of this branch knowledge and its economy. While seeing the exhibition I came across a few pairs of cups and saucers. expected these were from Bengal Potteries Ltd. Sadgopal showed me two different cups with border lines and asked me, "Do you find any difference between these two?" I could not notice any.

"For this purpose," he explained, "some oil is required which has been an imported After trial we have found that an indigenous duct is not inferior in any way. This will a lot of money going out of the country's detrimental to the benefits of our own country."

Reversing the cups I could see the cards ing in one the use of the imported oil, and in the the indigenous oil. As essential oils form the perfumes and products thereof, it has opened dous possibilities in Indian economy. Hundreds tons of raw materials go out of the country year and come back in the shape of finished draining our country's purse several times. strangely enough the branch of perfumery in industry had been a thriving concern in the has dwindled, as usual, almost to nothing through own fault. Dr. Panjab Rao Deshmukh, Union ter for Agriculture, in his inaugural address aforesaid symposium, remarks:

"There is considerable evidence to show the production and use of perfumes had developed to a considerable degree

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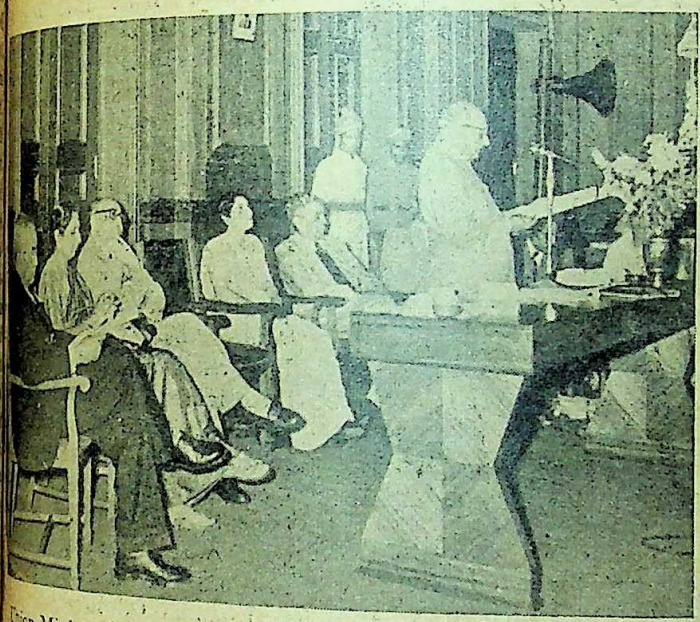
country from long time past. Famous travellers of these days like Fahien have described this country as the land of aromatic flowers, fruits, woods, roots, resins, and grasses. Of these, perhaps the best known had been sandal-wood and its oil, as they have been favourites from time immemorial in the world of perfumes. In fact, there would appear to have been a regular barter trade in sandal-wood from ancient days when caravans carried the precious wood from India even to Egypt, Greece, and Rome. India came to be known for her high-class perfumes; and centres like Kanauj, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, Lucknow, Poona, and Bhandarpur also acquired reputation in the past for their perfumery products."



Union Minister for Agriculture, Dr. P. S. Deshmukh, delivering his inaugural address

In spite of the above how is it that we have relegated such an important matter to the importer of perfumery products? Of the many factors, a lack of desire to know other persons' taste and to improve upon it is mainly responsible for this downfall. Dr. C. D. Rao Deshmukh further states in his address:

"Like many of our old habits in most respects our sense of smell has also undergone a change. We have gradually discarded the *Otto-Dilbahar* and have taken to Coty's Chypre. Our manufacturers, however, like the more conservative sections of our people, never imagined that our noses would refuse to smell the strong rose and *khus khus* and go in for the comparatively soft-smelling Persian perfumes. The natural result followed and many of them have lost their trade."

The following tables of export and import of raw materials will indicate the economic importance the essential oils and aromatic chemicals have on Indian economy. Because, what we sell as raw materials come back in the shape of finished products costing us several times more than what we sold for.

Approximate figures of the Import during three years—1951-54

	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54
Quantity (lbs.)	1,009,762	831,037	1,231,113
Value (Rs.)	12,905,855	7,736,970	8,920,238

Approximate figures of the Export during the four years—1951-55

	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55
Qty. (lbs.)	1,288,751	1,153,409	1,602,119	1,935 680
Value (Rs.)	21,069,022	11,247,054	12,671,267	23,412,681

Thinking about our past achievements and possibilities of the future, our task is then not merely to arrest decay of our old activities, but to harness the country's potentials for an all-round expansion. This cannot be achieved by mere thinking about our golden past which has crippled us in many respects. What is really needed is the concerted action of the public and the private sector.

Survey—Research

The essential oils and their important aromatic chemicals are mostly obtained from plants, grass, and roots thereof. It is, therefore, of prime importance that a thorough survey of what are available should be made so that we know where we stand. In many instances certain vital plants may not be available at

Dr. Sadgopal explaining to Dr. P. S. Deshmukh the latest specimens of packing materials employed in essential oils and perfumery industry

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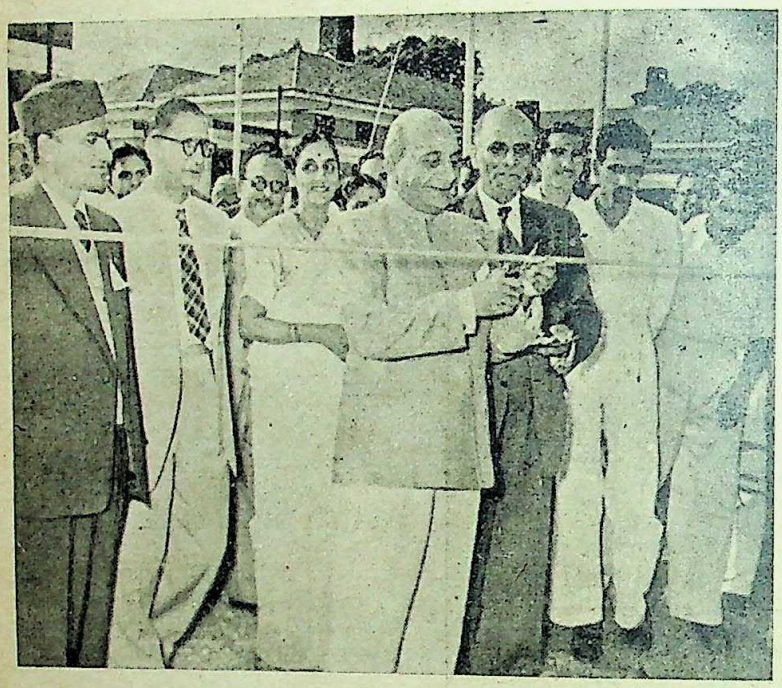
all, or what is available may not yield as much as the imported variety. For instance, Patchouli (Pogostemon cablin) yields an oil of high perfumery value imported from Malaya and Indonesia. The imported varieties yield more not only in quantity but in quality also than the not-very good indigenous variety. Essential Oil Research Committee of the C.S.I.R. thinks that yields from the imported variety can be stepped up by improving the cultural method. Once the survey



Union Minister for Agriculture, Dr. P. S. Deshmukh, cutting the tape at opening of the Essential Oils Exhibition

is complete the next step would be to chalk out a progressive planning for execution. Because, although many of the plants and grasses grow in our forests and meadows naturally, yet there are many which require to be cultivated intensively. Dr. Panjab Rao Deshmukh's remarks are worth mentioning:

> "It is recognised that incidence of plants yielding essential oils is very scattered in the country and the efforts to cultivate them intensively have up-to-date been on but a limited scale. There is much scope for improvement not only by adopting regular methods of conservation and collection but also by raising plantations or by improving the stocking of the desired species in the natural crops."

In addition, there are many other sources from which raw materials can be obtained, *viz.*, peels of oranges, certain saw dusts. These saw dusts after extraction of the oil can easily be put to other uses to which these are now put without any loss in its use value from the consumers' point of view. The orange-peels produce essential oils of high grade, but think of the great waste that we make every year. Ways and means must be found out to conserve this and encourage its employment for manufacture of essential oils as a profitable deal, because certain factories carrying out work in this respect are complaining of the uneconomic character of the manufacture carried in the present line.

Apart from survey and intensive cultivation, it is of prime importance that research work is conducted of the products, not only for maintenance of the standard but to enhance the quality and quantity in all directions. Research organisations are therefore as much valuable as the natural products themselves. It is strange to note that although the forests of India have been the main source of supply of many plants yielding essential oils, yet the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun could not afford to give it sufficient importance for more than one reason and has been dealing with it only as a 'Minor Forest Product.' But, it is gratifying to note that with the increased activities in all directions the 'Minor' has not escaped notice. Research facilities have, therefore been remodelled and new plant installed. In addition to the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun there are other research organisations to whose credit goes much good work, namely, the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, C. S. I. R., its Essential Oil Research Committee and other Institutions and Laboratories. Private firms such as, Calcutta Chemicals Co. of Calcutta, Gupta & Co. of Delhi, Standard Essential Distillery of Kanpur, and Tata Oil Mills Co., have shown commendable enterprise in developing the commercial production and utilisation of the essential oils. It is constantly reported that these concerns are not prosperous. Such complaints are mainly due to inferior products and to foreign competition both of which are in the ultimate analysis, interdependent. That is to say, if good things are available out of indigenous source at competitive price, there is no reason why imports cannot be minimised if not stopped altogether.

Public Confidence—Creation of Standards

Like everything else in the commercial world, the creation of public confidence is of prime importance. In other words, reliable and dependable standards should be formulated for the essential oils and aromatic chemicals so that in the private as well as in the public sector there is no room for doubt regarding the quality of the end product. With this end

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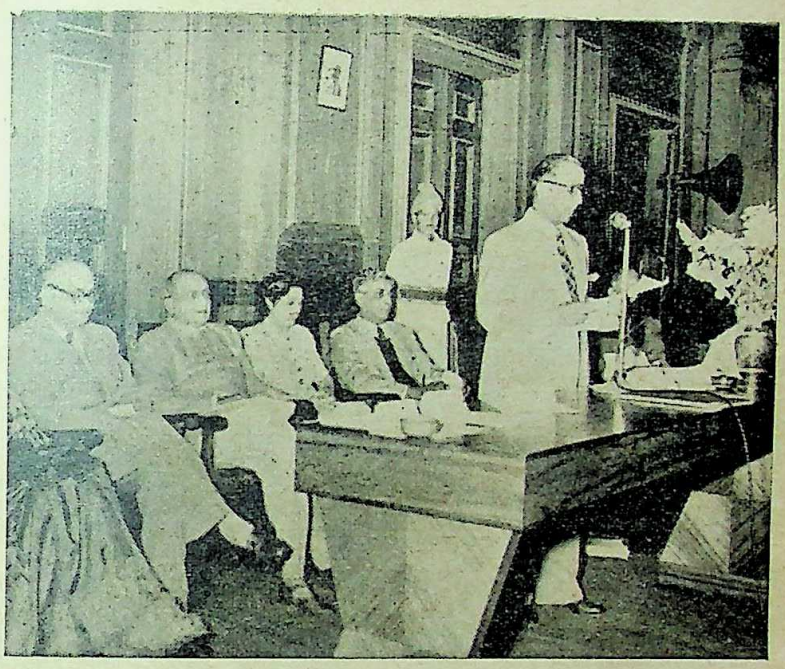
the Indian Standard Institute, a semi-Government organisation, has been assigned this task in addition to other spheres of work of the I.S.I. After showing the exhibition in great detail Dr. Sadgopal took me to the library, which is quite an impressive one. With a smile in his face he pulled out a binder of the I.S.I. showing me the standards that have already been drawn and others that are in hand. I looked at his face, and he was quite proud of the part he played in formulating the standards. It was made clear to me that they are yet to go a long way not only in drawing fresh standards but keeping simultaneous contact with the modern trend of development for revising those already drawn. Its importance will be best understood when we remember about our past achievements and decay for the lack of our scientific inquisitiveness both in following a standard and bringing it up-to-date with the march of science and taste. That is why Dr. Panjab Rao Deshmukh speaks:

"(Formulation of standards) will ensure that in future this industry will not suffer in the unfortunate manner in which it received a setback due primarily to poor standards of output, adulteration and inadequate methods and processes in the past."

Publicity

The importance should also be given to publicity. Although the philosophy of life does not encourage advertisement, it should be understood clearly that self-tomtoming and publicity are not one and the same thing. If the setting up of standards is important from the point of view of creating public confidence, proper publicity to keep the public informed of achievements made is no less important. It not only creates confidence in the consumer-*cum*-producer but it also attracts talents without whom it is not possible to achieve anything. Till today only a few self-reliant persons have been persuing this path in spite of neglect and other handicaps. Dr. Sadgopal mentioned to me the various obstructions and cold attitude he had to face when he chose this branch of Chemistry for his research work some three decades ago. This attitude, coupled with the economic condition in the country are good enough to keep away many from the line. Reverse will be the case if and when we are impressed upon the public the economic importance and potentialities ensuring a future career for those who may choose this branch as their life's pursuit.

The exhibition was one of the finest of its kind, yet attendance was poor. This is sufficient to justify the need for an all-round publicity. Dr. Sadgopal took a pad of perforated strips of paper which were being dipped into each bottle containing the essential oils, although he chose only a few out of the varieties shown; when he finished, both of my hands were full with those strips. I brought these home and have kept them in my almirah; four months have passed yet whenever I open the doors a sweet smell always greets me. After the burning summer days when the rains drop on the hills and dales, mother earth gives out a perfume which I am sure many will not like at all. But that smell has also been condensed in the bottle in liquid form and are being put to use in so many ways.



Sri K. L. Agarwal, I.F.S., President, Forest Research Institute and Colleges, Dehra Dun, delivering his welcome address

Samples ranging from about five rupees a pound to twenty thousand rupees a pound were exhibited. This fact in price variations alone should convince one about the economic future of the essential oils and their products.

Efforts made by the foreign firms are quite noticeable. Beautiful representations of common arts and crafts, quite appealing to the aesthetic sense, were shown under the heading "Thus They Advertise"—just the type to draw attention. Graphic statistics of progress and an well-drawn map of India within the folds of 'B' indicating the possible sources of Vetivre Roots (*khus khus*) would attract anybody.

Conclusion

Dr. Sadgopal tried to impress me about the

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urgency of installing distillation plants in the various research centres without which nothing much could be done in spite of best wishes of all concerned.

This was the first symposium of its kind although a representative one in every respect. The delegates took active interest and discussed various aspects of the problem. Hopes have been raised high and there is no reason why we shall not be able to tide over the present dark days to see a bright sunny future if we are sincere enough to strive and toil.

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TO BROADEN ASIAN-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING

In San Francisco, a notable American institution is establishing itself as a Western center of Asian culture under the direction of a Briton who has steeped himself in East Asian, Indic and Arab philosophies since he was a schoolboy at Kings School, Canterbury, England.

He is Alan W. Watts, now an American citizen, with an American wife and five children. He is Dean of the American Academy of Asian Studies, a graduate school of the College of the Pacific which has its under-

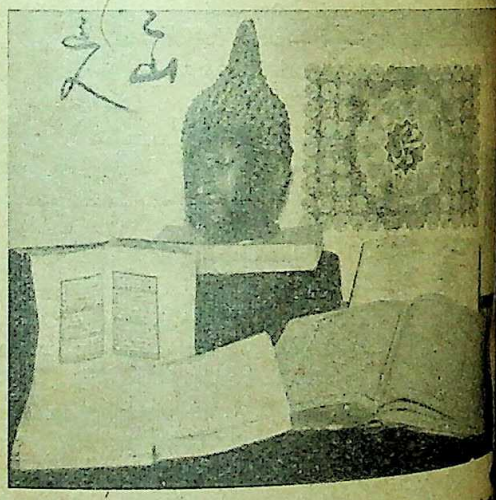
Claude Dalenberg, an American student and Gi-Ming Shien, Professor of Chinese Studies at the Academy, listen while Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, Dean of Sanskrit and Pali Studies at the University of Ceylon, expounds a point in Buddhist philosophy

graduate facilities and three other graduate schools at nearby Stockton.

Dean Watts, now 41, was only 15 when he first became interested in Asian philosophies, and he wrote a book on Buddhism when he was 20. He has since written ten books on philosophical and religious subjects.

Dean Watts came to the United States in 1938. He wrote and lectured in New York, spent several years as a clergyman and was a religious counsellor at one of the large midwestern universities before he joined the faculty of the new academy, which was founded in 1[illegible]. He became Dean in 1953, a year before the academy joined the College of the Pacific. This spring the college awarded Masters' degrees to seven Academy graduates.

The school was founded through the generosity of a San Francisco businessman, Louis Gainsborough, who is now chairman of the Academy board of governors. It now operates almost as a self-sustaining institution



A display at the Academy symbolic of the culture of Asian and Near-Eastern countries. A Pali [illegible] with Buddhist scripture and a Koran of the [illegible] century are seen in the fore-ground

and Dean Watts hopes that in the near future it will be able to support itself entirely.

"We could operate on the basis of fees alone if it were not that we like to be able to finance a promising scholar from time to time, and we would like to [illegible] our faculty adequately," he said. "The faculty members make great personal sacrifices to work here because they believe so much in what we are doing."

He admits that for a man who has devoted [illegible] of his life to the most profound explorations

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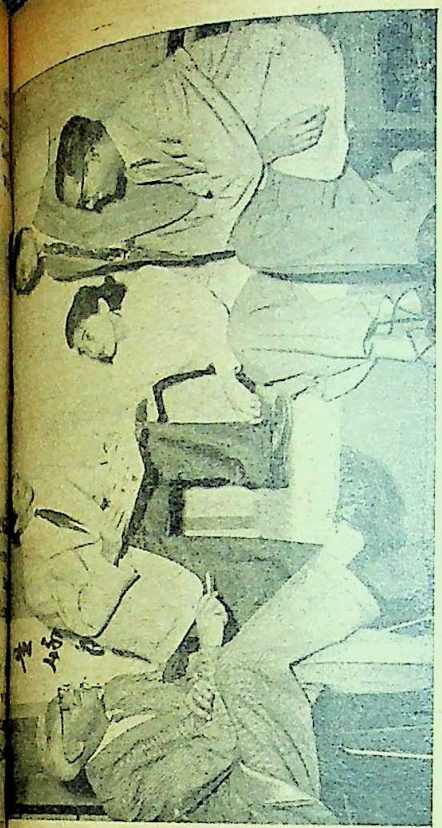
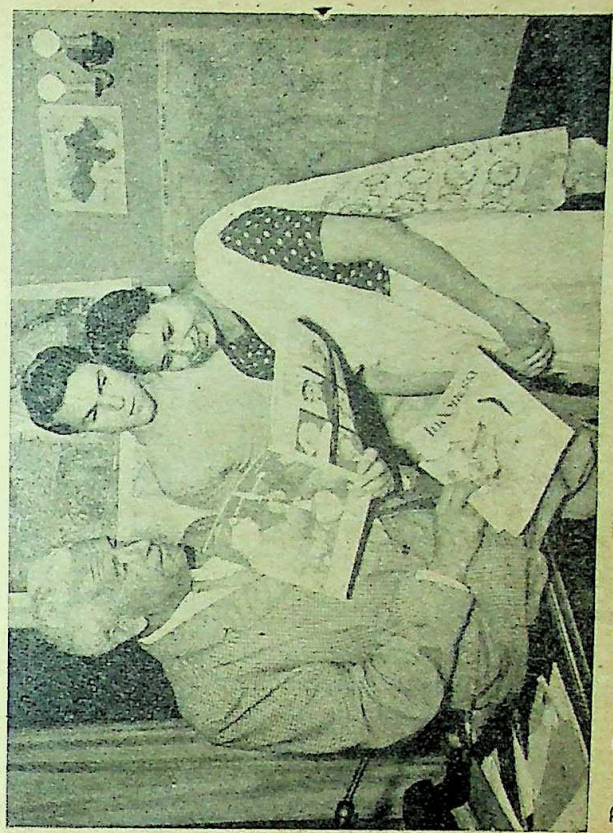
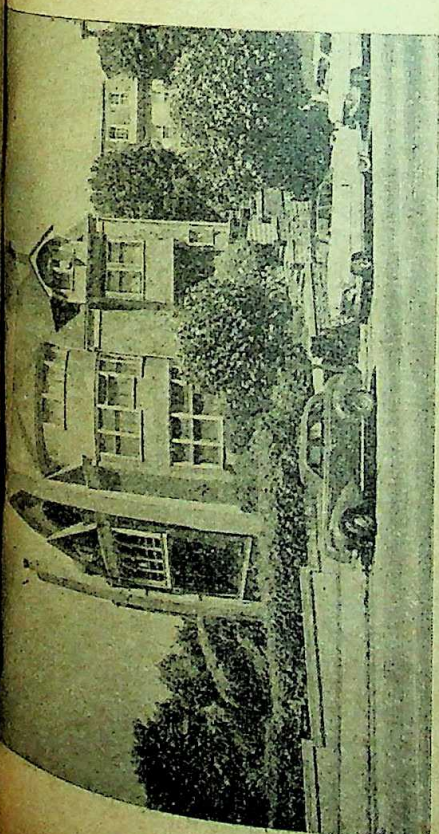


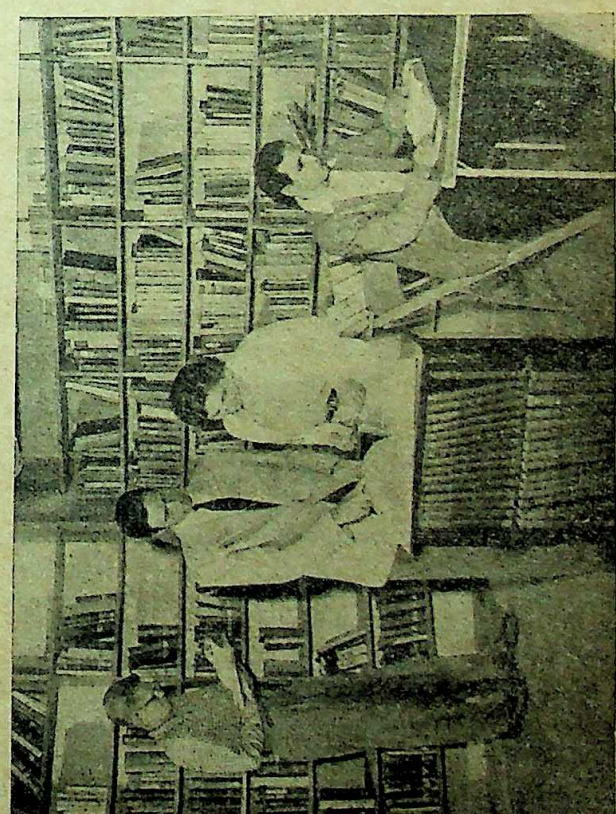
A group of the Academy faculty members at an informal meeting with Dean Watts



Rom Landau (*left*), Professor of Islamic Studies; George Dimitroff, a student; and Urmila Agarwal, instructor in Hindi, look over the magazine *Indonesia*



An exterior view of the American Academy of Asian Studies



A busy corner of the Academy library

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philosophy and psychology, administrative tasks and managerial responsibilities in directing the school came hard for him. But at the end of the school year in June, he was able to report that the school had 30 candidates for degrees—twice as many as the year before—had increased the faculty, had acquired ownership of the four-story mansion which houses the Academy, had doubled its library facilities, and had begun to publish its own series of monographs.

Alan W. Watts, Dean of the American Academy of Asian Studies

The academy has two main purposes: to create a deeper knowledge among Americans of the cultural, political, and economic life of the East, and to relate Western culture with the great works of Eastern philosophy and learning.

Dean Watts says, "We especially want young Asians to know that we study their cultures with respect, and want to learn from them."

In the annual bulletin of the Academy, a statement of its history and objectives presents this broad aim: "Its function is not only to prepare students for professions and careers directly related to Asia, but also to enrich higher education in the United States with the vast cultural contribution of the Asian world."—*USIS.*

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THE QUEEN WHO WANTED TO BE AN EMPRESS

By K. R. N. SWAMY

The marriage between the Duke of Edinburgh, the second son of Queen Victoria and Princess Marie, the daughter of the Czar of Russia, was one of the most spectacular events of 1874. The wedding took place in St. Petersburg on 23rd January, 1874 and among the galaxy of guests were the Emperors of Prussia and France.

The week following the Royal couple's return to England was marked by State Banquets and Receptions and the young Duchess of Edinburgh won the approbation of all by her charms and grace.

As such, it was a great surprise to the general public, when in March 1874, the Court Circulars revealed that the Duchess of Edinburgh would in future abstain from attending Court ceremonies and receptions.

Many reasons were suggested for this decision. The *London Times* accounted for this, by stating that as Her Highness was expecting to become a mother, she deemed her retirement from society necessary.

But according to the rumours current in the Windsor Palace, her absence was not due to her state of health, but due to a quarrel with her mother-in-law, Queen Victoria, over a matter of her precedence at Court functions.

Subsequently as events proved themselves, the reason was the correct one.

As the daughter of the Czar, the Duchess of Edinburgh not unnaturally thought, that she had a right to take precedence over the Princess of Wales—the wife of Edward, the hereditary Prince of Wales and elder brother to the Duke of Edinburgh.

The children of the Czar are Grand Dukes and Grand Duchesses in their own right and are addressed as 'Imperial Highnesses'. But Alexandra, the Princess of Wales, was only the daughter of a king and was only addressed as 'Her Royal Highness'.

As such, the Dutchess of Edinburgh represented to Queen Victoria, that an Imperial Highness should take precedence over a Royal Highness and that she must be given the honour accorded to the Princess of Wales at State receptions.

Queen Victoria was considerably embarrassed by this request and tried to impress upon the Duchess of Edinburgh the unnaturalness of her plea.

Even the implication, that the English monarchy is inferior to any Imperial House of Europe, was to be intolerable to the English people—the Queen complained, and gently reprimanded the Duchess of Edinburgh that the Sovereigns of England had

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admitted that any of the Continental Emperors had a right to take precedence over them.

This reply did not satisfy the Duchess of Edinburgh and she informed the Queen of her decision to refrain from Court functions till a mutually satisfactory alternative was found.

Naturally the news reached the Russian capital and England heard with interest that the Czar of Russia was about to come to England, not merely to visit his daughter, but also, if possible, to settle with the Queen the question of precedence that had disturbed her family.

Queen Victoria on her part was understood to be willing to assent to any solution, which did not confer on the wife of her second son, the right to take precedence over the consort of the heir-apparent and the matters stood, when the Czar arrived in England on 13th May, 1874. He was received with the most cordiality by the Queen in Windsor.

The nature of the parley between the Czar and the Queen is not known, but the first effect of this visit was to replace the Duchess of Edinburgh in the circulars, next of course to the Princess of Wales but to cause her to be described as 'Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh and Grand Duchess of Russia.'

The Czar returned to Russia after a month's stay, but the cause of his visit and its implications rankled in the mind of Queen Victoria.

In the Court circulars, except the Duchess of Edinburgh no one, not even the Queen was described 'Imperial Highness' and the Queen decided to take the title of Empress, so that none of her children would be embarrassed at State reception in Continental Europe for as the scions of the Empress, all them would be entitled to the prefix 'Imperial' to their name.

The Queen well knew that to be known as the Empress of Great Britain would provoke the animosity of the English people against the Throne and to call herself as the Empress of Australia or Canada would invite ridicule, as these colonies were then little more than wildernesses.

As such she decided on the title of the Empress of India. This she felt to be a suitable choice as Empresses were not alien to Indian tradition and only twenty years had passed since the last of the Mogul Emperors had been deposed.

But when she broached the matter to the British Prime Minister, Disraeli, he was not at all enthusiastic. There had been some question of this in 1858, at a time when India had been brought under the Crown after the Sepoy Mutiny and Disraeli had supported it in principle.

But in 1876, the moment was unfavourable. Disraeli knew that this rather un-English idea would be distasteful to the Prime Minister's love for Oriental tinsel and further he had to get the approval of the Parliament to have the Royal title changed.

As such he requested the Queen to wait for a few more years, till the atmosphere could be made more congenial for such a Bill to be brought in the Parliament. But the Queen was firm in her insistence and Disraeli had to accede to her wishes.

The Prince of Wales had made a tour of India in 1875 and the Queen decided to use the 'tumultuous' welcome he had received at the hands of the Indian Princes an excuse for her assumption of this title.

As such, while opening the session of the Parliament in January 1876, she declared that among the various Bills that were to be passed by the Parliament in that session, one would be that for her assumption of a title derived from India. She judiciously did not mention as to what the title was to be.

The Royal Titles Bill was moved by the Prime Minister in the Parliament on 7th February, 1876. He had some idea, that it would be against the prerogative of the Crown if he stated as to what the new title was to be.

But most of the members objected to this contention and during the second reading of the Bill it became apparent to Disraeli that the Bill would not be passed unless the new title was disclosed.

As such, he reluctantly made it public that the Queen would be assuming the Title of the Empress of India. The Parliament was surprised to hear this news and the public outcry was great.

The English do not like changes. The Queen had always been the Queen; why should she not continue so? "The title of the Empress," said the Puritans, "evokes the images of conquest, of persecution and even of debauchery."

Pamphlets were published, "How little Ben, the innkeeper, changed the sign of Queen's Inn to the Empress Hotel Ltd., and what was the result?" or "Dizzi-Ben-Dizzi, the Orphan of Bagdad."

The foreign embassies found it a comical story. "It is the freak of an artist and kingmaker in Dizzy (Disraeli)," wrote the French Charge d'Affairs. "In the Queen the freak of an upstart; she imagines that her standing will be raised and that her children will find a better place for themselves in life with this Imperial title."

"It is my impression that it is a grave mistake thus to raise the veil which ought to cover the origin of Crowns, these things ought not be played with. One is born an Emperor and a King: but it is very dangerous to become one."

The Queen was much grieved by the opposition shown to her wish and especially by the personal attacks, which her plans had loosed against the Prime Minister.

The Peers of the House of Lords were as

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reluctant as the House of Commons to sanction the adoption of any exotic titles by the Crown and the Crown on its part did not scruple to bring in personal pressure. Lord Shaftesbury, the most influential of the Peers, was summoned to the Court after an interval of 20 years.

"I dread the interview", wrote the aged noble in his private diary, "the cold, the evening dress, the solitude, for I am old and dislike being far away from assistance, should I fall ill at night. The Queen sent for me in 1848 to consult me on an important matter. Can it be so now?"

But the Queen did not even as much as allude to the topic during the interview, but as Lord Shaftesbury shuffled away from the hall, a Lord-in-waiting approached him and requested him to convey the Queen's views regarding the matter to his compeers in the House of Lords.

But Lord Shaftesbury decided to act according to his conscience and on 3rd April 1876, he moved an Address to the Queen in the House of Lords, humbly beseeching her 'not to take the title of Empress.'

"As Empress, the title had a feminine softness," he appealed, but "in future as Emperor it will have an air, military, despotic, offensive and intolerable."

It fell to Disraeli's lot to reassure everybody. As regards the evil associations with the name of the Emperor, he pointed out that the golden age of humanity had been the era of Antonines.

As for the title of the Queen, it would be maintained in England and in all documents relating to Europe. Only in Acts concerning India and in the commissions of officers (who might be called upon to serve in India) the title of the Empress of India would follow that of 'Defender of the Faith'.

Finally, the House of Commons reluctantly accepted all these assurances, but strangely enough the House of Lords was more adamant. The Government got 137 votes in favour of the title and against the Bill were 91 votes including that of Lord Shaftesbury and eight Dukes.

Symbolic of the public opinion was the comment expressed by the *Saturday Review*, which termed the title as 'vulgar and impolitic appelation.'

But the Queen was overjoyed to know the result. When at last she had her title, she wrote to the Prime Minister Disraeli, a letter of thanks, signing it 'Victoria Regina et Imperatrix' with a childlike delight.

Then the New Empress gave a dinner, at which she appeared contrary to all her customs, covered with the oriental jewels presented to her by the Indian Princes.

At the end of the repast, Disraeli rose, in contra[illegible] violation of etiquette and proposed the health of the Empress of India in a short speech as crowded with imagery as a Persian poem. The Queen far from being scandalised, responded with a smiling bow that was almost a courtesy.

In India, the proclamation of the Queen as the Empress of India (Kaiser-i-Hind) was made at Delhi in the presence of the Viceroy and the great feudatories of the Empire on 1st January, 1877.

A banner and a medal were given to the princes to commemorate the event and five of the most important rulers, the Holkar, the Scindia, the Maharajah of Kashmir, the Maharajah of Travancore and the Maharana of Udaipur were granted the right of having 21 salvoes fired in their honour during ceremonies, just like the Nizam of Hyderabad, and the Viceregal dignity was raised to 31 salvoes.

The latter step caused some disappointment among the princes, as the Holkar and the Scindia, whose claim was to hold higher status than the Viceroy in their own dominions and equal rank with him elsewhere, found themselves deprived of this right.

This scenic display was a little tawdry and theatrical and the grizzled English officials, who had been accustomed to see austere statesmen and stern soldiers on the Viceregal Throne, were perplexed to find the Empress of India represented by a Viceroy who appeared to enjoy keenly the orientalism of the function and saw no absurdity in representing the majesty of the Empire on the back of an elephant which had been painted white for the occasion.

Yet the ceremony was not without deep meaning. It represented the final triumph of the new system by which, instead of ruling India by a paternal bureaucracy (whose aim was to sweep away all potentates who stood between it and the people), the hereditary rights of the princes were recognised and they themselves made the corner-stones in the fabric of the Empire, of which the Kaiser-i-Hind was proclaimed as the apex or the Crown.

It was therefore not without significance, that the only class unrepresented at the Proclamation was the Indian People. Yet, one occasionally heard of the Indian People.

A quarter million of them had been drowned in a cyclone in Bengal, when the debate on the Imperial title was going on in London. Eight million of them were in agonies of famine in central India, when the title was proclaimed in Delhi.

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THE COMPTROLLER AND AUDITOR-GENERAL UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By V. K. SUBRAMANYAM, M.A.,
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The recent discussion in Parliament in regard to the arrangements for auditing proposed by the Government of India for the Life Insurance Corporation have brought to the fore the importance of a correct appreciation of the position of the Comptroller and Auditor-General under the Constitution. The Government of India are of the view that it is not necessary for the Comptroller and Auditor-General to be entrusted with the audit of the accounts of the Life Insurance Corporation. The Comptroller and Auditor-General's audit is stated to be 'conventional' and 'mechanical' and such audit will be entirely unsuitable for the accounts of the Corporation. They, therefore, seem to think that his audit will be undesirable. The Government of India have objected even to a proposal that the appointment of private auditors should be made on the recommendation of the Comptroller and Auditor-General and that he should have the power to conduct a test audit of the accounts in addition to the audit by the private auditors who are proposed to be appointed by the Corporation with the approval of the Central Government.

Is the position taken up by the Government of India justified? What is the kind of audit that the Comptroller and Auditor-General now conducts in regard to the transactions of the Union and the State Governments? Is the nature of the audit conducted by him in regard to these transactions and the results brought up by his audit from year to year embodied in Audit Reports and considered by the Public Accounts Committee of such a character as to warrant the views held by the Government of India? Anyone who is acquainted with the growth of the Indian Audit Department from its origin and its present organisation and methods of work will readily appreciate that the position taken up by the Government of India is not justified. Cases of serious disregard of financial interests of Government, misuse of public funds, defalcations, serious errors in accounting, manipulations in accounts, etc., etc., reported in the Annual Audit Reports on the accounts of the Central and State Governments, the recommendations of the Public Accounts Committee thereon and the orders of Government disposing the Audit Reports, present an impressive picture of solid achievement. Certainly, the Comptroller and Auditor-General's audit has not been merely 'mechanical' and 'conventional.' No doubt there is a mechanical and conventional side to his audit. But this cannot be omitted even by private auditors; the Government of India will themselves not agree to such an audit being dispensed with. The audit conducted by the Comptroller and Auditor-General, however, does not comprise merely the mechanical and conventional checks. His officers rise above these checks and conduct what is known as Higher Audit or audit against propriety which is explained in paragraph 84-85 of the Audit Code reproduced below:

> "84. It is an essential function of Audit to bring to light not only cases of clear irregularity but also every matter which in its judgment appears to involve improper expenditure or waste of public money or stores, even though the accounts themselves may be in order and no obvious irregularity has occurred. It is thus not sufficient to see that sundry rules or orders of competent authority have been observed. It is of equal importance to see that the broad principles of orthodox finance are borne in mind not only by disbursing officers but also by sanctioning authorities.
>
> "85. No precise rules can be laid down for regulating the course of audit against propriety. Its object is to support a reasonably high standard of public financial morality, of sound financial administration, and devotion to the financial interests of Government. . . . The proper discharge of duties by an Audit Officer in this field is a very delicate matter and requires much discretion and tact."

From the above it will be seen that it is an essential and important part of the Auditor-General's audit to see that the audit is conducted in such a manner as not to lose sight of financial propriety and the larger interest of the taxpayer. This he does to the extent he can as an 'external' auditor on the basis of the record made available to him. No private auditors can do more than this; in practice, however, they generally conduct only the routine checks and scarcely raise any questions of propriety or financial wisdom.

It may also be pointed out in this connection that the Comptroller and Auditor-General is not new to Life Insurance audit; he has been conducting the audit of the accounts of the Postal Life Insurance ever since it was started and it cannot be argued that the accounts of the Life Insurance Corporation will be far different from the accounts of the Postal Life Insurance transactions.

Apart from the Auditor-General's competence and suitability to take up the audit of the accounts of the

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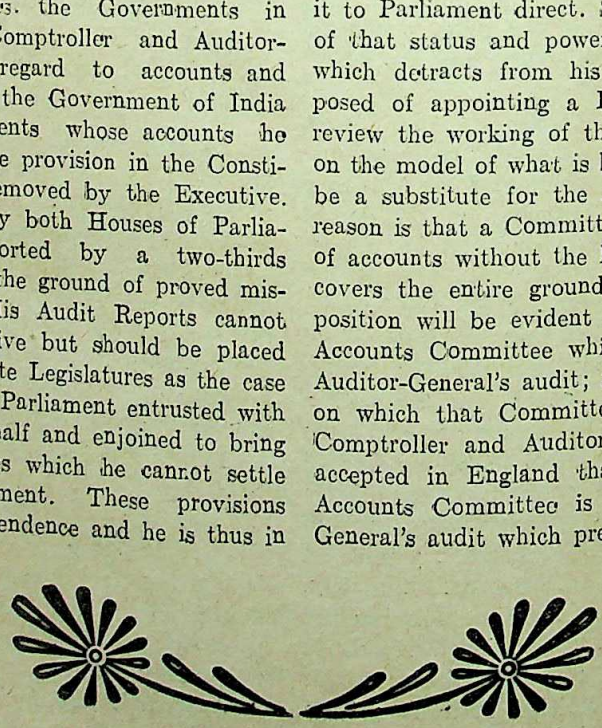
Life Insurance Corporation we have to consider what his position under the Constitution is and whether the attitude of the Government of India is in consonance with the position accorded to the Comptroller and Auditor-General in the Constitution. Under Article 148 of the Constitution there shall be a Comptroller and Auditor-General of India who shall be appointed by the President by warrant under his hand and seal and shall only be removed from office in like manner and on the like grounds as a Judge of the Supreme Court. Under Article 149 *ibid*, the Comptroller and Auditor-General shall perform such duties and exercise such powers in relation to the accounts of the Union and of the States and of any other authority or body as may be prescribed by or under any law made by Parliament. Under Article 150 *ibid*, the Comptroller and Auditor-General is given the power to prescribe, subject to the President's consent, the form in which the accounts of the Union should be kept and in Article 151 *ibid*, the Comptroller and Auditor-General's Reports should be presented by the President, or by the Governor or Rajpramukh, before Parliament or the Legislature of the State as the case may be. The fact that the founding fathers of the Constitution have considered it necessary to make the above provisions in our Constitution clearly shows the importance to be accorded to the office of the Comptroller and Auditor-General and his indispensability. He is to be the supreme authority in regard to matters of audit of the transactions of the Union and State Governments. Although the actual content of his functions is left to be prescribed by Parliament as a matter of detail, there is no doubt that the Constitution clearly envisages the Governments in India to look up to the Comptroller and Auditor-General as their pundit in regard to accounts and audit. His independence of the Government of India and of the State Governments whose accounts he audits is fully secured by the provision in the Constitution that he cannot be removed by the Executive. He can be removed only by both Houses of Parliament on a resolution supported by a two-thirds majority in each House on the ground of proved misbehaviour or incapacity. His Audit Reports cannot be withheld by the Executive but should be placed before Parliament or the State Legislatures as the case may be. He is an officer of Parliament entrusted with the duty of audit on its behalf and enjoined to bring to its notice all irregularities which he cannot settle with the Executive Government. These provisions make for his complete independence and he is thus in a position to discharge his duties without fear or favour or affection or illwill according to the terms of the oath of his office. An officer who is thus given under the Constitution the highest conceivable status in matters of audit and accounts and who is in a position to discharge the duties laid upon him without fear or favour or affection or illwill cannot certainly be found unsuitable for conducting the audit of the Life Insurance Corporation. To say so will be slighting the Constitution. The private auditors who may be appointed, with the approval of the Central Government, to conduct the audit of the Corporation can scarcely claim independence for their position as they are the creatures of the Corporation and the Government and they cannot afford to do anything which will displease them; their reappointment as auditors may depend upon their being good boys. This is the weakest position in the proposal of the Government of India to appoint private auditors for the audit of the Corporation accounts. This, together with the point already mentioned that private auditors cannot claim more competency then the Comptroller and Auditor-General for conducting the audit, completely demolishes the case for ousting the Comptroller and Auditor-General from the field.

It now remains for me to consider the British parallel. In England, the Parliament is supreme and theoretically it can do away with the Auditor-General although in practice it will not do so. But the Government of India *cannot* do so. Governed as we are by a written Constitution we are bound to have a Comptroller and Auditor-General of a sufficiently big stature to say the last word in Audit and to submit it to Parliament direct. So long as we have an officer of that status and power, we should not do anything which detracts from his position. The solution proposed of appointing a Parliamentary Committee to review the working of the Life Insurance Corporation on the model of what is being done in England cannot be a substitute for the Auditor-General's Audit. The reason is that a Committee can do little in the matter of accounts without the help of an expert audit which covers the entire ground in advance in detail. This position will be evident from the work of the Public Accounts Committee which is based largely on the Auditor-General's audit; ninety per cent of the material on which that Committee works is furnished by the Comptroller and Auditor-General. It is universally accepted in England that the success of the Public Accounts Committee is mainly due to the Auditor-General's audit which precedes the Committee's work.



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THE CEYLON CITIZENSHIP QUESTION AND THE INDIAN PROBLEM

By AJOY KUMAR GUPTA, M.A.

At a time when we in India are striving for a balance between linguistic claims and the unity of the nation in the intricacies of State Reorganisation, one can fully appreciate the demographic problem that besets our southern neighbour, Ceylon, a racial and linguistic problem which has taken on a political slant in the attitude of the Ceylon Government towards those of Indian extraction. Starting with a pioneering batch of ten thousand in 1827, Tamils and other Indians have been going in increasing numbers to Ceylon for over a hundred years, primarily to work as estate labourers in the plantations of Ceylon. These Indian Tamils were once taken as citizens on the basis of a sacred understanding between the Government of the island and the Government of British India, promising equal rights and honourable treatment. That "gentleman's agreement" has been violated in Ceylon, as it has been, to far more spectacular proportions, in South Africa. The reason behind this bitterly treatment is that multinational Ceylon sees the problem of preserving her sovereign identity too seriously. Fear is one of the sternest of task-masters, and Ceylon is afraid . . . . afraid that the powerful Indian section of her highly heterogeneous population, especially because of their powerful stake in the economic and professional life of the country, may tilt the balance decisively not only in the sea-saw of domestic politics, but, what is more sinister, pull Ceylon into the ignoble position of a satellite revolving in the political and economic orbit of her powerful neighbour in the North, the Indian Union (of which it was probably connected geographically in the by-gone era). The Indians in Ceylon are nearly as much suspected and envied as are the Chinese in South-East Asia. And it is this Indian labour which has been responsible for transforming Ceylon into the "Paradise of the East." The British not only found them cheap and plentiful, very much a sound investment as compared to the easy-going Sinhalese who absolutely refused to work. But, between the "Kangani" and the "Tundu" recruiters, and the blood-sucking grip of the Chettiar money-lenders, recruiting, working and living conditions have been for the Indian labourer very much like slavery. Apart from their economic misery, people of Indian origin do not even enjoy the franchise. For the Sinhalese are afraid to give citizenship rights to Indian Tamils, lest their mounting numbers might unite with the eight hundred thousand Ceylon Tamils in dominating Ceylon. So the Indian has invariably been the scapegoat for most of the politicians and leaders of Ceylon. Ever since the first Indo-Ceylon Conference in 1940, Ceylonese leaders have insisted on the total withdrawal of the Indian population from Ceylon. Only a few years back, the Ceylon Employers' Federation was asked by the Government not to give jobs to non-Ceylonese. The inevitable reaction to such discriminatory treatment has been that the Indian labourers and organisations have been increasingly looking to the Leftists in Ceylon for sympathy and support.

It is with this background that we should discuss Ceylon's Citizenship Laws, so that we may see them in their true perspectives. The General Elections were held in 1947 under the Ceylon Parliamentary Elections Order-in-Council of 1946. This provided that every British subject resident in Ceylon for six months, and otherwise qualified, would be entitled to the vote and to political office. The Citizenship Act, No. 18 of 1948 created for the first time in the history of Ceylon the status of a "Citizen of Ceylon," which was acquirable either by "Birth" (*Descent*) or by *Registration*: For "Citizenship by Descent," an arbitrary date, 21st. September, 1948, was fixed: Those born before this deadline, and on the soil of Ceylon, would be citizens of Ceylon, either if their father was born in Ceylon, or if they could satisfactorily show that their paternal grand-father and great-grand-father were born in Ceylon. If born before this date but outside Ceylon, either their father and paternal grand-father or their paternal grand-father and great-grand-father must have been born in Ceylon. If born after 21st. September, 1948, and on the soil of Ceylon, the father must be a citizen of Ceylon when the child is born. And if born outside Ceylon, registration will be necessary. Furthermore, applications for registration must satisfy the universal condition of being of full age and of sound mind, as well as satisfy any one of the following three optional conditions: First, the mother is or was or would have been if alive, a citizen of Ceylon, and the applicant must have resided in Ceylon for ten years (if unmarried) or seven years (if married). Or secondly, the applicant must be the spouse of a citizen of Ceylon, and must have stayed in Ceylon for only a year. Or thirdly, it might be a case of *animus revertendi*, that is, if an original Ceylon citizen renounces his acquired foreign citizenship and intends to continue residing in Ceylon. Besides, twenty-five important persons are given Ceylon Citizenship for distinguished services, especially in public life, to the State and people of Ceylon, or for

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the eminence they have attained in the professional, commercial, industrial, or agricultural life of the country, or if naturalised as British subjects in Ceylon. The Ceylon Indians and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act No. 3 of 1949 applies to those resident for ten years (if unmarried) or seven years (if married) before 1st, January, 1946, and since then in uninterrupted residence. But they must also be of full age and of sound mind, with an assured income, with their wives ordinarily resident in Ceylon, free from disabilities making it impossible to observe the laws of Ceylon, and having renounced citizenship rights elsewhere. Finally, under the Ceylon (Parliamentary Elections) Amendment Act No. 48 of 1949, amending the Order-in-Council of 1946, only those who were citizens of Ceylon under these two Acts, would be entitled to vote or to sit in Parliament. This was to have no retroactive effect.

All through 1948, the Indian community put their trust in non-co-operation. Only as the Ceylon Government's deadline in 1950 approached were 237,000 family applications filed in mid-1949 on behalf of 800,000 persons of Indian origin in Ceylon. But during the next two years only one per cent of these applications were considered and only 7,500 persons accepted. Thus the elections in 1952 resulted in an overwhelming majority of 74 out of 101 seats for the United National Party, because the 400,000 strong Indian vote, which usually flung its weight on the Opposition side, could not play its decisive role. Of the 237,000 applications, only 138,000 were considered by April, 1955, of which the minorly figure of 10,000 were accepted. By July, 1955, nearly 34,000 persons were registered and 153,000 rejected. Such a trend indicated that of the 800,000 Indians in Ceylon, only about 40,000 were likely to acquire citizenship, that is, only five per cent of the total Indian population in Ceylon. One may recall that during Pandit Nehru's talks with Mr. Dudley Senanayake in London in 1953, the then Prime Minister of Ceylon offered to take 400,000 Indians as citizens of Ceylon and another 250,000 as permanent residents. But Ceylon's later moves utterly belied such hopes.

On January 18, 1954, an agreement was signed at New Delhi between India and Ceylon, later clarified by the Conferences in October, after India had registered her protests in June. Ceylon withdrew her demand for complete repatriation of Indians and undertook to complete the registration of Indians within two years. But both India and Ceylon agreed that illicit immigration must be suppressed. Periodic consultations were to give effect to this policy. A key clause was Ceylon's undertaking to prepare a register of all adults of Indian origin—not already on the electoral rolls, and to maintain such a register up-to-date. Any person not so registered will, if his mother tongue be an Indian language, be considered an illicit immigrant from India and liable to deportation, though the opinion of the Indian High Commissioner would be considered. No such register was prepared! The basic controversy between India and Ceylon respectively was whether these people were "stateless" persons or automatically Indian nationals. Since such a divergence was irreconcilable, the most practical course was to expedite the processes of registration either as Ceylon or as Indian citizens, postponing the consideration of the residue till later. Unfortunately Ceylon had failed to implement this agreement both in letter and in spirit. The most glaring omission was the negligence to prepare the register of all adults of Indian origin not on the electoral rolls. In spite of this, the Ceylon Government had amended their Immigrants and Emigrants Act, ignoring Indian requests for postponement. Ceylon's recent stand that if an Indian were judged an illegal immigrant by a local court, India should accept him as a citizen, was rejected by India as inconsistent with her sovereign rights under Article 8 of her Constitution. Even if the courts were with their rights, India insisted that she could not be forced to accept these people as Indian citizens. Ceylon had also suggested that applications to the Indian High Commissioner for Indian citizenship should be distributed by the Ceylon authorities, but, considering the threats made by responsible persons in Ceylon against Indian settlers, India demurred!

If the principal aim of the 1954 Agreement was to expedite the enrolment of Ceylon citizens, the record of the Ceylon Government was disgraceful. The Indian Government ultimately arrived at the philosophical conclusion that if Ceylon's real object was to limit the number of Indians acceptable as Ceylon citizens to a small pre-determined figure like 40,000 there was no point in arguing about the terms of the Agreement. Events should take their normal course! The Ceylon authorities promptly denied these charges that they wished to restrict the number of Indians accepted for Ceylon Citizenship to a target figure. But, all the same, much impatience was voiced in the last Ceylon Parliament against the continuance of the Indo-Ceylon Pact. Yet it was gratifying to note that an underlying spirit of caution moderated such criticisms, for, as the Ceylon Prime Minister aptly remarked, it is not possible to throw the Indians into the deep blue sea! Yet in December 1955, the Ceylon Prime Minister wrote to Pandit Nehru that there was no purpose in postponing the Indo-Ceylon Pact of 1954 relating to the status of nearly a million persons of Indian origin. Pandit Nehru replied to this letter in early February 1956. He made no suggestion that the Indo-Ceylon Pacts were unworkable or that they might be scrapped. He denied that India had gone back on her assurance to Ceylon in December 1947 that if all the Indians in Ceylon wished to retain their Indian nationality, they were welcome to do so. On the contrary, he reminded Ceylon that the latter had not given the Pacts a fair trial. So far, she had failed to offer inducements

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persons who wished to register themselves as Indian citizens as proposed in the Pact of 1954. Pandit Nehru strongly affirmed that India had consistently honoured her obligations. It was heartening to note that the tone of his reply was amicable and seemed to leave the door open for better understanding between the two neighbours on the main problem that disturbed their otherwise fraternal relations. Besides, Pandit Nehru had suggested to the Ceylon Prime Minister that the Government of India was willing to refer the controversial Indo-Ceylon Agreement of 1954 to an impartial authority, acceptable to both, for arbitration, by whose interpretation India would abide. The authority could be a judicial officer or a foreigner. Though receipt of this letter was acknowledged, no reply was given by the Ceylon Government, as they did not wish to commit themselves just before the general elections in Ceylon, which was impending in April 1956.

The general elections in April 1956 resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the ruling United National Party and the rise to power of the Mahajano Eksath Peramuna party under the leadership of Mr. Bandaranaike. Indian hopes rose when the new Prime Minister declared that his views on foreign policy were identical with those of his friend, Pandit Nehru. Mr. Bandaranaike proposed Ceylon's adherence to the Principles of the "Panch Shila," and proposed negotiating non-aggression pacts with India and other Asian countries after the withdrawal of British forces from the bases in Ceylon. This would be enlarged the "areas of peace" so eloquently spoken by neutralists like our Prime Minister. But at the same time one must remember that one of the reasons for the victory of the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna over the United National Party was the party's pledge to make Sinhalese alone the national language of Ceylon, a decision decisively affecting the rights of Tamils in Ceylon. Mr. Bandaranaike has re-described himself as a doctrinaire in some of his recent speeches, and doctrinaires can often be the most difficult people to tackle and bring around to a compromise. Indians should not be too optimistic about the prospects of a speedy solution of the citizenship problems in Ceylon. Yet some of Mr. Bandaranaike's assurances are definitely encouraging. He has promised to take steps possible to effectively complete the disposal of claims for citizenship from persons of Indian origin within a year, because he wishes to have a clear picture of the number that would qualify for citizenship before he sets down to dealing with the Indo-Ceylon problem.

The Indo-Ceylon agreement provided for the election of some members to the Ceylon House of Representatives for representing the registered citizens of Indian origin from a separate electorate. The Ceylon authorities hoped to hold these elections when the citizenship registration roll reached about 50,000, but no such elections have been held so far while the registration has been both dilatory and restrictive. Another hopeful feature of the present situation is that Mr. Bandaranaike is agreeable to reopening negotiations with Pandit Nehru for the settlement of the problem. Recently the Thondaman wing of the Ceylon Democratic Congress urged the Ceylon Government to withdraw administrative restrictions which disqualified a large number of people from acquiring citizenship, and to review the cases of unjust and arbitrary rejections of citizenship applications, as well as not to take a hasty decision on the State language issue. Meanwhile, Mr. Bandaranaike announced he was thinking of more effective steps to check illicit immigration into Ceylon from India! The Government of India too has become more conscious of its responsibilities in checking illicit emigration into Ceylon. It has doubled the police staff patrolling the coast in Tanjore, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts to prevent illicit emigration. The results have been highly encouraging, for the number deported by the Ceylon Government's immigration control organisation dropped sharply from 87 in March to a paltry 8 in April.

Pandit Nehru has frequently reiterated in the Lok Sabha his intention to settle the Indo-Ceylon issue in a friendly way, although he admitted that the peoples of Indian descent and Indian nationals in Ceylon were being unduly discriminated against. But, after all, every cloud has its silver lining. For, unlike India's tempestuous relations (or rather, lack of relations) with South Africa, the Indo-Ceylon differences have not succeeded in ruffling the smooth surface of Indo-Ceylon relations, nor diminished the mutual sympathy and fraternal feelings of these sister nations, bonds which are further strengthened by their common membership in the Commonwealth, their partnership as Colombo Powers, and their united championship of Asian regeneration and determined fight against all forms of colonialism and insistence on better living standards and a fairer deal for the downtrodden peoples of Asia. And with the emergence of the Bandaranaike regime India and Ceylon will have in common a neutralist foreign policy and the domestic ideal of a democratic socialist State.

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PSYCHOLOGY : ONE OF THE PRACTICAL SCIENCES OF THIS AGE

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Those most closely connected with psychology are far from happy, either about its scientific progress or its public status. There are scientific problems which can engage immediate attention with hope for real profit, provided their solution is sought in the place where the problems arise. The difficulties of psychology itself are, of course, well known and require no elaboration. Fear and suspicion, often irrational in origin, have contributed their obstructive share. Lack of financial support—either from government or university—has been a wellnigh insurmountable obstacle. The managements, the executive heads as well as the general public were all reluctant to give psychology a place in the research programme. As such we have to thank the perseverance and tenacity the workers in the mid-thirties had to undergo in this country. The volume of reports published in the Western countries, specially in the United States of America and Great Britain, show the enthusiasm young workers are showing in the application of psychological principles to the various human problems. Researches on problems of industrial accidents and safety, fatigue and morale, selection and placement carried on for years, have yielded results which are highly significant in convincing the suspicious and fastidious section of the usefulness of our science. Investigators in this field have shown how time, energy and money can be economised with proper use of techniques advocated by psychology. Research in this field is enormous as will be apparent from the published papers. Mention may be made here of a few by way of illustration : reaction time and susceptibility to automobile accidents, measurement of supervisory ability, attitude of personnel managers, relationship of masculinity-femininity to tests of mechanical and clerical abilities, a study of fatigue in air crew, incentives within the factory, an inquiry into labour turnover, a study of merit rating scheme in a factory, increased production through movement study, predicting aptitude for dentistry, an experiment on change of work, etc. One such finding shows that business executives can significantly increase their reading rate on practice.[1] The report on job satisfaction in 15 life insurance companies points out that certain attitudes held by agents are significantly related to the criterion of survival communication.[2] "The relationship between the experience of boredom and changes in rate of output . . . for individual workers" as reported by the investigator leads us to conclude, among other things that "there were [illegible] stable individual differences in speed of work, [illegible] variability of production, frequency of rest pauses and frequency of talking."[3] Absenteeism was considerably lowered in a tabulating department with the rearrangement of equipments, etc.[4] In reviewing the occupational success of feeble-minded adolescents Dr. O'Connor suggests that "the feeble-minded, we believe, should be housed in small hostels, treated as out-patients and given extended education and occupational guidance. Under these conditions, at least *two out of three* will succeed at unskilled work."[5] The study of merit rating scheme in a factory, as reported by Dr. Davis was highly successful since "the management thought the scheme largely responsible for the subsequent rise in output per man hour, the reduction of labour costs, the decrease in absence and lateness and the general improvement in morale. The workers appreciated the considerable increase in their wages, the added interest in work and the fairness of the scheme."[6]

The position in North America is intensely interesting. While reviewing psychological development in the United States of America, Bartlett says:

> "In a few places there is outstanding work on sensory processes . . . with enormously improved instrumentation and with a strong tendency to seek explanations phrased more and more in physiological, neurological or biophysical terms. But everywhere there are younger groups whose [illegible] ing ideas come for the greater part from research units . . . many of them with no direct university affiliation at all, but all of them centres in which engineering, physical, mathematical and biological interests are confined."[7]

It is certain that America was vastly quicker than Great Britain in opening channels for psychology. In 1918, there were strong experimental psychology departments all over America, in universities and colleges and even there was lively interest taken by the public. While in India the picture is very [illegible]

1. Bellows, C. S., *Jour. of App. Psychology*, Vol. 36, 1952, pp. 1-4.
2. Weitz, J., *Jour. of App. Psychology*; Vol. 39, 1954, pp. 294-300.
3. Smith, P. C., *Jour. of App. Psychology*, Vol. 37, [illegible] p. 69.
4. *Applied Psychology in Action*, p. 322.
5. O'Connor, N., *Occ. Psychology*, Vol. 27; 1953; pp. [illegible]
6. Davis, N. M., *Occ. Psychology*, Vol. 27, 1953, p. 68.
7. Bartlett, F. C., *Occ. Psychology*, Vol. 29, 1955, p. [illegible]

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...ed till 1945,* there was but one laboratory with ...ary research programme, not to speak of public ...ests.

The spread and growth of psychological work ...s undertaken by the University of Calcutta which ...s maintained a well-equipped laboratory. The ...partment could, after a long effort, open an applied ...ction, with view to encourage field research. Under ...e auspices of the Applied Section, large testing pro...mmes were undertaken. Soon other parts of the ...ntry followed suit and psychology found its place ...n universities both in the field of teaching and re...rch. Investigators have now found their way into ...ustrial organisations, inside Gun and Shell Factories ...d other institutions. The gradual interest in the ...ment aspects of this science is rapidly increasing. ...ection procedure at some places now invari...ly include, in their programme, tests and question...res. Though field research in India is of late origin, ...e problems that investigators have dealt with are ...ical in nature. A study sponsored by the Indian ...ncil of Medical Research on "A Psychological ...y of Accidents in a Factory"[8] undertook to devise ...battery of test to select industrial workers who are ...accident-prone. In another accident study, the ...igator goes as far as to infer, but not with much ...fidence that "greater the reaction time . . . the ...his or her accident susceptibility. . . ."[9] An in...ry into the absenteeism in industry showed that ...e higher in age and salary, superior in education, ...er in tenure had lower absent record. Skilled ...ers absented themselves more frequently than ...skilled."[10] In an investigation into the job satis...ction the investigators found that "salary, leave, ...ity and advancement came to the fore and were ...ted as chief factors behind dissatisfac...n . . ."[11]

In the field of education, scientific techniques on ...chological principles are gaining importance day ...y. Baxter has aptly commented that

"To-day's teacher must be a social engineer, ...able of setting up a provocative environment ...children's learning, charting the course of each ...ividual child through the ever-changing social ...onship in which he is involved and assisting ...pupil to grow in his understanding of himself ...of others."[12]

Hence the need for child guidance services is felt acutely. The interest in child study and child guidance can only be effectively grown by educating the public. This, of course, can be done by devoting to lectures and addresses usually under the aegis of some academic institutions, such as the one we have in Indian Psychological Association. It augurs well indeed that many books and pamphlets on child study and child management have been published recently in our Indian languages specially meant for the education of the parents.

In the field of child guidance we must know at the beginning the fundamental behaviour of a normal child and the subsequent abnormal, social or emotional development requiring specialised treatment. Studies in this line by various investigators lead to say that the period two to five years is one of what may be termed as 'natural' instability.[13] Sanders[14] reports that "mental maturity in terms of physical, intellectual and emotional development is positively related to mental security and perhaps to impulse to adventure." Apparently then the work with developments has to be sought in schools and the author along with others is of opinion that the nursery schools should become a part of our University Psychology Laboratory so that it can play a regular role in psychological training.

The amount of research on topics bearing on practical problems in education, industry, etc., exceeds that on pure theoretical problems. A number of papers have been published on the assessment of teaching ability. Evans[15] in course of an investigation into attitude towards teaching as a profession of four training colleges and one university training department found interesting results. Some lines of investigation in other topics may be mentioned, *e.g.*, "the incidence of nail-biting among school children,[17] "handicapped children,"[16] "mental abilities of deaf children,"[18] "emotional responses of adolescent groups to certain films,"[19] etc. Though the number of such investigations is comparatively small in our country, yet workers have shown interest in this line as will be evident from the proceedings of the Indian Science Congress. But we must admit that time has come to promote further extensive research facilities with specialised research centres to cope with these problems, since much of the drawbacks both inside and outside the classroom can be traced and remedial measures suggested. It is gratifying to note that a Central Bureau of Educa-

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*The author regrets that no substantial evidence for and ...the year mentioned could be obtained.

...Sinha, R., *Proc. Ind. Sc. Cong.*, Part III, 1956, Section XII.

...Banerjee, D., *Ibid.*

...Sinha & Singh, *Ibid.*

...Sinha & Prasad, *Ibid.*, 1955.

...Baxter, B., *Teacher Pupil Relationship*, McMillan & Co., ...York, 1950.

13. Schonell, F. J., *Brit. Jour. of Ed. Psychology*, Vol. 22, 1952, p. 32.

14. Sanders, C., *Ibid*, Vol. 18, 1948, p. 153.

15. Evans, K. M., *Ibid*, Vol. 23, 1953, p. 58.

16. *Brit. Jour. of Ed. Psychology.*

17. Birch, L. B., *Ibid*, Vol. 25, 1955, p. 123.

18. *Brit. Jour. of Ed. Psychology.*

19. *Ibid.*

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tion at the Capital has come into being while some provincial ones have also started functioning, at Calcutta. We doubt not they will prove to be of immense service to the well-being of our future generation. We wish them all prosperity and conclude with the hope that more and many more of such institutions will spread throughout the length and breadth of our country.

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A REVIEW OF INDIA'S TEA INDUSTRY

By ASIT CHAKRAVARTI,
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The importance of tea industry in our national economy hardly needs any emphasis. In India today, tea is one of the three principal contributors to our foreign exchange earnings. In point of fact, tea robbed jute of its enviable position as the biggest earner of foreign exchange in the year 1954. Its importance may also be realised from the fact that this industry alone provides employment for about a million of people in our country. Besides, revenue-receipts in the shape of export duty, Sales tax, Agricultural tax, octroy, etc., should also be taken into consideration in ascertaining the importance of the industry in question. Before proceeding further, a peep into the not-too-distant past may not be quite out of place.

Post-Partitional Dislocation

The partition which split India into two new political units, Indian Union and Pakistan, disturbed the pre-existing equilibrium in our national economy. Like many other industries, India's tea industry was also affected to a considerable extent. In fact, the industry had been more affected than others. As a result of the partition, Assam and North Bengal, the leading producers of tea, were virtually cut off from the rest of India in general and from the Calcutta port, in particular. Prof. O. H. K. Spate in his brief but brilliant analysis of the impact of partition on India's tea industry observes :

"About 225,000 tons of coal are annually used in Indian tea factories and in 1947-48, supplies in the Assam Duars were so short that some defore-station took place."[1]

Thanks to "the uncommon energy and skill displayed by our railway men, the line was completed and opened to goods traffic on December 9, 1949, and to passenger traffic on January 26, 1950."[2]

There is no denying the fact that the problem of transport was thus efficiently tackled, but as Prof. Spate says, "even with this new railway, transport costs are high."[3] Prof. Spate suggests that

"The situation may be eased if recently discovered coal in the Garo Hills can be exploited."[4]

Slump of 1952

Despite the aforesaid difficulties resulting from the partition of the country, India continued to maintain her enviable position as the biggest producer-seller of tea in the world. In 1951-52, tea occupied the second place in the list of our exports contributing Rs. 93.36 crores to our foreign exchange earning. Tea accounted for 13.3 per cent of our total exports.

In April, 1951, Britain ended the war-time and post-war 'bulk-purchase' system and the London Auction, suspended since the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, was again resumed. During the inter-war years taking advantage of the seller's market the producers were rather indifferent to the qualitative aspect of their product. But in the post-war period with the return of normal conditions, the seller's market was converted into a buyer's market much to the discomfiture of the producers since the days of 'easy money' came to a close. Besides, India had to face formidable competition especially from two countries—Ceylon and Indonesia. Yet another embarrassing factor was the emphasis on quality and the quality of Indian tea was considered to be relatively inferior to that of Ceylon and Indonesia. On the top of all these unfavourable trends a slight excess supply further aggravated the problem and landed the Indian tea industry in great uncertainties. In 1950 and also in 1951, world production exceeded world consumption, the average over-production of each of these years being 3.5 per cent. Even this slight excess resulted in the bad slump of 1952.[5]

1. *India and Pakistan* by O. H. K. Spate, Methuen & co., Ltd., London.
2. Budget Speech for 1950-51, Minister for Railways.
3. *India and Pakistan* by Spate.
4. *Ibid*, p. 294.
5. *Statesman*, April 15, 1956.

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Tea Tops the List in 1954

The slump of 1952 naturally exercised a dis-spiriting influence on the producers. Discouraged by the adversities experienced in 1952, the producers evidently proceeded with caution and circumspection with the resultant shortfall of world production by 8 m. lbs. and 13 m. lbs. in 1952 and 1953. This short-fall probably resulted in the spectacular prosperity in 1954. In 1954, export amounted to 449 m. lbs. valued at Rs. 131 crores.[8]

Tea in Trouble Again

In 1955, India produced 663 m. lbs. and in view of this record crop Government of India raised the export ceiling to 480 m. lbs., leaving 183 m. lbs. for internal consumption. But demand in foreign coun-tries declined by about 86,860,000 lbs. India exported 363,090,000 lbs. of tea in 1955 as against 449,951,000 lbs. in 1954.

Tea market during 1955 showed no signs of buoyancy. In London, for example, prices rose in November and December, 1954, and this trend conti-nued till February, 1955. Thereafter the table was turned and prices started declining. The average price of North Indian tea dropped to 42d. per lb. in May and June from the November-December average of 44d. per lb. Prices, however, moved upward again and the average price realised for North India tea in 1955 was 63.59d. per lb. as against 64.03d. per lb. in 1954.

From the foregoing analysis it would thus be seen that the outlook for tea in 1955 was rather disappointing. Increased production and price reces-sion were the two notable factors which cast a gloom on the tea market. Production was high not only in absolute terms but in relative terms as well inasmuch as there had been a fall in offtake of tea by some tea consuming countries. U.K., the biggest con-sumer of Indian tea, for example, lifted 249,266,000 lbs. in 1955 as against 326,489,000 lbs. in 1954. This fall in offtake by countries, such as, Britain and Australia, was due to 'anti-inflationary measures initiated in these countries to curb inflationary pressures there.[18] India's Finance Minister for Commerce and Industry stated in the House of the People that the recession of tea was due *inter alia* to the following reasons: (a) over-production in 1955-56, (b) the credit stringency in the U.K. as a necessary deflationary measure, and (c) the change effected in the system of auctions of North Indian teas.[9]

Thus despite increased production or rather as a result of it, foreign exchange earned by tea resulted in a short fall of earning from Rs. 131 crores in 1954 to Rs. 111 crores in 1955. Evidently, the yield of export duty was less by Rs. 11 crores from the Budget estimates.

Outlook for 1956

Price recession and a fall in offtake were the two disspiriting features in the world of tea in 1955. Of late, encouraging reports are reaching which brighten the outlook for tea in 1956. In March this year 'total shipment from Northern India amounted to 40.67 m. lbs. as against only 8.79 m. lbs. during the corres-ponding month of 1955 with U.K. increasing its off-take from 5.89 m. lbs. in March, 1955 to 31 m. lbs. last month.'[10] In London, 'Quality Teas' were higher by 2d. per lb. at the auction held on April 18, 1956. Yet another encouraging factor is increased *internal consumption*. It is estimated that domestic consump-tion will amount to 220 m. lbs. Competition from Ceylon is not expected to be very keen this year due to smaller production in that country. A message from Colombo received on April 26, says that the production shows marked decline in first three months ending March 31. Compared with the corresponding period of 1955 production figures officially released on April 26, 1956, are:

March, 1956 : 32.4 m. lbs.
" 1955 : 43 m. lbs.

Production during the first three months this year totalled 84.4 m. lbs. compared with 103.5 m. lbs. during the same period in 1955. This decline is attri-buted to the adverse weather condition especially drought in mid-country and frost in up-country areas. Indonesia, another important exporter of tea, is re-ported to have produced a lower tea crop of 7.2 m. lbs. in February, 1956, as against 8.4 m. lbs. in the corresponding month of the previous year. Total crop during the first three months of this year was 15.1 m. lbs. as against 18.3 m. lbs. in the same period of 1955.[11]

The tea crop in Pakistan also recorded a decline despite the increase in acreage in the year under review from 74,000 to 76,500. Thus while acreage increased by 3.4 per cent, production declined by 2.8 per cent. This decline is attributed to the un-favourable weather conditions throughout the pluck-ing season.[12]

Long-term Prospects

India continues to enjoy the position in the world of tea as being the highest producer of tea with the largest area (789,471 acres) under the crop. The second position is held by Ceylon, and Indonesia is the third largest producer. During 1955, India produced 383,091,000 lbs. Ceylon's output amounted to 380,013,000 lbs. and Indonesia's 95,610,000 lbs.[13] As exporter, India again holds the *first* position. In 1955, for example,

8. Report, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1955.
9. Ibid.
10. Commerce, 17th March, 1956.
11. Tea Trade and Industry, Vol. V, No. 2.
12. *Indian Finance*, April 21, 1956.
13. *NAFEN*.
14. *Ibid*.
15. *Indian Finance*, April 27, 1956.

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India exported 363,091,000 lbs.; Ceylon's exports amounted to 360,858,000 lbs. It is interesting to note that Ceylon exported almost its entire production, since her internal consumption is negligible for obvious reasons. India will continue to face keen competition especially from Ceylon. But India stands on a better footing. External market is of vital importance to Ceylon. There is no denying the fact that India, too, is interested in developing the external market. But my point is that whereas Ceylon must send her tea abroad or perish, India can afford to bank upon her vast internal market. Recent estimates put the figure for internal absorption in India around 220 m. lbs. As against our level of consumption, Ceylon's internal market is very much limited. For example, if Ceylon produces 380 m. lbs., she can at least, consume about 12-13 m. lbs. Thus it is evident, that she must find out external market for almost her entire production or perish. Since India has an extensive internal market, we are better placed in this respect. As Sri U. K. Ghoshal, I.C.S., Chairman, Tea Board, Government of India, says :

> "We, in India, are drinking roughly at the rate of half pound per head per year. It is easy to envisage the difference it will make to the Tea Industry in India if consumption went up by one pound per head per year. Then we shall be drinking more than half the tea we produce and thereby we shall be in a position to bring about a certain amount of stability in the tea industry."[14]

Problems of the Producers

While presiding over the annual meeting of the Indian Tea Planters' Association held recently Mr. N. R. Ghosh is reported to have invited the notice of the Government of India to the various liabilities which the tea industry is now faced.

"It is a moot point," Mr. Ghosh observed, "how far the implementation of the Plantation Labour Act, claim of labour for higher wages, bonus and the introduction of the Provident Fund would be possible with resources at the industry's disposal."

He also criticised the imposition of certain [illegible] and duties levied on the industry and said [illegible] besides being the highest taxed among Indian prod[illegible] India's export duty on tea was the highest except [illegible] of Ceylon. Incidentally, it may be stated here [illegible] with a view to facilitating the mechanics of [illegible] and ensuring that the duty is related to the [illegible] price fetched for tea in the world markets, a [illegible] system of export duties was introduced in the [illegible] March, 1955. The slab system works as follows :-

When the price of tea—	Rate of duty imposed per lb.
(i) does not exceed Rs. 2-8-0 per lb.	[illegible]
(ii) exceeds Rs. 2-8-0 per lb., but does not exceed Rs. 3-4 per lb.	4 annas
(iii) exceeds Rs. 3-4 per lb., but does not exceed Rs. 4 per lb.	6 annas
(v) exceed Rs. 4 per lb., but does not exceed Rs. 4-12 per lb.	8 annas
(v) exceeds Rs. 4-12-0 per lb.	10 annas
	12 annas

Shri U. K. Ghoshal, I.C.S., in his recent speech at the Calcutta Rotary Club[16] exhorted the producers to keep pace with time and "to give the labour a larger share than was the case before in the overall income." As regards the complaint against higher export duty Sri Ghoshal emphasised on "the increased contribution that the industry was expected to make to public revenue either at the States or at the Centre."

> "The industry," Sri Ghoshal said, "can naturally object to being asked to pay more by way of taxes. But taxes have to be paid and the problem is to find an optimum level at which an assessee can play his part and at the same time remain in his business."

He assured the producers that the Government was trying to arrive at a pattern which would not prove crushing to the industry and would at the same time "produce from this very important industry a contribution of the size that our National Plan requires."

14. *Statesman*, April 16, 1956.

15. *Report*, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1955.

16. *Statesman*, April 15, 1956.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA: *By Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, National Council of Education (Bengal), Calcutta. 1955. Pp. 185. Price Rs. 8.*

This well-written work consists of a series of five lectures delivered by the late lamented scholar as Nirmal Chandra Basu Mallik Professor of History at the National Council of Education (Bengal) during 1951. It is marked by the same qualities that mark his other writings, namely, thoroughness and lucid exposition. In this small volume in particular the author has condensed with a remarkable clarity of expression an enormous mass of material derived from the best authorities (mostly in French). His criticisms of earlier views, whenever they occur, are characterised by a penetrating analysis and sound judgment.

Of the five lectures constituting the body of the work the first deals mainly with the movements of nomadic peoples (Scythians, Huns, Yue-ches, Hephthalite Huns and Turks) into Central Asia from the second century B.C. to the tenth century A.D. and their profound repercussions upon the peoples of the neighbouring lands. In the second, third and the fourth lectures the author passes succinctly in review the geography and history, the culture and literature, as well as the Buddhist shrines of the regions of Central Asia, namely, Bactrian (comprising chiefly the Oxus river valley) Eastern Iran, the Southern States of Eastern Turkestan and the Northern States of the same tract. The last lecture reviews briefly the scripts and languages as well as the literature (largely Indian in original Sanskrit or its translations into the languages) of the peoples of Eastern Turkestan. There are three Appendices of a more specialised character, culled from the author's previously published writings, which do honour to his scholarship. A map drawn to scale but without references to the latitude and the longitude is given appropriately at the beginning of this work, while a valuable bibliography and a good index bring it to a close. The only defect which we have noticed in this work is the total absence of diacritical marks for which the author begs the readers' apology in his preface. We have noticed a contradiction on page 14 where the author says in the same breath that "the civilisation of Eastern Turkestan up to about the tenth century was largely derived from India and Iran," and that "both Iran and India played a dominant role" in shaping the culture. The paper, print and general get-up are

U. N. GHOSHAL

SELECTIONS FROM THE UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE OF THE JUDGE-MAGISTRATE AND THE JUDGE OF PATNA, (1790—1857): *Compiled and edited with an introduction by Dr. K. K. Dutt. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar. Pp. 422. Price Rs. 5.*

Historical studies on a scientific basis are of recent origin in India. Increasing emphasis is now being laid on the use and publication of what Ranke called "absolutely contemporary records" and reconstructing our history on the basis of their evidences. The Governments of Madras and Bombay pioneered this enterprise. Hyderabad followed suit and now the Government of Bihar has joined in this laudable task and set an example for its neighbours to follow.

The records embodied in this volume relate to a variety of topics which have been classified under headings, such as, political, administrative, customs, excise, banking, jails, roads and bridges, public buildings, thuggee and dacoity, education, sati and slavery. They range from 1793 to 1857 and diffuse light *mainly* on the history of North and South Bihar.

The first portion of this volume comprising the documents on matters political have, however, a wider appeal. They relate to the French interest in India, the Danish factory at Patna, Portuguese vicarage in the same city, Nawab Wazir Ali's rising against the British and murder of Cherry, Conway, Graham and Evans (p. 73), Raja Jhao Lal *alias* Hedayet Ali Khan's intrigues and the visit of the Nepalese envoys of Patna, March 1802 and the Tanjore Raja (for performance of pilgrimage). This section of papers has a bearing upon Indian history as a whole, however, inconsequential it might be. There are other documents which, though exclusively of local interest, are of great merit. Read, for instance, the syllabus for the *Arabic and Sanskrit Junior Scholarship Examination*, p. 412, the Government circular (1845) announcing its desire to start 101 schools in the districts of Bengal, Bihar and Cuttack for education of the people in the vernacular reading and writing, arithmetic, geography and the history of India and Bengal (pp. 407-410). Even the circular, granting 15 days holiday *on the occasion of the Muharram*, a month's *on the occasion of the Dusserah and the Diwali*, a two-days' holiday on the occasion of the *Harichattar Mela* (with a virtual suspension of business in the Judges' Court for a week), offer an interesting reading. Similarly, the Patna Collector's statement (pp. 182-183), tabulating the expenditure of a sum of one thousand rupees by Maharaj Kalyan Singh in 1802, in gifts and charity to the Muslims on the occasion of the Id festivals as well as the assumption of the title of Hedayet Ali Khan by the Saksena Kayeth of Oudh, Jhau Lal and

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the designation of his wife as Najibunnisa Begam (p. 109), give us an idea, though faint and shadowy, of the tolerance and amity that marked the Hindu-Muslim relation in those days.

In the 18th century, Patna had grown into an important centre of Muslim influence and authority in Eastern India. This city produced such eminent Wahhabi leaders as Welayet Ali and Inayet Ali who fought the Khalsa army in the Panjab, Rahat Ali, Pir Baksh, and Shah Kabiruddin of this city hatched a dangerous conspiracy against the British in concert with Raja Kumar Singh of Jagadishpur in 1845 (the relevant documents will be shortly published by the reviewer). Hence, possibly the titular Nawab of Murshidabad, Tipu Sultan's son Yasin, Nawab Saadat Ali Khan's brothers, Wazir Ali's agents are described either as peregrinating or seeking asylum in this State.

There has been a considerable advance of our knowledge on the history of the Company's Rule in India *in recent years*. The editorial note has taken note of them and is therefore of the desirable quality and standard.

N. B. Roy

DIANETICS: The Modern Science of Mental Health: *By L. R. Hubbard. Derricke Ridgway, London. Pp. xvii + 404.*

The title of the book might lead one to presume the existence of an established science called Dianetics. The term 'dianetic,' however, is a derivative of the word *dianoetic* which according to Warren's Dictionary of Psychology means: "pert. to the intellectual functions in general, esp. reasoning"; consequently, if it were forcibly used to mean any specific system in psychology or 'the modern science of mental health,' dianetics would have little sustaining power amidst the existing schools of psychology.

On going through the book a bewildered reader may justly feel like inquiring what, after all, is the big idea? The introduction written by The Hubbard Dianetic Foundation Inc. (*sic.*) opens with the canonical statement, "The major contribution of the Dianetic theory to the field of psychology and psychotherapy are seven fundamental assumptions." Assumptions are assumptions even if they were made to appear like seven pillars of wisdom. Every science starts with assumption but can one accept a science whose final conclusions are admittedly assumptions? In the foreword written by a medical person we are assured, "The technique of dianetics theory is basically simple and can be understood and applied to each other by any two reasonably intelligent people after a brief study of this volume. . . . No previous background in psychoanalysis or psychology is necessary." Very reassuring indeed as it sounds very much like psychoanalysis or psychology without tears. It is rather curious, however, that a subject, to understand which no previous knowledge of psychology or psychoanalysis is required, may by itself have major contributions to make to the fields of psychology and psychotherapy!

If a reader insisted on reading the book through, as the reviewer had had to do—a task needing a very great amount of patience, he may be entitled to comment upon this enigmatic science as simply a prototype of faith cure trying to appear scientific with borrowed buntings of psychoanalysis and psychology. The underlying thesis, more precisely, the assumptions and the presumptions—are highly spiced with special terms dexterously deduced from science to suit particular occasions ('symbiote,' 'perceptice,' 'keying-in' engram') and verbiage coined with little restraint (basic-basic, 'demon,' 'bouncer').

Lest the reader may forget, he is repeatedly reminded, "Dianetic is extremely simple." Possibly. That, also, is the source of its weakness. Printing is good indeed.

S. C. Mitra

LECTURES IN INDIA: *By Keshub Chunder Sen. Navavidhan Publications Committee, 95, Keshub Chunder Sen Street, Calcutta-9. Pp. ix + 551. Price Rs. 6.*

The name of Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen has become almost a household word to educated India. He was a force in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. He is popularly known and respected as a first-rank Brahmo leader. But those who had at least some acquaintance with the affairs of the last century, know and appreciate what a great nation-builder Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen was. He strove hard to build New India on the spiritual plane. But he did not forget the day-to-day problems of human life. He took a keen interest in things India. He thought and acted in terms of Mother India. He may be called the first apostle of Indian nationhood inasmuch as he sought to blend the different aspects of Indian life on a sound foundation.

Brahmananda's nineteen speeches have been given in the book under notice. His epoch-making speeches on "Jesus Christ: Europe and Asia," "Great Men," "Regenerating Faith," "Inspiration," "India Asks Who is Christ?," "Asia's Message to Europe," and other speeches sent a thrill into the mind of the audience, when they were first delivered in public meetings. These speeches are still inspiring and instructive. If the country will be benefited if instructions contained in these lectures are followed by the people. These have inspired even friends of other lands, and have undergone translations in their mother-tongues. The language of the speeches comes direct from the heart and cannot but touch the heart of the reader and elevate it to a noble and high status. People who listened to his speeches have testified also this fact; and we earnestly wish that such inspiring and soul-elevating lectures might be delivered today! The subject-matter of most of the speeches is spiritual, but it has been dressed in such an easy and flowing style, and appeal to the yearnings of the common man that it cannot but be appealing and inspiring. We welcome this handsome and handy reprint. Needless to add, the book will repay perusal.

Jogesh C. Bagal

INDIA: DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION (A Study of the work of the Birla Education Trust): *By Jossleyn Hennessy. Orient Longmans Ltd. Pp. 338 + 115 photographs. Price Rs. 15.*

It must have been a very auspicious moment for India when Ghanshyamdas Birla decided he would divert a part of the fabulous millions from his vast and far-flung empire of commerce towards a really worthy, if apparently non-profit-making, in the usual material sense, cause, such as the promotion of education and of all the fine values it stands for. To this admirable sentiment we owe the birth, in January, 1929, of the now-famous Birla Education Trust (of which G. D. Birla himself is chairman), based mainly on Pilani, the Birlas' home village in arid Rajasthan. Over the years, fed and nurtured on the right lines, the Trust has grown up to

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elaborate and well-administered organisation, modelled essentially on the English public schools system, where, ideal physical and natural conditions, six thousand boys and girls drawn from all parts of India are given a fine all-round, healthy modern education—the sort of equipment that our future statesmen and administrators will need in the new India that is now shaping. The Trust's activities have increased from year to year and are still expanding into fresh fields and today the Pilani endeavour must be recokned as among the best that this country can offer in the field of education.

Somewhere along the way, it was decided that a book of conspectus detailing the Trust's many-sided activities and experiments should be issued and a special grant was made for this purpose. Mr. Jossleyn Hennessy, who was a well-known figure in India during the years of World War II, was entrusted with the task, a task to which he devoted himself with rare zeal and thoroughness. Mr. Hennessy utilised this opportunity to survey the entire field of education in the country, its many ills and inadequacies and also certain dangerous recent trends in isolated areas. Mr. Hennessy has gone to the roots of his subject and the results of his painstaking investigation should be considered and deeply pondered over by our educationists and by those whose business it is to look after the interests and welfare of our students.

We unhesitatingly commend this book to educationists and public men who will find it both stimulating and profitable reading. The 115 photographs (including one of Mr. G. D. Birla) enliven the text considerably.

In the end, a spot of pious wish-making. Reading the book about Pilani, one is tempted to express a wish that many more of our leading industrialists and those who have tons of idle money hidden away in secret caches, would come forward and establish similar nation-building institutions all over the country. For, in the last analysis, glory and bliss lie not in parading in automobiles or resplendent palaces, nor in merely exhibiting jewelleries and rare gems, but in relieving the suffering of fellow humans and in fighting the twin curse of ignorance and hunger that ultimately kills the fine and noble flower that is human life.

RAMESH GHOSHAL

HIGHER EDUCATION AND RURAL INDIA: *Dr. S. N. Mukerji. Published by Acharya Books, Baroda. First edition. 1956. Pp. 342. Price Rs. 10.*

The truth is being gradually realised that the future of the country depends on the education of the people of the country and after the attainment of independence the country's mind has been deeply exercised for a solution of this vital problem. The soul of India lived in villages. To educate and vitalise the life of the countryside cannot be brought to the towns and cities but educational institutions have to be taken to the rural areas and adapted to the regional needs.

In the present volume Dr. Mukerji has examined the educational problems of rural India and offered solutions of higher Secondary Schools and Universities on the models of American institutions for improvement of Indian villages. His analysis and suggestions are thorough and comprehensive and deserve careful consideration. Printing and get-up are excellent.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

DIVINE LIFE FOR CHILDREN: *By Swami Sibananda. Published by the Yoga Vedanta Forest University, Ananda Kutir, Post, Rishikesh, Himalayas. Pp. 106. Price Rs. 1-8.*

The author of this little volume is a prolific writer and dynamic Hindu monk devoted to the spread of our religion and multifarious allied activities residing in the quiet and cool atmosphere of Rishikesh. This book is essentially meant for little ones who are the citizens of tomorrow. It is written in an easy and lucid style. A number of interesting stories from our immortal epics and Puranas, the inspiring anecdotes of sages and saints, moral instructions and indispensable information of general knowledge fill the pages of this little book. It has, in fact, ended in eighty-five pages and then a long list of panegyrics of the eminent persons of modern India and the West have been collected from different sources to blazon the greatness and magnanimity of Swami Sivananda. Frankly speaking, it is nothing but a kind of self-advertisement which is the less done the better. It has belittled the force and worth of the booklet and defeated its purpose. The book is expected to be useful to the English-speaking children for whom it is mainly written.

SHIBANI PRASAD MAITRA

THE TECHNIQUE OF PLANNING IN INDIA: *By N. B. Sapre, M.A. Published by the author from 855, Shivajinagar, Poona-4. Pp. 171. Price Rs. 3-8.*

In this book the writer has given a short history of various plans for industrial development of India since Netaji Subhas Bose as Congress President appointed a planning committee under the presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The book is divided into ten chapters and the subjects discussed are Assumptions and Form of Planning, Establishment of Central Organisation, Objectives, Priorities, Estimating, Building Targets, etc. The author on several occasions has compared the English industrial methods with the planning of other countries although the former refers to yearly programme in place of three to four years' planning of other countries. The treatment in these pages is more or less statement and examination of the theories regarding planning and as such only satisfies requirements partially of students and general readers.

A. B. DUTTA

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MSS. (Asiatic Society, Vol. XIV): *Edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti,* M.A. *1955. Pp. ix+62. Price Rs. 7-8.*

This neat volume, the last and the smallest of the Series, describes 89 MSS. only on eight different subjects. Prof. Chakravarti has given all up-to-date information on the works which are surveyed in a brilliant and interesting introduction. Scholars working on Sanskrit books of music, game of chess, erotics and such other minor subjects will be benefited by a perusal of the volume. The price of the small book seems to be prohibitive.

D. C. BHATTACHARYYA

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SCIENCE IN THE VEDAS: *By Hans Raj. Published by Sakti Publications, Model Town, Ludhiana. Price Re. 1-12.*

This booklet seeks to shew that the Vedic hymns have reference to a number of scientific theories of modern times, especially regarding electricity, magnet-

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ism and water. Elaborate quotations are given from different parts of the vast Vedic literature in support of the views of the learned author. In his opinion Vedas indicate that Agni and Soma and the two Asvins represent two kinds of electricity, positive and negative (p. 16); that the ancient Aryans believed that the basic elements of the material world are two kinds of electricity now called 'electrons' and 'protons' (p. 26); and that water (*Vasistha*) is produced by the combination of oxygen (*Mitra*) and hydrogen (*Varuna*) as father and electricity (*Urvasi*) as mother (p. 29). It is true that the Vedas have been interpreted both figuratively and mythologically from very early times. But it would seem that the latter method has appealed to the people at large who are generally attracted to the Vedas for their spiritual outlook which is more apparent or sometimes for their poetry which occasionally is vivid and fascinating.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RAJNARAYAN BASU: *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, 243-1, Upper Circular Road. Calcutta-6. Price Re. 1.*

This is the fortyninth book in the series entitled "Sahitya Sadhak Charitamala." As a thinker, writer, social reformer, patriot and above all as a man, Rajnarayan Basu is held by his countrymen in high esteem. Rabindranath has drawn a memorable pen-picture of this eminent man in his Reminiscences.

In this short but copiously informative biography, the author has not only given us a full record of his life, but also shown his relation and contribution to our cultural renaissance of the nineteenth century. Sri Bagal has voluntarily undertaken the task of presenting before us the great ideas and achievements of our last generation and this book may be regarded as a part in the execution of that task. This too, like his other works, is marked by his characteristic precision and careful selection of materials. Not carried away by sentiments, he ably builds up the character he means to present, on the solid foundation of facts.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

BHARAT DARSHAN—CHITRON ME (Seeing India—Through Pictures): *Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, March, 1955. Price Rs. 7-8.*

This is an attempt to give a bird's-eye view of India through illustrations. It is divided into ten parts, each with a preface of its own. Natural beauties, ancient heritage, modern life, social work, scientific researches, commercial enterprise, military administration and Government secretariat—are all represented. Sports, recreations, festivals, health resorts have their share. Surely the volume does not attempt a complete representation; the four hundred pictures are not sufficient to give one a complete understanding of our country passing through different phases, but the object is different; it is an acquaintance with India, an introduction to this marvellous land.

The brief prefaces to the different parts have been ably written. The style is lucid. The book provides both entertainment and information, and it contributes a substantial addition to the publications of the Government of India.

P. R. SEN

GOKHALE: *By Gandhiji. Pp. 64. Price Re. 1.*

ASPRISHYATA: *By Gandhiji. Pp. 20. Price three annas.*

HARIJAN SEVAKON KI LIYE: *By Gandhiji. Pp. 46. Price six annas.*

VIDYARTHIYON SE: *By Gandhiji. Pp. [illegible] Price Rs. 2.*

All available from Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad.

The late Gopal Krishna Gokhale, founder of the well-known pioneer institution for self-sacrificing national service—the Servants of India Society—was Gandhiji's political preceptor. At their very first meeting in 1896, each seemed to recognise in the other his long-lost kindred, and from that moment there grew up between the two a holy and wholesome relationship. And Gokhale continued to be Gandhiji's shining pillar of strength in the latter's epic non-violent struggle in South Africa. The pamphlet *Gokhale*, is an account of Gandhiji's several meetings with his political master and mentor and of his touching tributes to the latter's memory.

Untouchability is a heinous crime against both Man and God. And as such it has no place in religion as well as society. It must, therefore, go root-and-branch. *Asprishyata* deals with Gandhiji's views on the subject in question-and-answer form. *Harijan Sevakon Ki Liye* is a companion volume, in which Gandhiji has given detailed instructions to workers who have engaged themselves in the righteous crusade to end "man's inhumanity to man" in India.

Vidyarthiyon Se contains Gandhiji's answers to the one-hundred-and-one questions pertaining to politics, religion, character, marriage, education, constructive work, violence, etc., referred to him by a large number of students. These are full of the affection of a true friend, and the admonition of a true father. And was not Gandhiji both a unique friend and a father to the people of India, particularly to the students? *Vidyarthiyon Se* should be on the shelf of every student.

G. M.

GUJARATI

GUJARATNA NAGARONUM FARSI BHASHANE SAHITYANUN KHEDAN (Intimate Knowledge of the Persian Language and Literature of the Nagars of Gujarat): *By Prof. Dr. Chhotabhai Jethachhodji Nayak, M.A., B.T., Ph.D. Published by the Gujarat Vidyasabha, Ahmedabad. 1950. Printed at the Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper-cover. Pp. 112. Price As. 12.*

Persian was the Court language during the period of the Muslim rule in Gujarat as elsewhere in India. Those persons, therefore, who aspired to be state functionaries and favourites had to study the language. The Nagar Brahmin community of Gujarat and Saurashtra is by instinct an intelligent community and no wonder if it produced intellectuals of high calibre whose study was deep and wide. Names like Sadasukh of Ahmedabad and his son, Bholanath, Ranchhodji, Divan of Junagadh, are outstanding examples in this category, who knew Persian as well as their mother tongue. The Kayastha community of Surat, following closely in the wake of the Nagar community in this respect. The writer has worked well in the way of research and, given as much biographical details as possible, of all the scholars therein; the last one being Balashankar Kantharia of Nadiad. They were all scribes and calligraphists.

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GREAT WOMEN OF INDIA

Issued to commemorate the first Birth Centenary of Sri Sarada Devi—the Holy Mother, the illustrious spiritual consort of Sri Ramakrishna

Editors

SWAMI MADHAVANANDA

DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR

Introduction by

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

"The position of women in any society is a true index of its cultural and spiritual level."

"THIS VOLUME, which commemorates the Birth Centenary of a Great Woman of our time, is an attempt, the first of its kind, to survey the position and prospect of women in Indian society during the last five thousand years, and to present a kaleidoscopic picture of their dreams and visions, hopes and aspirations, through an illustrative study of the lives and achievements of the more outstanding among them.... Quite a fascinating picture unfolds itself in the pages of this book. It is a long procession, through the ages, of Indian women who attained greatness in various spheres of life and culture—political and aesthetic, moral and spiritual," says Dr. Radhakrishnan in his Introduction.

THE VOLUME is divided into two main sections. The first gives a general survey of the ideals and position of Indian womanhood in different spheres of life, both in the past and in the present, together with a chapter on the evolution of Mother worship in India. The second section is a study of the lives of great women in India—not only those who actually lived and died, but also many others who are known only from literary sources such as the Vedas, Epics, Puranas, and classical Sanskrit literature.

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1. KANTAN VIDYA (The Art of Spinning): *By Shivabhai Gokalbhai Patel. Pp. 48. Price seven annas.*
2. TYPHOID: *By Bansidhar Hiralal Gandhi. Pp. 45. Price nine annas.*
3. GRAM VIDYAPITHA: *By Gokaldas Patel and Mukulbhai Katarthi. Pp. 137. Price Re. 1-12.*
4. HINDI RASHTRIYA MAHA SABHANUN BANDHARAN: *Second Edition. Pp. 32. Price As. 6.*
5. ISLAMNO SUVARNA YUGA: *By Chunilal Purushottam Barot. Pp. 90. Price Re. 1-4.*
6. GANDHIJI—A STUDY: *By Shantilal Maganlal Desai. Pp. 384. Price Rs. 4.*

All paper-cover. Published by Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1951 : 1952.

This highly admirable and useful series of publications, published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, founded by Mahatma Gandhiji, as the list shows, consists of books in various subjects. The book on the art of spinning contains directions in easy language for those who desire to take to spinning, and explains the method with illustrations. *Typhoid* is a useful brochure, and explains anything relating to that fell disease in popular language from the bacillus to its destroyer Chloromycetine. The advice given to a typhoid patient is to go to hospital, as one's home does not contain all those amenities and facilities which a well-conducted hospital does. *Gram Vidyapitha* is founded on Dr. A. E. Morgan's *Higher Education in Relation to Rural India*. He was a member of the Radhakrishnan University Commission and has devoted much space in its Report as to how to turn the present Degree-conferring Universities into such as would help the rural population to be both educated, cultured and useful members of society. The pace of modification of the British-founded Universities has begun but progress is lamentably slow. To such progress, this book is a good guide. The Constitution of the Indian National Congress as passed at its Ahmedabad session on 29th, 30th and 31st January, 1951, is presented here, complete in the Gujarati language, with specimen application forms for membership. The Golden Age of Islam gives a faithful picture of the times with its prevalence and power—worldly and religious—at their apex. Mr. Barot's study of the subject is intimate; *e.g.*, he has described how a Faithful prays and says his prayers, the genuflexions and the words uttered when offering them, God as conceived by the Muslim and the Koran, etc. It is a most useful contribution to the study of Islam, for a Gujarati-knowing person. To those interested in Gandhiji's life and activities in various spheres, this book—*Gandhiji*—furnishes a very valuable means, written as it is by a close association with him at Sevagram. It is first published as the first volume in the Mahader Desai 'Memorial Series.' Shrijut Shantilal's labour is sure to be rewarded by attracting numerous and appreciative readers.

EKANKI (One-Act Plays): *Edited by Gulabdas Broker and Jayanti Dalal. Published by the Indian National Theatre Prakashan. Printed at the Citra Press, Baroda. 1951. Paper-cover. Pp. 99. Author's contribution Rs. 2.*

The Editors contemplate the issue of three such collections of One-Act plays in Gujarati per year. The present issue consists of the plays written by eminent writers like Umashankar Joshi, Jayanti Dalal, Gulabdas Broker (the Editors) and Santprasad Bhatt—all of them readable and promising better work hereafter.

PRARTHANA: *By Swami Madhav Tirtha. Published by Ishwarlal Vaulya, Kachholi (via Anand). Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1951. Illustrated. Paper-cover. Pp. 32. Price not mentioned.*

This small book describes the efficacy of prayer, offered sincerely and with due humility. It is written in memory of Shri Gangeshwar.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Grace Plunkett

Symbol of Young Ireland

Grace Plunkett is one of those Irish patriots who forgot themselves in devotion to their cause and toiled and suffered that their people might be free. R. M. Fox, writes in *The Aryan Path* :

One of the most romantic and tragic stories of the Easter Rising in Ireland is recalled by the death in Dublin, on December 13th, 1955, of Grace Plunkett, who married Joseph Plunkett, the rebel leader, at midnight in Kilmainham prison chapel, just before his execution. She has a special place in the history of the stormy, heroic days.

Had he lived, Joseph Plunkett would have made a reputation as a poet, for already his verse had made him pre-eminent among the talented group. Just before the 1916 struggle began, Plunkett had to enter a nursing home for an operation. He left on Easter Monday and stayed in a Dublin hotel. He was determined to take part in the fighting, but had arranged to meet Grace Gifford on Easter Sunday morning. Through a mistake on the part of a messenger this plan miscarried.

Grace Gifford and her three sisters were all active in the militant Irish National movement. She was unhappy at home, for her people were bitterly opposed to her activities. Her sister Muriel was already married to Thomas MacDonagh, also executed for his part in the Easter Week rising. When the rebels surrendered, Plunkett was held in Kilmainham Gaol. He had sent a message to Grace asking her to complete the arrangements for their marriage. She had the help of a priest who was to have married them earlier if she went to the prison. For the sake of historical accuracy it is best to give what followed in her own words:

"I entered Kilmainham Gaol on Wednesday, May 3rd at 6 p.m. and was detained there till about 11-30 when I saw him for the first time in the prison chapel, where the marriage was gone through and no visitors allowed. He was taken back to his cell and I left the prison with Fr. Eugene MacCarthy of James's Street. We tried to get shelter for the night and I was lodged at the house of Mr. Byrne—bell founder James's St. I went to bed at 1.30 and was wakened at 6 o'clock by a policeman, with a letter from the Commandant, Major Lennon, asking me to visit Mr. Plunkett. I was brought there in a motor and saw my husband in his cell, the interview occupying ten minutes. During the interview the cell was packed with officers and a sergeant, who kept a watch in his hand, ended the interview by saying 'Your time is now up.'" Every detail of that night was deeply imprinted on Mrs. Plunkett's memory. A few points deserve quotation. She entered that prison for the first time at 6 p.m. She was kept waiting for five and a half hours—till 11-30 p.m.—without being allowed to see the condemned man she was about to marry. Near midnight he was taken from his cell and conducted to the altar in handcuffs. These were removed for the ceremony and put on immediately after it. Then he was marched away. The prison chapel was in darkness, except that one soldier held a lighted candle. About twenty soldiers were present and one acted as witness.

Grace Plunkett was sent away without being granted any time with her husband after the ceremony. But, at 2 a.m. they came for her again. This second time she was allowed a bare ten minutes in his cell. Even for this brief period they were given no privacy. The cell, she recalled, was crowded with officers while the time was regulated by a soldier with an open watch. "We who had never had enough time to say what we wanted to each other," she said wistfully, "found that in that last ten minutes we could not talk at all."

According to convention, a criminal condemned to death is granted certain comforts. But in the case of this patriot and his wife nothing was done to soften the harshness of their fate. Although he was still ill, Joseph Plunkett was kept in a narrow, cold cell in a disused prison where the guards needed a roaring fire. His wife had the bleakest part of the ordeal to bear. At home there was such hostility to the National struggle that she was refused admission when she returned after her husband's execution.

It happens sometimes that an ordinary man or woman, without any outstanding qualities other than faith or love, is lifted up at the crisis of a movement and remains always as a symbol of humanity, showing to what heights of sacrifice one can reach. But, besides this, Grace Plunkett was a woman of artistic gifts in her own right. When she was an art student at the Slade School in London, Sir William Orpen painted her portrait as "Young Ireland" and this hung in the doorway of the Leicester Galleries for many years. He painted better than he knew, for Grace Gifford—as she then was—has remained ever since as a symbol of the Young Ireland of those stirring days. She used her artistic gifts in the National struggle and, later, she was known for her clever cartoons of Abbey Theatre celebrities.

Her verses are an index to her personality. She wrote one in memory of the 1916 leaders who were her personal friends:

> Little we thought who watched your strength
> and power,
> That you would lie "defeated" 'neath the sod;
> The flag is furled that knew your glorious hour,
> Your eyes are closed now by the Hand of God,
> (And yet from age to age remember we Christ
> did not die in vain on Calvary.)

When this was written, the issue of Ireland's freedom still hung in the balance. Her idealism found more ringing utterance in these later verses:

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Who battles with fire,
Who breasteth the flood
On the wings of desire
And armoured by God?
Round his head bowed by sorrow
The hero-light gleams,
Rise! Bright dawns the morrow
O dreamer of dreams!

Although Joseph Plunkett's name was not used in connection with this verse, I do not believe that he could have been out of her heart and mind.

Seven years after that nightmare ordeal of her marriage in Kilmainham Gaol she was bought there as a prisoner. In the struggle between the Free State and the Republic she took the Republican side. This cold, stone prison, long disused and now a ruin, was then the place where women and girl prisoners were held. She saw again the cell where the last ten minutes with her husband were spoilt by the inhumanity of his captors. Into this place of terrible memories she was hurled once more. A nurse in the prison hospital took pity on her and brought her a box of cheap paints. With these she painted the graceful figures of the Madonna and Child on the rough wall of her cell. I saw it there years later when the prison was broken and deserted, pigeons flying through the gaping windows and weeds sprouting among the ill-famed stones. It was still an appealing picture, the colours fresh and gleaming.

In this prison there was much sickness, for it was without heat and had been condemned as unfit for use many years before. Yet, when the women prisoners were told that they would be removed to the North Dublin Union, they refused to go without two of their number who were on hunger strike. Soldiers were sent at 9 p.m. to remove them forcibly, dragging them from landing to landing, throwing them down the iron staircases. Grace Plunkett described it to me as being like a picture of hell, with oaths, screams, struggles and blows. This military operation went on all night. But she paid a tribute to the wardresses who shielded the girls from brutality as far as they could.

In the early morning she was transferred to the North Dublin Union and remembered the journey, for it was in May and she saw the river and the green trees as she sped by. She was glad to be out of that grim bastille of unhappy memories. But she had to spend a further three months in the North Dublin Union before she was released. When the order for release finally came, she refused to leave without her sister, Mrs. Gifford-Wilson, who was imprisoned with her and shared her home.

I met her after these troubles, in the early thirties. And even then an artist could have taken her as a model for Young Ireland. She had not been broken by suffering. The storms had left her young, slim, erect in body and in spirit. Her proud, sensitive face had vivacity and animation. Time the greatest artist of all, had pencilled in those lines of character. Her firm chin and delicately moulded features were as clear-cut as a cameo.

I understood the terrible aftermath of 1916 when she told me how empty Dublin seemed to her then. It was not just the death of one man, however dear, but of a whole intimate group. "Something would happen," she said, "and I would think, I must tell so-and-so, then I would suddenly remember that he, like the others, was dead."

Never did she adopt any pathetic pose. She carried her courage like a gay plume. But she had quick transitions. Sometimes she was a graceful dancing figure, in a frieze-like design, then a devotee kneeling at the altar or lighting candles at a shrine. For the generation she lit the candles of truth and loyalty at the Altar of Life.

When her health failed I saw her in a nursing home. Her talk then was of early days with the Countess Markievicz and of pictures she had been painting.

At her death the wheel turned full circle. After her marriage in Kilmainham she was hurried out of the prison to make way for the firing squad which ended her husband's life. At her funeral in Dublin, Irish men of the National Army fired a volley over her grave as a last salute from the Irish nation.

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Rev. Michael Scott writes in *Careers and Courses* :

Role of United Nations

During the past years that the United Nations has been in existence, history has moved forward at a quickening pace in Africa and in the world at large. The role of the United Nations has also been assuming increasing importance in African affairs. For the peoples in vast areas of Africa, the United Nations is the only international channel of expression of their hopes and needs to the conscience of the world. In the sphere of trusteeship and non-self-governing territories a struggle has been going on between emergent nationalism seeking to find expression at the United Nations and the administering powers which, on the whole, have been on the defensive. At the time the United Nations Charter was drawn up at Dumbardon Oaks in San Francisco it was hardly dreamt by any of the administering powers that the non-self-governing peoples would receive so much of the time and attention of the United Nations that a special committee on non-self-governing territories would be established. At the most it was thought that Article 73, Chapter XI, would place upon them the obligation of submitting information year by year. It came as a surprise to many of the administering powers when a special committee was appointed to deal with this information, to examine it, and make a report on it to the General Assembly. Inevitably in a country like Africa where people are awakening and are passing rapidly from the kindergarten to the adolescent stage in the growth towards self-government there are conflicts between those who control the destiny and those who are striving to gain more and more control over their own fate.

India, through her representatives on the Trusteeship Council, has played a notable part in the work of the United Nations.

Racial Discrimination

In many parts of Africa, the development of the non-self-governing peoples is not a straightforward question of nationalism. There are people of many different races living in areas of Central and East Africa. In South Africa it is the white population which [illegible] A white minority of two and a half million has an overwhelming proportion of political power over the so called non-European peoples who number ten and a half million. Asian peoples have no representation in the Councils of the State in South Africa. The African people who number three-fourths of the population are represented by three members of Parliament out of a total of 156 members. Thus, the situation has been about in the Union of South Africa whereby the

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masses of the population are unable to secure release from the many and increasing burdens which they bear and the just grievances which they find it hard even to answer. The Western world has failed to take adequate account of the fact that the character of this State is a portent to all Africa. It is spreading disillusionment and resistance amongst the non-white sections of the population and threatening to poison the whole blood stream of race relations in Africa, south of the Sahara. How much of the terrible situation now prevailing in Africa is not due to the frustration and disillusionment which has been emanating from South Africa?

The British Attitude

In all this seething ferment which is going on in Africa today, there is need of a new stocktaking by Britain of her policies in these multi-racial territories. What is the role of Britain in Africa today? In the Gold Coast and Nigeria, Britain has to her credit a low degree in self-government on the part of the African population. Few would have believed some years ago that the Gold Coast would have an African elected Prime Minister. On the whole, it is probably true to say, especially in regard to these territories, that Britain led the way in progress towards Constitutional Government and indigeneous Parliamentary institutions. Neither the French, Belgian nor Portuguese administrations nor can the other administering powers show the advancement which has taken place under British administration in West Africa. Those of us who criticise Britain's role in other parts of Africa today can draw inspiration and encouragement from these happenings. We should not fail to give credit where credit is due. But the problems in East, Central and South Africa are very different from those of West Africa, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. And it is here that many in Britain believe that the time has come for a re-examination of the role of Britain there. This role is two-fold, that of trustee for the African people who sought Britain's protection during the days of slavery and the rivalry of other great European powers in these African territories. But her role is also that of a mediator between the different races who have settled in Africa, who make their capital there, who have pioneered in trade, industry and education and who settled down there and who regard Africa as their home. This applies to the many hundreds of thousands of Asian people in East, Central and South Africa and also to those people who have contributed much and who could continue to contribute as much towards the future welfare and prosperity of these countries, if only they could pursue policies which were not based on fear of domination from the other people who belong to the country and to whom the country belongs.

Fresh Outlook Needed

Nowhere in the world it is more dangerous than in emergent Africa of today for preachers and politicians to proclaim doctrines of racial supremacy. Europe has been threatened twice in our generation by this doctrine which captivated Germany and her allies and enslaved their people with dreams of world domination. It was this doctrine that brought Europe to the brink of destruction. The menace to Africa from the doctrine of racial supremacy is in no way less. African civilisation also cannot be based on racial discrimination. If it will perish miserably. We need a new kind of civilisation in Africa, not a slavish imitation of Western systems but one which will conserve and utilise to fulfil the vast human and natural resources of Africa and at the same time offer increasing opportunities and freedom to people of all races to develop their own lands, their own skills, that God has given them in industry, trade agriculture aid professions. Britain and India can both help Africa in this task.

It is sometimes said that the method of gradual constitutional reforms followed by Britain in Africa leads to stresses and strains which are not apparent in some other territories, such as the Portuguese, for example. This has led some people to claim that the Portuguese methods is more peaceful and to be preferred. But Britain must go forward with faith in the future for there can be no turning back towards old mythologies and the false doctrines that were so prevalent at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Africa, like India, stands at the beginning of an age of industrial and agricultural revolution and possesses political and economic problems of a much greater magnitude than those which confronted the politicians and industrialists of Britain in the hungry 40s. These tasks call for statesmanship of a high order. We cannot afford to place Africa's destiny in the hands of those whose bigotry enables them to think only in terms of negative fear and suspicion of all the hopes and aspirations of peoples other than their own. Africa is a great continent. Great varieties of tradition, language, culture and the colour and rhythm and drama of its life must be appreciated in all their richness and diversity by those responsible for making its laws and its constitutions. Otherwise, the legitimate hopes and aspirations of the people will go on coming into violent collision with one another, and the immense God-given possibilities of Africa will be over-shadowed by the evil spectre of race hatred and suspicion which can only destroy and can never create the means towards a new and happier destiny.

Policy of Non-discrimination

The outlook for the white race if it pursues an oppressive or exclusive policy towards other races is not pleasant to contemplate. It may be that the time has come before Britain surrenders any more power to the people of her own kith and kin in Africa, to recall them to the sense of the high purposes and mission which Britain undertook when she offered her protection to these lands and peoples a century ago. Now, indeed, her task is that of a mediator as well as that of a trustee, and if all the mistakes which have led to the tragedy of South Africa and Kenya are to be avoided, we must be bold. We must take stock of the situation before it degenerates any further. We must re-examine the whole field of agricultural and industrial possibilities and see what is required in the sphere of education and politics and constitution-making to enable this growth and development to take place without recourse to violence. In these multi-racial territories, constitutions, which emphasize racial and communal differences, may not be the best means of evoking what is best in human nature. What is needed is a political system which emphasizes all that human beings have in common in the development of their land and people, not what keeps them apart. Apartheid is a doctrine of despair and does not correspond to the basic economic and political trends of a twentieth century State. It drives apart what God and History are drawing together, for, we cannot speak of a white civilisation (despite Mr. Lyttleton's remarks about the poverty of Africa's contribution to civilisation) because it was probably on the African continent, in Egypt, that one of the first civilisations was born and flourished and, at all events, almost all races have contributed towards all

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that we now mean when we speak of civilisation. Certainly, civilsation cannot be thought of exclusively white. If it were exclusively white, it would not be a civilisation.

How India Can Help

There are many practical ways in which India and the Indian people living in Africa can help in the political tasks immediately confronting Africa and in the promotion of better understanding between the races living in East and Central Africa. It should be possible for more of those qualified in the methods of basic education to come from India and assist in the reorganisation of education and its adaptation to the needs of African society at the present time. I have seen a great deal of the work that is being done at Sevagram and by the Indian Village Industries Association. I know of many places in Africa which are crying out for just the rural reconstruction that is being achieved in some of India's underveloped areas and the new life that is being brought both to land and people by the application of the principles of basic education.

In many respects, the problems of Africa have more in common with the problems of India than of Britain. A large-scale agricultural as well as industrial revolution is now taking place there, and along with the rapid awakening of great masses of people through a large-scale migration to the towns, there is the inevitable break-up of the old society and the social disciplines that in Africa went with the tribal system. The break-down of old faiths and old tribal organizations led to a discarding of the old standards of morality. And the widespread disillusionment with the white man's law and justice has spread also to some forms of the Christian religion which seemed to sanction apartheid and racial discrimination. Many Africans have left the more orthodox churches in search of some means to express their own feelings and yearnings for deliverance. There are some 800 different Christian sects in South Africa at the present time. Many Africans feel the need of a religion which, while conserving all that is best in their own traditional way of life, will inspire them in their struggle for freedom and justice on earth.

To very many Africans, India's struggle for her independence, and the non-violent methods that were used by India's peasantry and middle classes are still a great inspiration. I believe that India has a great and vital part to play in the future development of Africa, and it is important that this should take place in a manner consonant with the needs of that great Continent and its human problems. Especially there are great possibilities in the sphere of education and technical assistance, in the rehabilitation of Africa's rural areas and social economy, in the use of her great water resources, irrigation and power, and the adaptation of Africa's social and religious life to the rapid changes that are taking place in the direction of industrial development and urban life and the changing agricultural methods needed to conserve and utilise her soil to the best advanatage. The immense psychological changes that are taking place and the conflicts which are being set up through the past and present policies of racial discrimination cannot be avoided. These are the stuff out of which the future of Africa will be fashioned and it is for all of us to find techniques of struggle whereby the necessary change can be brought about without violence and hatred. This was the task to which Mahatma Gandhi devoted himself, and it was in Africa that the spirit of Satyagraha was born. India which has contributed much to ancient civilisation must take a leading part in the great renaissance of science and culture and their application to the problems of hunger and poverty in Africa.

Little Magazines

Prof. P. Goswami observes in *Triveni*:

The Little Review, an Americain literary periodical (1914-1929), is considered one of the most outstanding of the Little Magazines. *The Little Review* championed all experimental movements of this century and published the work of eminent American and European writers. It was in this magazine that Arnold Bennett read fragments of *Ulysses* after having been told by Wells of the new writer Joyce. A note of Joyce made Bennett puzzled, but the older man recalled "the time when I laughed at Cezanne's pictures. I wondered whether there might not be something real in the pages after all." The serialisation of *Ulysses* nearly resulted in the suppression of the magazine.

In America, the generic term has been taken "Little Magazine" of which *The Little Review* is an example. In Britain, however, the term preferred is "Little Review," taking its name from the famous New York *Little Review*. Should we use the term Little Magazine(s) or Little Review(s)? The chief aim of a periodical of this type is the promotion of literary experiment and reform and the encouragement of obscure and hitherto unpublished talent. This is done frequently in accordance with a definite editorial viewpoint in the matter of aesthetics or politics. Such a magazine is not concerned much with high sales or profit-making. By the very nature of its activity it cannot appeal to all and sundry, and it can impose itself on a large public, well and good but if it fails to do so, it does not care.

These Little Magazines are an interesting feature of the present century. Both in the U.S.A. and England there have been some influential periodicals of this type. One of the earliest in Britain was Katherine Mansfield and Middleton Murry's *Rhythm* (1911). It was the first to publish Picasso and Van Gogh, Gauguin, and Croce. And what was the financial status of this brave magazine? Since Swift, the publisher of Katherine Mansfield and Murry and *Rhythm*, failed, leaving Mansfield and

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with a printer's debt of £400. They, however, decided to continue the magazine and clear the debt from the inheritance she used to get from her father. The venture belied their hopes and in July, 1913, publication ceased. Another English magazine had more success. It was *The Egoist*, having in its coterie, among others, Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot. *The Egoist* published Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist* in 1914 and 1915. It was in this magazine that T. S. Eliot made his famous statement of poetic faith: "Tradition and the Individual Talent." The essay repays read even now:

"No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists. You cannot value him alone; you must set him, for contrast and comparison, among the dead. I mean this as a principle of aesthetic, not merely historical criticism . . . the emotion of art is impersonal. And the poet cannot reach this impersonality without surrendering himself wholly to the work to be done. And he is not likely to know what is to be done unless he lives in what is not merely the present, but the present moment of the past, unless he is conscious not of what is dead, but of what is already dead."

It was in *The Egoist* that in April 1918 May Sinclair wrote an article analysing the technique of Dorothy Richardson, the first exemplar of what was called "the stream of consciousness" method of writing fiction. A more influential magazine was the quarterly *The Criterion*, founded by T. S. Eliot in 1922 and edited by him till its disappearance in 1939. The first number of this magazine published *The Waste Land* and the fact considerbly fortified Eliot's literary reputation. The Editor broadcast a series of talks in Germany in 1946 on "The Unity of European Culture" and in one of these talks he spoke on the purpose with which he had started *The Criterion*. He made clear that the magazine did not have any particular bias, excepting an unconscious assumption "that there existed an international fraternity of men of letters within Europe: a bond which did not replace, but was perfectly compatible with, national loyalties, and that these loyalties, and differences of political philosophy and that it was our business not so much to advocate any particular ideas prevail, as to maintain intellectual activity on the highest level."

It appears that T. S. Eliot wrote for *The Egoist*, *The Criterion*, or *The Criterion* were the portents of a movement in the literature of the present century. Another magazine of considerable influence was Cyril Connolly's *Horizon* (1940—49). Some of the articles in this review were recently anthologized under the title *The Golden Horizon*.

Many of the Little Magazines in America popularized Marxian socio-historical methods of criticism. Marxian literature of the thirties had these as its subjects and sometimes the discussion of the philosophy of Marxism and the application of its principles to literature, science, history, and sociology. The magazines carried on, was of a high level. Harry Isaacs observes rightly:

"The Little Magazines are the foundations of literature of our time, the battlegrounds of new forms and new ideas, the seed-grounds of all literature, sheltering the young writers while they are learning, bringing them, while they are new, to the notice of the commercial world, which will decide their fame or their fate . . . The function of such reviews, as Mr. Allan Tate says, is "not to give the public what it wants, or what it thinks it wants, but what, through the medium of its most intelligent members, it ought to have."

Indeed, how important these magazines with their rather restricted circulations have been will be evident, if we only remember some of the outstandng writers of this century who came to be first known through these vehicles—Katherine Mansfield, Sherwood Anderson, T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, D. H. Lawrence, James Joyce, Gertrude Stein, Ernest Hemingway, E. E. Cummings, William Faulkner, Edmund Wilson, Dylan Thomas.

In India possibly most magazines are of the Little Magazine type. In a land where most of the population is illiterate and where all cultural moves have to be made by the educated few, however reactionary they may be on occasions, each magazine has its own coterie to inject it with life-blood and hope. Only as an exception does it attain to a wide circulation. In Assam it is more so. Assamese magazines do not have a wide audience, either because they are not well edited or because they are in truth *Little Magazines*.

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ভারতে জ্যোতিষচর্চ্চা ও কোষ্ঠীবিচারের সূত্রাবলী

শ্রীনরেন্দ্রনাথ বাগল জ্যোতিঃশাস্ত্রী

(বিশুদ্ধ সিদ্ধান্ত পঞ্জিকার জ্যোতিষী)

প্রকাশক—ইণ্ডিয়ান এসোসিয়েটেড পাবলিশিং (প্রাইভেট) কোং লিঃ

৯৩নং হ্যারিসন রোড, কলিকাতা-৭

গ্রন্থখানি ২১ অধ্যায়ে সমাপ্ত। বাঁধাই মূল্য ১০৲ টাকা। ডবল ডিমাই সাইজ ৫২০ পৃষ্ঠা। বৈদিকযুগ হইতে, বর্ত্তমান যুগের ভারতে জ্যোতিষচর্চ্চার গবেষণামূলক ইতিহাস প্রথমে প্রদত্ত হইয়াছে। কোষ্ঠীবিচার ভাগে—সহজে কোষ্ঠী প্রস্তুত, গ্রহস্ফুট, ভাবস্ফুট গণনা শিক্ষা, দ্বাদশ ভাবের কারকতার সঙ্গে রাষ্ট্রীয় দ্বাদশ ভাবের কারকতা, দ্বাদশ ভাব বিচারের নানাবিধ সঙ্কেত, রাজযোগ, বিংশোত্তরী, অষ্টোত্তরীদশা বিচার, মানবের দৈহিককান্তি ও কণ্ঠস্বর হইতে গ্রহপ্রভাব বিচার, রেখাষ্টবর্গের ডিগ্রী গণনা হইতে দৈনিক গ্রহগোচর ফল, ৩০০ শত বৎসর পূর্ব্বের সাণ্ডার্সের নিয়মে, মানবের শরীরচিহ্ন দ্বারা নষ্টকোষ্ঠী উদ্ধার, গ্রহ প্রভাবে নারীর মাসিক ঋতু আবর্ত্তন ও সহজে জন্মনিয়ন্ত্রণ বা সুসন্তান লাভ প্রভৃতি বিচার, বিবাহ মিলন বিচারে, দম্পতির দৈহিক সুখ, সৌভাগ্যবৃদ্ধির বিচার ব্যবসায় জ্যোতিষ, পিথাগোরাসের নিয়মে সপ্তগ্রহ প্রভাবিত সপ্তস্বর হইতে সঙ্গীতের উন্নতি বিচার প্রভৃতি গ্রন্থে সরল বঙ্গভাষায় সর্ব্বশ্রেণীর পাঠকগণের উপযোগী করিয়া রচিত হইয়াছে।

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Religion of Walt Whitman

John H. Hershey writes about the philosophy of the greatest American Poet, Walt Whitman in *Unity*, Jan.-Feb., 1956, as follows :

The year 1955 was the one hundredth anniversary of the publication of the first edition of the famous book of poems, *Leaves of Grass*, by Walt Whitman (1819-92). But the reception of it at first was not gratifying. The Quaker, John Greenleaf Whittier, for example, definitely did not like it; one story is that he threw it into the fire! Ralph Waldo Emerson, however, was one of the few who did give it a boost very soon after receiving a copy. He wrote the poet in July, 1855: "I find it the most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom that America has yet contributed." With regard to Whitman personally, John Burroughs, his friend for three decades, went so far as to say that he was "the greatest personality that has appeared in the world since the Christian era," and he also wrote a little book about him.

One could look at Whitman from many sides; but let us examine only his religion. Indeed, he himself wrote that the main purpose underlying his writing of *Leaves of Grass* was religious. He did not mean by religion the conventional doctrines as they were held by many of the churches; rather, he sought what he called a "more splendid theology."

Let us, then, begin with his general attitude toward Bibles and religions, as found in his poem, "Bibles and Religions." He does not deny that they are not divine, but nevertheless asserts emphatically that they all have their origins in the life of man himself. Human beings give them the life, rather than contrariwise. In this respect he was in accord with the teaching of his friend, Emerson.

Miracles—what are they for Whitman? A miracle, its root meaning being "to wonder," may mean either a supernatural or a natural wonder. Our poet seems clearly to emphasize the latter. It is in this sense that he says in his poem, "Miracles," that he knows "of nothing else but miracles." Viewing the wonderfulness of sky and earth and sea and living creatures, he asks, "What stranger miracles are there?"

The brotherhood of man was sung by Whitman in his poems: "I will sing the song of companionship," and "All men ever born are also my brothers." Although optimistically inclined, he saw, as expressed in his poem, "By the Roadside," the arrogance of persons toward laborers, the poor, and Negroes, as well as the evils of pestilence and tyranny, and wars. He practised as well as sang of brotherhood. As a volunteer he helped the sick and wounded and dying in the hospitals of Washington, D.C., for twenty months during the Civil War. Working a few hours each day to earn just enough to get along, he spent the rest of the day visiting the soldiers, writing home for them, giving them tobacco or fruit, playing games, and even, though sickened by what he saw daily, managing to greet them with a cheery smile.

Whitman had a keen interest not only in individual human beings, whether Emerson or cab-drivers, but also in individual things and creatures of nature. We find this in both his poetry and prose. He wrote of "the large pale thin crescent of the new moon," "the chirping of crickets in the grass," "the odor of the new-mown boring ripening corn," "the distant guttural screech of a flock of guinea-hens comes shrilly yet sweetly musically to my ears."

But our poet did not limit his interest to particular things and beings of creation. What is important to note is his seeing that to which the particular is related, the Whole, the Universal, God. Many Americans, it seems, see the part but not the Whole; extreme mystics, on the other hand, seem inclined to withdraw from the things of this world in order to fasten their attention on an absolute being having no vital relation to the parts of creation. Whitman avoided these extremes, seeing both the reality of the part and the Whole, the particular and the Universal, the created and God, and their relation to each other. Something of God he saw in "each hour of the twenty-four, and each minute then, in the face of men and women I see God," "I hear and behold God in every object." But he did not profess to know much about God. He was certain that God is but not what God is. "With the mystery of God we dare not dally."

Whitman felt the reality of God rather than merely believing in God. He wrote of his experience once when he was observing the night sky. He referred to "the visible suggestion of God in space and time—now more definitely indicated, if never again." He seemed at times "a flashing glance of Deity, addressed to the soul, silently—the indescribable night and stars—far off and silently." At another time, near the end of his days, he tells of his experience in an outdoor spot: "How I know not, but I often realize a presence here—in the woods I am certain of it, and neither chemistry nor reasoning nor aesthetics will give the least explanation ....And he adds that this experience of "a presence" has helped to strengthen him in body and soul.

Such was the view and vision of one of America's religious personalities, the "good gray poet," Walt Whitman. Although his message was written in the 19th century, it seems as fresh and vital as if it were written only yesterday.

Buddhism in China

Chou Shu-chia, Deputy Secretary-General of the Chinese Buddhist Association, writes in the *News Bulletin* of the People's Republic of China, May 31, 1956 :

Buddhism was introduced into China during the first century A.D. At that time the Madhyamika School was flourishing in India, and so China accepted the Mahayana thought of the Madhyamika School at the very beginning.

From the opening years of the Later Han Dynasty to the end of the Wei Dynasty during the Three Kingdom Period (*i.e.*, 25—264 A.D.), it was the period of inception of Buddhism in China. Since the

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translation and learning of the *Maha-prajna-paramita-sutra* at the end of the Wei Dynasty, the Chinese Buddhists began to propagate this sutra by copying, propagating, preaching and debating on it. At the beginning of the fifth century (during the Later Chin Period 384—417 A.D.), Kumarajiva came to China, and his profound learning of the Madhyamika School and his elegant style of translations of the Buddhist scriptures surpassed all his predecessors. At the same time the four *Agamas* of the Sravakayana and the *Vinayas* of the different schools were translated into Chinese one after the other. Thus Buddhism in China possessed a complete set of the holy scriptures and afforded its followers a way of practice.

Since then many experts of Buddhism emerged, some being teachers of Dharma who engaged themselves in theoretical researches, and others, teachers of Dhyana who solely practised meditation, and still others, teachers of Vinaya who made analytical studies of the *Vinaya*. But there were also many different kinds of view regarding the teachings of Buddhism, arising from different kinds of views regarding the teaching of Buddhism, arising from different scriptures, upon which these views were based. The arguments and disputes arising from these different views furthered the study of Buddhism to a deeper degree.

During the sixth century (during the Liang Dynasty and the middle of the Northern Wei Period) the Yoga School of Buddhism was gradually developed in India. Since then most of the Indian teachers who came to China belonged to the Yoga School, such as Bodhiruchi and Ratnamati who came during the Northern Wei Period and Paramartha who was in China at the end of the Liang and in the beginning of the Chen Dynasties. They propagated many of the works of the Yoga School.

The various schools of Chinese Buddhism, each having its own particular points, were founded successively. The first one was the Tien Tai School, founded by the venerable Chih Yi at the beginning of

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the seventh century with a newly-created system of thought to mediate between the theories of the Madhyamika and the Yoga Schools. The "Three Treatises" School (basing on the *Madhyamika-sastra*, the *Sata-sastra* and the *Dvadasanikaya-sastra*) was also founded to propagate the teachings of the Madhyamika School. Being discontent with the different views and not knowing which was right, the venerable Hsuan-chuang went to India with a resolution to acquire a complete and thorough solution of the question at the beginning of the Tang Dynasty. After going through many hardships he arrived in India where he studied Buddhism, and returned to China, spending altogether seventeen years abroad. When he had returned home he translated a great number of sutras and sastras into Chinese (of the 5,000 volumes of translated works as collected in the existing Chinese Tripitaka, one-fifth was done by him alone). His disciple, the venerable Kuei-chi, succeeded him in his system of thought and founded the Tzu En School.

Bodhidharma who came to China in the middle of the fifth century, advocated the knowlelge of Dhyana, and this system of thought later developed into the Dhyana School in the middle of the Tang Dynasty. The school that proposed to harmonize the theories of the Tien Tai, Tzu En and Dhyana Schools with another system of thought, was the Hsien Shou School, founded by the venerable Fa-tsang. During the eighth century when the Esoteric School flourished in India, two Indian teachers, Bajramati and Amogha, introduced the theories of this school into China.

The Pure Land School which taught its follower to repeat the name of the Amita Buddha so as to be reborn in the Western Paradise, and the Vinaya School which chiefly devoted in the study and practice of the Vinaya rules, were also founded one after the other during the seventh and the eighth centuries. The seventh and the eighth centuries were the golden time of Buddhism in China, and the various schools and sects which became prevalent among the Chinese Buddhists afterwards, were all founded during this period. It was also in this period that Buddhism was introduced into Tibet from the interior of China on the one hand and directly from India on the other hand. And this was the Former Period of Buddhism in Tibet.

During the tenth century (Sung Dynasty) the Esoteric School was again introduced into the land of Han from India, and at the same time it was also brought into Tibet and formed the Later period of Buddhism in Tibet, laying the foundation of the Tibetan Buddhism which is prevalent today. At the end of the twelfth century (the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty) Buddhism of the Pali system gradually spread among the Tai tribe in Yunnan province, and Tibetan Buddhism was also introduced into Mongolia. Thus the southern Buddhism of the Pali system and the northern Buddhism of the Chinese and Tibetan systems were all disseminated in China.

Since the introduction of Buddhism into China during the Han Dynasty, it was always studied and propagated, although not without hindrances, throughout the succeeding Tsin, the Six Dynasties, Tang, Sung, Yuan and Ming Dynasties. The salient points of Chinese Buddhism are that it advocates all the three "vanas," but lays stress on Mahayana teachings, and that under the guiding thought of "benefiting all sentient beings and purifying the world," the Chinese Buddhists positively promote the good traditions of Buddhism and obtain their own liberation by working for the liberation of others.

At the end of the Ching Dynasty when imperialism invaded China, Buddhism suffered the same fate as the original culture of China (and the Buddhists also shared the common fate of the Chinese people). Buddhism was rejected and the Buddhists were despised. Buddhist temples and monasteries being demolished and destroyed. During the forty years before the liberation there were, however, many enthusiastic Buddhists who tried with utmost effort to renovate and bring about a renascence of Buddhism, but they all wasted their time and energy without any achievement. During the twenty years of Kuomintang regiment, the destruction and oppression which Buddhism suffered increased even more than before.

In 1949 China was liberated, and under the protection of the policy of religious freedom (which was first fixed in the Common Programme and is now prescribed in the Constitution) as adopted by the Communist Party and the People's Government, the religious faith of Buddhists is protected and respected, and the political and social status of Buddhists is unprecedentedly elevated. Many of the important Buddhist temples and monasteries which were damaged before the liberation, have been repaired or reconstructed by the People's Government. In June, 1953, the Buddhist Association of China, which is constituted by the leading Buddhists of the various regions, nationalities and schools of all China, was founded in Peking. In August, 1955, the second (expanded) session of the Board of Directors, the Buddhist Association of China was convened in Peking and it was resolved to found a Buddhist Academy of China for the purpose of educating competent persons to disseminate the Dharma. The meeting also passed a resolution that the Buddhists should positively promote the good traditions of Buddhism, maintain the purity of the Tathagata's holy teachings, support the socialistic reconstruction of our motherland country and protect world peace.

A number of regional Buddhist associations have now been established one after the other, and the Buddhist followers of the different areas in the whole country have already made a certain amount of achievements in the study and practice of Buddhism, as well as in the promotion of the good traditions of Buddhism. Owing to the full realization of the positive Buddhist spirit of "benefiting all sentient beings and purifying the world," Buddhists are now supported and esteemed in society. Now, the Buddhists of China, under the leadership of the Buddhist Association of China, are working hard with a full confidence together with the people of the whole country for our socialistic reconstruction, for protecting world peace and for the further promotion of the good traditions of Buddhism.

1956 is the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's Nirvana. The Chinese Buddhists do not have, however, quite the same calculation as regards the year in which the Buddha entered Nirvana, with the Buddhists of the various southern Buddhist countries, but we also have a great esteem for the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's Nirvana, which is to be held in 1956, and therefore the Chinese Buddhists are making due preparation for the celebration and will undertake a series of meritorious works for the occasion.

An Outline of Egyptian Culture

The eminence of Egypt in the world of today is due to its geographical location which has facilitated its development and progress in spiritual, scientific and material fields. Its situation between the three continents, namely, Africa, Asia, and Europe helped

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making intimate contacts between the Egyptian and the other civilisations. Its situation near the Holy lands of Judaism, Christianity and Islam has made it conversant with the teachings and philosophies of these religions. The respective nature of the Egyptian civilisation has enabled it to draw the best from the culture of its neighbouring countries, and thereby improve and enrich its own culture and civilisation. The other nations too can benefit in the same way from the Egyptian civilisation. Thus Egypt was and is in a position, due to its geographical location, to influence and be influenced by the culture of the neighbouring countries.

Egypt is endowed with an equable Mediteranean climate. A sunny, clear and blue sky is to be found all the year round. The climate on the whole is moderate, both the winter and the summer are mild and salubrious.

What really distinguish Egypt from other countries are the customs, habits and ideas of its people which are peculiar only to Egyptians.

The Nile, the most precious gift of nature to Egypt, passes right through the heart of Egyptian land bringing fertility and prosperity at its full. Not only the agricultural but also the cultural development is due to the welfare and prosperity brought by the Nile. It is this river which is responsible for nursing the old Egyptian civilisation.

The old civilisation of Egypt is universally proclaimed to be one of the oldest and the most developed in the world. An idea of the progress made and standard attained in science, art and literature is clearly visible in the ruins and antiquities found in Egypt. These ruins and antiquities even today fascinate the minds and speak very high of the culture and civilisation of that time. Some historians are of the opinion that Egyptian culture was the spring that watered Greek philosophy and civilisation. They confessed the influence of Egyptians and regarded them as professors of the world. After the decline of the Greek civilisation it was Egypt that became the torch-bearer of the Hellenic civilisation. The school of Alexandria was once the biggest cultural centre. Its library contained a very great number of high class works of Greek philosophy, literature and science, and it is a well-known fact that research scholars from all over the world used to come to Egypt to study Greek works. Neo-Platonic philosophy was inspired in Egypt. Plautus, the famous dramatic poet, mentioned that he had to go to Egypt to translate some old Greek plays. And recently parts of the comedies of Menander, the Greek comedy poet of the third phase, were found only in Egypt.

Egypt was conversant with the Roman culture but never gave it a way. It proved to be a barrier against the Romans who tried to ride roughly on Christianity. Egypt learned and preferred St. Mark's vision of the Christian education over that of St. Angle and became the focus of St. Mark. Some of the most able and universally respected theologists like Clement of Alexandria, Origan, Dionysius, John of Nikius and others have flourished in Egypt.

Islamic Egypt took its birth with the settling of the Arab tribes. Once again Egypt achieved the glorious dignity by becoming the leader of Islamic culture and defender of Islamic civilisation. It played a leading role in defending the Islam in the Crusade. Egypt again successfully fought back the barbarians who attacked Persia and Iraq and were planning to invade Syria. This saved the West also from the ruthlessness of the barbarians.

Egypt maintains an exalted position in the Islamic culture too. Azhar University, established in the 10th century, is the only Islamic University in the world where its traditions, customs and literature still flourish and are most preserved even now. This University is the oldest educational institute in the whole of the world. It diffuses the light of knowledge all over the Islamic world.

Amity with all and enmity with none is the motto of the Egyptians. They are the people with refined and aesthetic tastes. They draw the best from other nations, build a culture which fits their customs, habits and taboos and even so to say, send it to other nations. They like to keep old teachings and at the same time they like the new. They mix the old and the new and evolve something which suits their conditions, habits and temperaments. For example, the typical Egyptian literature is a mixture of both the old and the new literature and this concoction is neither eastern nor western literature, but purely Egyptian literature. Similiarly the Egyptian culture, frankly speaking, is the mixture of various cultures detaining her own traditions and customs intact.

It was only due to adverse political conditions that her cultural advancement received a setback. But now after the 1952 revolution Egypt is straining its maximum to attain its old place in the world of letters and culture.

The Ministry of Education is working for the educational and cultural progress in all fields.

The Council of National Planning aiming at the increase of the national income and raising the standard of living recommended the establishment of several industries. For implementation of the recommendations several industries are built in different parts of the country in a decentralised form.

Agricultural improvement is taking place day by day. Major and minor irrigation projects are being constructed for the purpose. Co-operative societies and collective farming, the basis of agricultural development, are now established on a large scale.

Social centres, for health conditions and social improvement, and to supply trained personnel, are now scattered all over the country in both rural and urban areas.

New Egyptian Government is marching on solid and concrete basis in every branch of advancement and development, to place Egypt in its right position and march along with the world of today.

This bulletin aims to show the steps that Egypt is taking to fulfil its goal in the cultural field and definitely Egypt will retain its right position under the new regime.—*Culture of Egypt*, June 1956.

Nepamills Now Progressing Toward Real "Stability"

K. P. Narayanan writes in the *American Reporter*, June 6, 1956 :

Newsprint is more than newsprint; it is food for freedom, raw material for democracy.

There is the story of a pompous official of the unhappy, forgotten days of newsprint control who asked, "What is newsprint?" and went on to say pontifically, "I know 'news' and I know 'print' as well, but what is this newsprint control? It possibly has something to do with controlling the printing of news."

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Today, India has her first newsprint factory, the National Newsprint and Paper Mills Limited plant which, designed to produce 100 tons daily, meets about 40 per cent of the country's total requirements, and saves nearly Rs. 2 crores' worth of foreign exchange. Until lately, not a sheet of the nearly 90,000 tons of the country's annual consumption was produced in India.

This factory was formally declared open by Prime Minister Nehru at a glittering function at Nepanagar. In the course of a vigorous speech on the occasion, Mr. Nehru referred to the machinery installed in the factory and asked Pandit Rs. S. Shukla, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, who was seated on the dais, "Where does Nepa machinery come from?" Pandit Sukla looked to Dr. Ramaswami Mudaliar, chairman of the Nepamills, who was also seated on the dais. He promptly said, "America."

The machinery came from America. The factory was designed by Ebasco Services. Inc., of New York. Earlier, to determine whether commercially acceptable newsprint can be made from a combination of salai and bamboo pulps, the company sent raw materials to be tested at the Herty Foundation Laboratories in Savannah, Georgia, U.S.A.

When forwarding the results of these experiments, the engineers observed:

"We are thoroughly satisfied that commercial newsprint can be made from salai and bamboo. The test data is better than the average required by the American Newsprint Association."

To American help in building this factory, Chairman Ramaswami Mudaliar paid tribute in his welcome speech: "The Technical Co-operation Mission had helped by obtaining technicians from the U.S.A. The consultants, Ebasco Services, New York, had proved trusted friends and their advice and experience had always been at the disposal of the mills."

The gigantic paper machine of Nepamills is the finest of its kind in the East. It can make a continuous sheet of finished paper 18 feet wide and operate at a speed of 1,500 feet per minute to produce 100 tons of standard newsprint in 24 hours, enough to form a continuous 18 feet wide carpet from Nepanagar to Bombay, 325 miles away.

A Landmark

Nepamills is a landmark in the cavalcade of India's progress. Here is an instance, not of erecting just another factory, but a case of establishing a pioneer industry. This pioneer industry has given lead in a significant matter. The Nepamills management and workers have signed an agreement that they would maintain industrial peace during the Second Plan period.

The site of the new plant in Chandni, north-west Madhya Pradesh, was once described by Col. Sir Kailas Narain Haksar, first chairman of the board, as "a God-forsaken, malaria-infested forest venue" where the howling of jackals vied only with the whistling of wild winds. In this once snake-abounding, tiger-haunted jungle tract now has risen the sunlit, 400-acre township of Nepanagar, where the high chimneys of the new factory tell of the birth of a pioneer industry for India.

The total cost estimate of the Nepamills today stands at Rs. 6.5 crores. Of this, the subscribed capital is about Rs. 1.4 crores. The remainder is represented by States and Union Government loans and by American Point Four aid.

The anicut on the Tapti River for supplying the mill and the township about eight million gallons of water every day, costing Rs. 12 lakhs, was built by Government, the plan being to recover the amount in instalments.

The State Government has undertaken to supply forest raw materials to the Nepamills from the forests of the state.

Nepamills had a shaky start. In the words of Dr. Mudaliar, the plant was "every now and then faced with unpredictable difficulties." Dr. Mudaliar himself referred to "the wastage involved in the earlier period in designing the factory" and to "the years the locusts have eaten." Mistakes have been many. Misfortunes have not been fewer. For example, a ship carrying electrical equipment for Nepamills sank on the high seas, delaying work by four months.

But things have changed. The dull grey in the canvas is gradually turning into crimson. Today, Pandit Shukla said in his message, "The sky is clear and we look straight ahead . . . Nepamills has now come into its own and is well on the way to stability and progress."

Book "Hospital"

The Lenin Library in Moscow has 18,600,000 copies of books, magazines, yearly files of newspapers, etc. They are under the constant observation of the employees of the hygiene and restoration department which is a kind of hospital: here care is taken of the "health" and prolonging the life of books, manuscripts, newspapers and maps. The meteorologist, for example, see to it that the humidity and temperature of the air is maintained at a definite level. The entomologist, keeps his eye on every corner of the library protecting the books against moths and bookworms. Every book is regularly vacuum-cleaned to remove the dust, the library's horrible enemy. If a book is found to have a torn sheet, spoilt binding, or mould it is removed from the library for "treatment."—*News and Views from the Soviet Union.*

Chain of Dnieper Power Stations

Although the construction of the Kakhovka Hydro-power Development, the fourth unit of which is about to be put into operation, has not yet been completed, the noise of new building sites floats over the Dnieper. A chain of power stations is being erected on the Dnieper. Near the city of Dnieprodzerzhinsk a hydro-electric station of 250,000 kw. capacity is being built, electric transmission lines, a railway branch line and sidings are already being laid here. As soon as the melts on the river, suction dredges will commence work.

In Kirovograd Region one of the large hydro-power stations is being built: the Kremenchug Hydro-electric Station with a capacity of 450,000 kw. The builders, armed with up-to-date machinery, completed the cofferdam, protecting the construction site against the spring floors, and stemmed the current of the Dnieper. The dam has caused a reservoir to be formed, which will ensure the uninterrupted work of the turbines of another three power stations, besides that at Kremenchug, belonging to the Dnieper chain. It is planned to increase the power supply to Kiev by building a new station—the Kiev Hydro-electric Station. This will be the last large hydro-power station in the lower part of the Dnieper chain.

The Dnieper, the third largest river in Europe, possesses power resources calculated at many thousands of millions of kilowatt-hours. The upper reaches of the river also hold out a promise of cheap electric energy.—*News and Views from The Soviet Union.*

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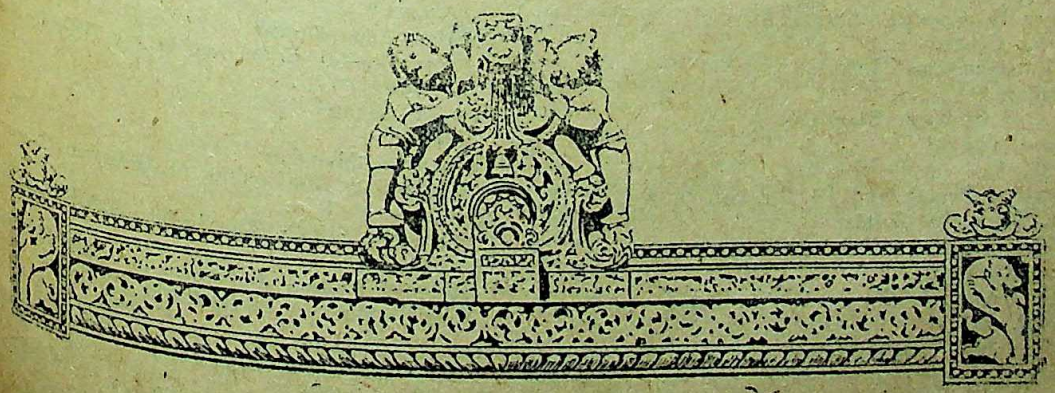

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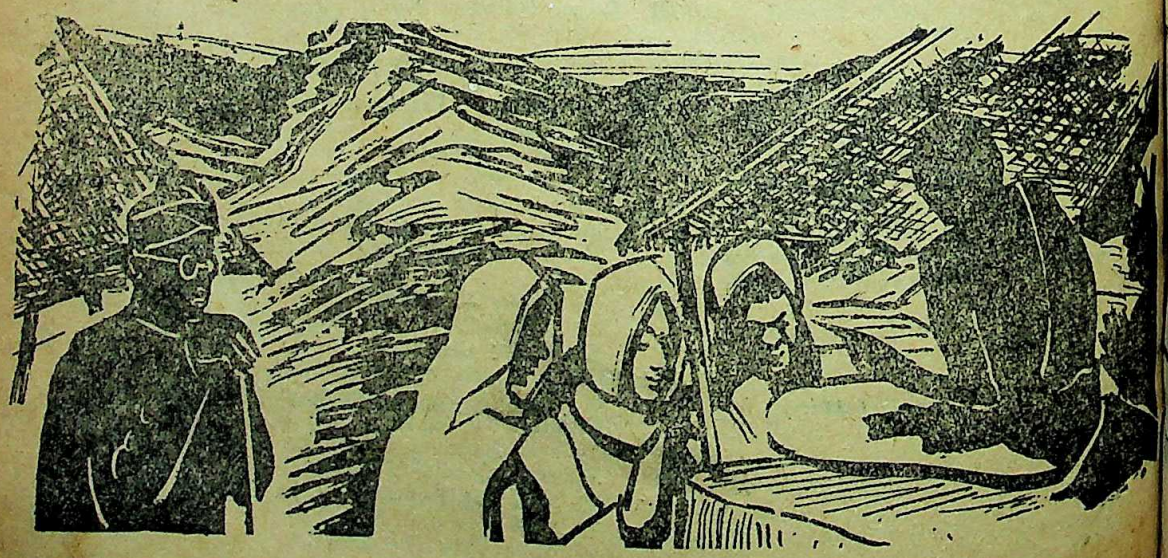

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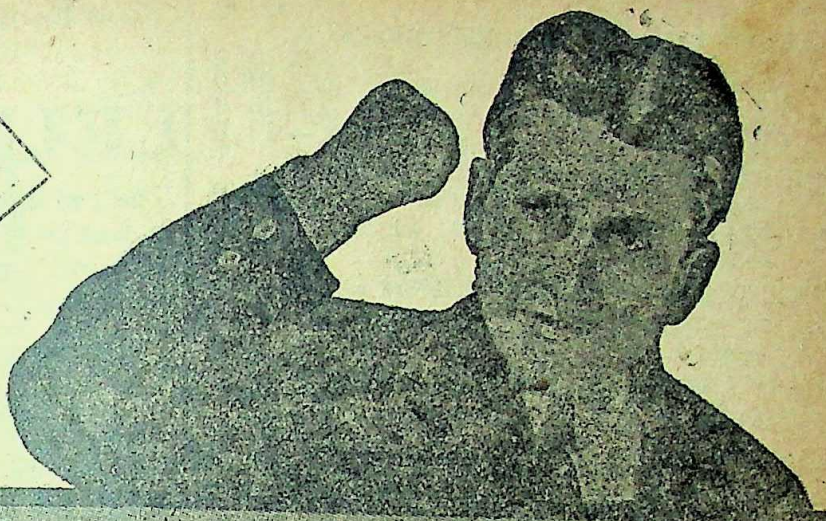

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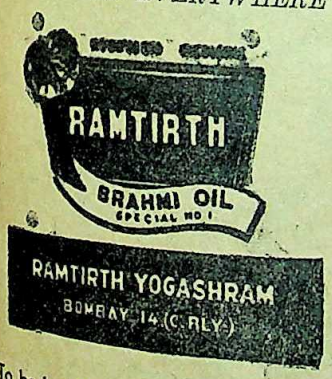

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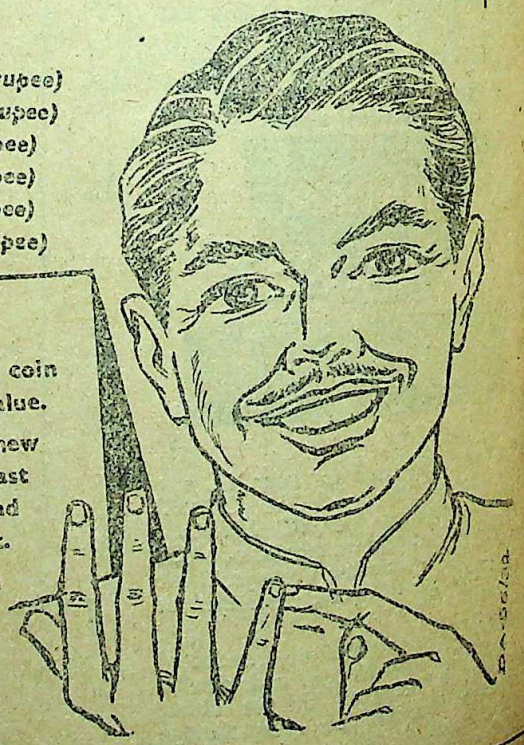

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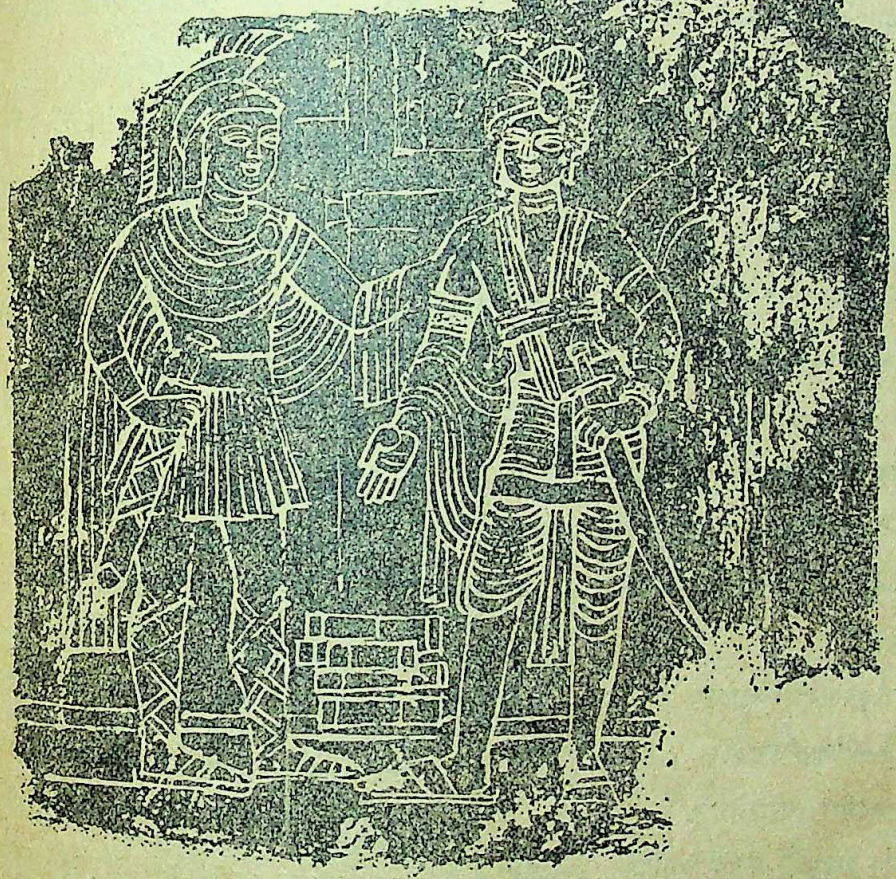

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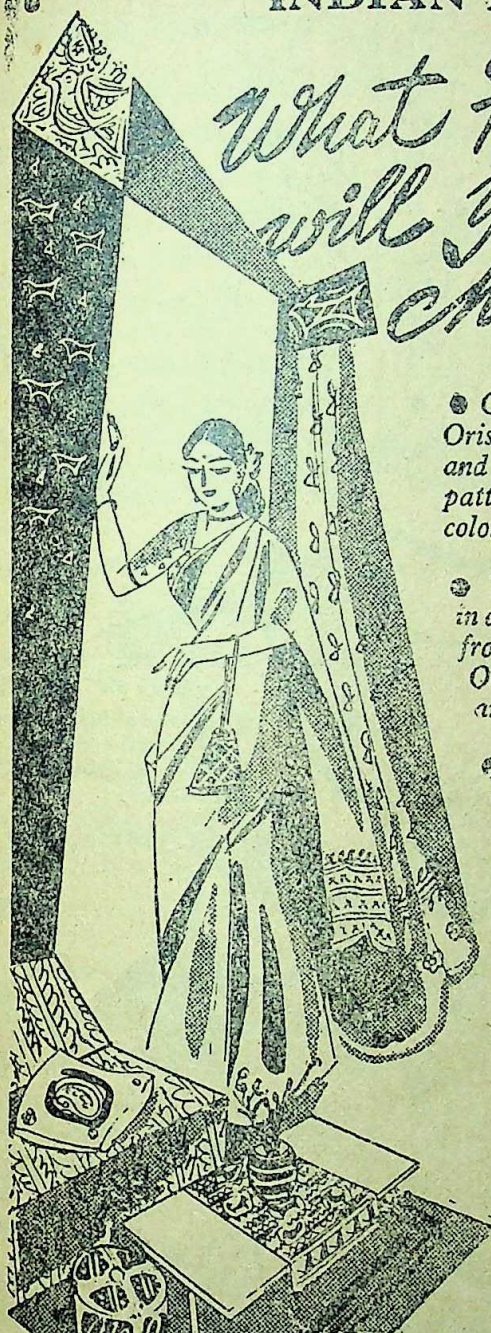

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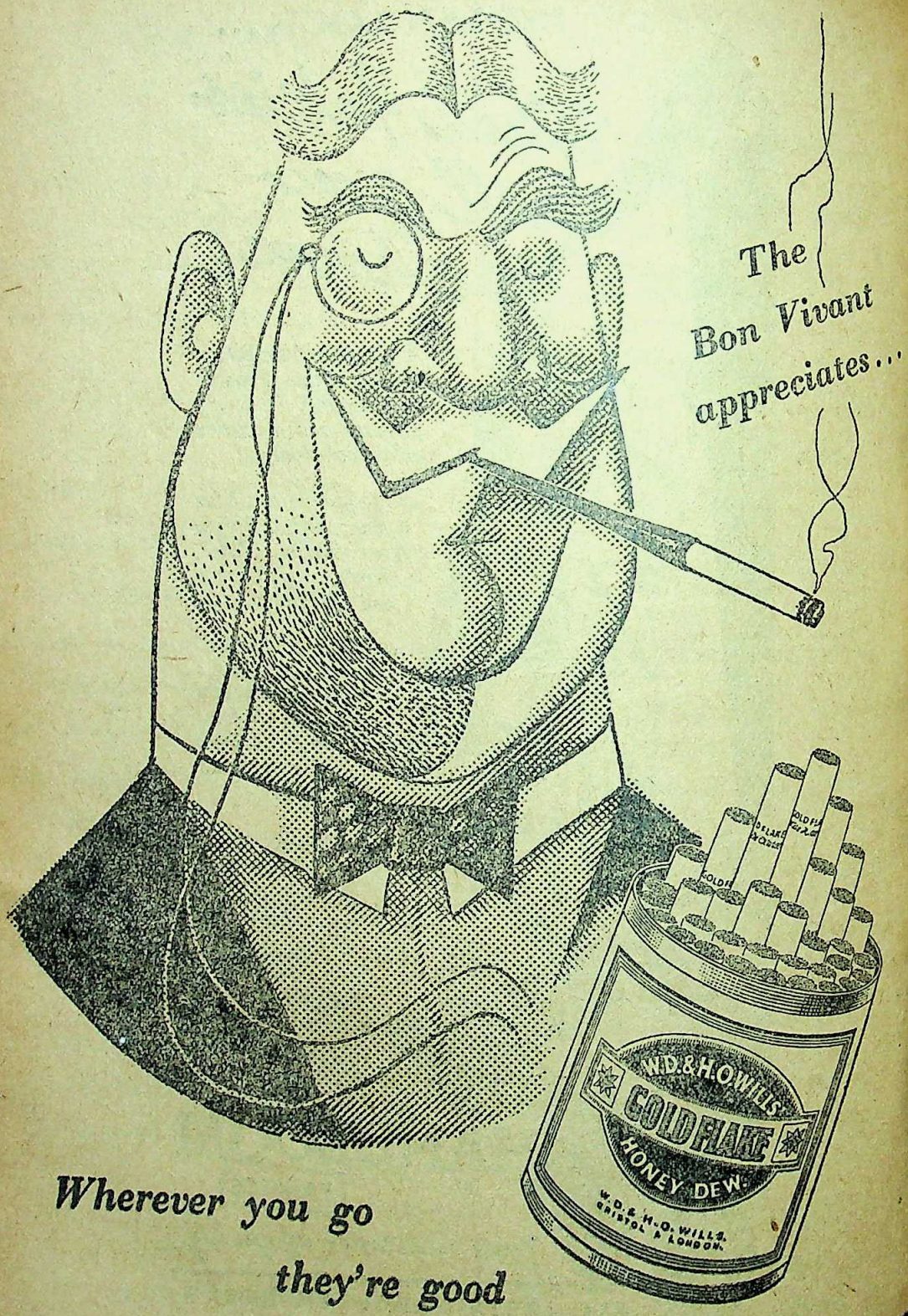

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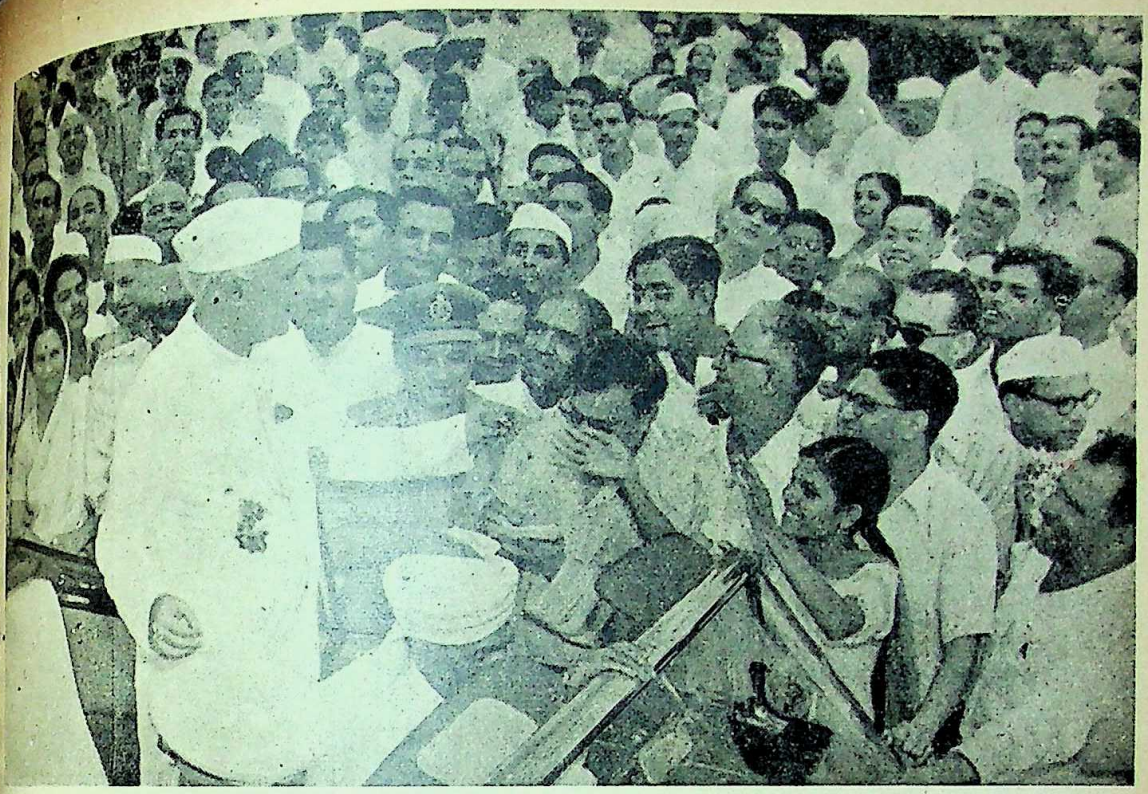

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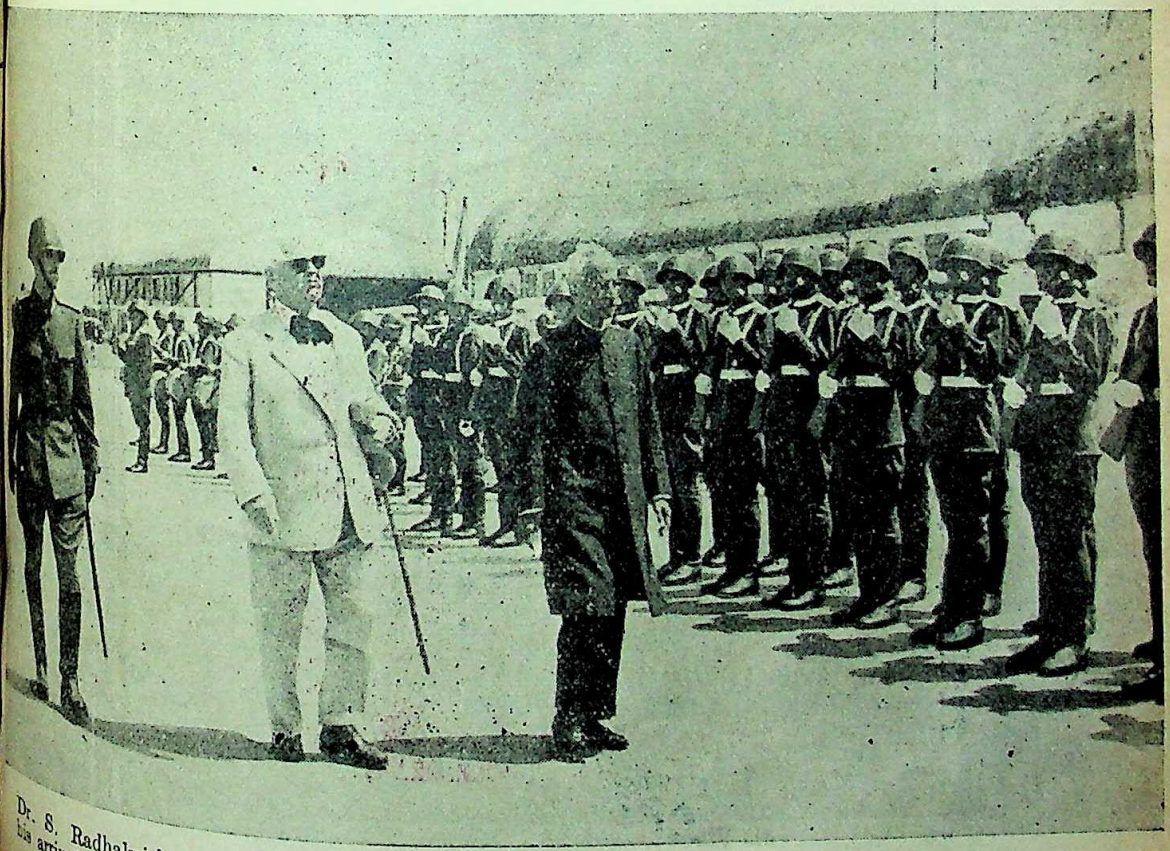

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, inspecting a Guard of Honour on the occasion of his arrival in Bucharest, Rumania, on a goodwill visit. He was received at the airport by the President of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Chivu Stoica

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YASHODA'S CHILD

By Maya Das

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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AUGUST 1956

L. C, No. 2 WHOLE No. 596

NOTES

...ldren of the Revolution"

With the resignation of Chintaman Desh-... the Union Cabinet becomes an one-man ... with Pandit Nehru as the sole, lone, figure ... All-India statesman, measurable by inter-...al standards of democratic elder states-... There were but two figures in the Cabinet ... Nehru after the death of Sardar Patel, ...had comparable stature. Death removed ...hmed Kidwai, and now we have to face ...s of Deshmukh by resignation.

We have known Chintaman Deshmukh for ...four decades and have followed his record ...rice with admiration. We know him too ... think that he is capable of hasty or ...ous action. We append the speeches by ...ukh and Nehru at the end of these ...ds, for record, as given in the *Statesman* ...ly 26th.

But on July 30th there was another ex-...ge. We append the report, as given in the ...man for July 31st, in part, at the end of ...te to show how the parting has taken a ...turn. What is still more of consequence, ...ly in regard to the subject under debate ...Lok Sabha but also with the question of ...ion's future under the Congress, was the ... which Pandit Nehru strove to silence ...ser. He said, in the course of his reply, ...*something more than a Prime Minister ...country. We are something more. We ...children of the Indian Revolution . . .*" ...shall not discuss the arrogance con-...in the statement, indeed in the entire ... That has become common-place now ...gst the party politicians of all colours. But what is truly astounding is the colossal ignorance, of real conditions within the Congress Party and the Nation, betrayed by this ridiculous bit of vain-glorious rhetoric.

We are second to none in our admiration of the sterling qualities of Pandit Nehru and we are fully aware of the sacrifices made by him in the service and cause of the nation. But this proneness to utter impulsive absurdities and incongruities, without considerations regarding either verity or consequences, is now assuming the shape of a calamity.

We wish a very long life to Pandit Nehru. But it will only be a life of service to mankind, if he starts thinking about his mistakes and errors of omission and commission from now.

"Children of the Revolution" is a sonorous mouthful, but what of the misbegotten ones, whose number is myriad, that have flocked into his party in order to share the flesh-pots of power? How many are there in his party, whose records can bear comparison with a great many who have been deprived of all recognition by his party, on purely ulterior motives? How many can he name whose record will really bear scrutiny, on the score of integrity and selfless service?

The resistance groups of occupied Europe kept the torch of liberty alight in the darkest hours of trial in history. It is now a matter of historical record that those groups provided all the tyrants and all the tools of lawlessness and oppression after the end of World War II. The same may be said about our country to a lesser degree, thanks to the traditions laid down by the Father of the Nation and his predecessors.

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"On July 30, Sri Deshmukh began his last speech by correcting the impression that he had accused the Prime Minister of 'animus' against Maharashtra. Mr. Nehru, he said, was 'constitutionally incapable of animus against anyone.'

"He made it clear, however, that he did think some personages in the Congress Party had such an animus and, in contrast to his earlier statement, directed much of his speech against the Home Minister.

"This did not prevent him from reasserting his charge that the two main decisions concerning Bombay were made without consulting the Cabinet.

"His main point was that the present decision on Bombay's future was even worse than the earlier proposal to make it a city State. This was based on the fear that difficult conditions might be placed on the manner in which Bombay city could, after the period specified, decide to merge with Maharashtra. For example, he said, a two-thirds majority might be required.

"He also feared that in the interim period tension would continue to increase and in addition to Government servants Maharastrian employees of private firms would be squeezed out.

"Mr. Deshmukh's speech contained repeated attacks on capitalist 'money-bags.' He supported two proposals of all-India interest: the Constitution of boundary commission and statutory safeguards for linguistic minorities.

"Mr. Nehru, intervening in the debate, said just a week ago he had returned to Delhi after visiting many countries in the West and meeting leading personalities there. While there he had tried to understand the great movement taking place there and to understand what impression there was about India in the minds of the people of Europe. He found everyone there greatly interested about India and about what was happening in India because they felt something very significant was happening.

"He did not suppose that even the most ideal solution would have been pleasing to everybody. 'So far as our Government is concerned it is of no great significance to us what part of India goes into this State boundary or the other. Certainly we must consider what is most desirable from the various points of view. But in the ultimate analysis it does not make much difference whether one part goes here or there. From the individual's point of view or the State's point of view it may be of some importance.'

"'Therefore the Government of India approached this question more or less objectively and without any particular desire to impose this decision or that.'

"Denying Mr. Deshmukh's charge that the 'crucial decisions' on Bombay city were taken without consultation with the Cabinet, Mr. Nehru said: 'I do not know where he gets his facts from. I have consulted my papers, the Cabinet papers and everything, and I say the two decisions—leave out for the moment the Bombay statement—were made absolutely and repeatedly after consultations with every colleague of the Cabinet and with the full consent of the Cabinet.'

"'Leave out all the intermediate stages, the Bill itself was placed before the Cabinet, and it was adopted by the Cabinet and then it came before this House.'

"His Bombay statement of June 3, he said, was no new announcement of policy. He had only repeated at the all-India Congress Committee—and, he might add, at the request of some Maharashtrian friends.

"In reply to Mr. Deshmukh's charge that the Prime Minister had been making policy statements without consulting the Cabinet, Mr. Nehru said: 'I am the Premier of India. I know something of democratic procedure and the Prime Minister's duties and the Constitution (of India) and the Constitution of Britain. The Prime Minister is the lynchpin of Government and the Prime Minister can make a statement on behalf of Government.'

Mr. Nehru added: "I am something more than a Prime Minister of this country. We are something more. We are the children of the Indian revolution and although we may be down here and there and although we may forget what we did before, we still have the fire of revolution in us. Many of us know little more about the Indian people, and about the poor people, something more than those who talk so much about peasants. We know a great deal more about the peasants and the poor people, and it does not become of anyone to talk of moneybags here referring to our people or Government."

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Report on Currency and Finance

The Reserve Bank of India's annual Report on Currency and Finance for the year 1955-56 shows that the year under review witnessed an apparent acceleration of the pace of economic growth in India. The growth was marked in industrial production which recorded a rise of about 8 per cent during the year. In many industries, the targets fixed for the First Five-Year Plan period were more than fulfilled. Over-agricultural production, however, is estimated to have been of the same order as in the 1954-55 crop year, though in the case of rice the output is estimated to have been 4 per cent higher. The rate of investment in the public and private sectors would appear to have recorded a further rise during the year, and this was accompanied by an improvement in the flow of savings, including in particular small savings. Reflecting mainly the higher levels of production and domestic and foreign trade, there was a 22 per cent expansion of bank creidit which, together with the budgetary deficit which was larger than in 1954-55, contributed mainly to a 14 per cent rise in money supply with the public.

The capital market was buoyant during the latter part of the year, with a net rise of 6 per cent in share prices, reflecting the long-term prospects for substantial growth of industries as well as the sizeable increase in current industrial profits, which were aided by the fall in prices of agricultural commodities, a trend that appears now to have been reversed, at least for the time being. The gilt-edged market also ruled firm practically throughout the year, in spite of substantial Government borrowing and some net sales of securities by the Reserve Bank. The accelerated tempo of investment and economic activity in general inevitably resulted in some strain on the economy, which was particularly noticeable in the latter half of the year and which was reflected in a rising trend of commodity prices and cost of living, contrary to the pattern of the previous year. While to a substantial extent the rise in commodity prices, which amounted to about 12 per cent over the year, was a correction of the rather sharp fall in the previous year, it also reflected the decline in output of some primary commodities and rise in exports in particular of raw cotton and oils and oilseeds, showing better demand. Further, it appears that the rise in prices was partly stimulated by the higher rate of investment outlay in the economy and rising consumption expenditure. Sporadic speculative and hoarding tendencies were perhaps assisted to some extent by easy bank credit.

During the period of the First Five-Year Plan the trends in the economic developments are as under : 18 per rise in national income, 25-30 per cent rise in industrial production, about 20 per cent rise in agricultural output, a 10 per cent rise in money supply with the public, a 13 per cent decline in wholesale prices and a 5 per cent decline in the working class cost of living index. Budgetary deficit of the Centre and States together was around Rs. 400 crores. As against this, there was also a modest balance of payments deficit resulting in a decline of Rs. 121 crores in foreign exchange reserves. During this period, many direct economic controls, in particular concerning the prices and distribution of foodgrains and cloth, were removed by stages. The disinflationary but flexible monetary policy adopted in mid-November 1951 contributed in some measure to the establishment of stability in the economy.

However, as mentioned earlier, the Report points out that towards the close of 1955-56, some symptoms of inflation were noticeable. These require careful watching especially in view of the much larger magnitude of the developmental effort that has to be put in for Second Five-Year Plan. The proposed total developmental outlay of the Central and State Government over the five years of the second Plan is Rs. 4,800 crores, which is much more than twice the estimated outlay of a little under Rs. 2000 crores during the first Plan period. The estimated gap in resources is Rs. 1,600 crores, of which Rs. 1,200 crores is envisaged to be covered by deficit financing. It is of the utmost importance that the considerable inflationary potential of the above order of development expenditure in the public sector (along with substantial investment in the private sector, estimated at Rs. 2,400 crores), and deficit financing should be held in restraint.

The Report observes that agricultural production in 1955-56 appears to be generally satisfactory despite floods, cyclones, etc., in certain parts of the country. Final estimates of production for the current year in respect of certain cereals, *viz.*, rice, wheat, jowar, bajra, maize and ragi indicate that although the production of

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coarse grains may be lower, the production of rice and wheat will be satisfactory. The production of rice, placed at 25.5 million tons in the final estimate for 1955-56 represents an increase of 3.8 per cent over the partially revised estimate for 1954-55. Among commercial crops, the output of jute in 1955-56, estimated at 41.4 lakh bales, has turned out to be much better than in the preceding two seasons, when production was around 30 lakh bales. But cotton production shows a decline of 5.4 per cent. The year also witnessed a considerable increase in industrial production and there was a greater expansion in new and existing undertakings. In the private sector, the Report provides the information, 164 licences for the establishment of new industrial undertakings and 319 for expansion of existing undertakings were granted during the year 1955 under the Industries Development and Regulation Act, 1951. In 1955, the aggregate industrial production recorded a rise of 8 per cent, following a rise of 7 per cent in 1954. The increase was marked in sugar, paper, jute manufactures, general engineering, automobiles and rubber. In respect of some important industries, namely, cotton textiles, steel and cement, however, the rise in output was comparatively small. Among basic industries, while cement and steel registered further though small increase, the rise in the output of coal was fairly substantial. Coal output rose from 36.8 million tons in 1954 to 38.2 million tons in 1955. But it is a pity that notwithstanding higher coal output, for some months past there has been shortage of domestic coal, particularly in Calcutta and other districts of West Bengal. Does it indicate a lag in transport system or non-delivery tactics of the mine owners? Anyhow, the people will have cause for the least elation over the so-called rise in industrial production, because consumer goods like cotton textiles are in short supply. Similar is the case with cement which has recorded a rise from 4.40 million tons to 4.42 million tons, although the commodity is in short supply in the market. The rise in inventory production offers little aid to the people who have to suffer on account of short supply and higher prices.

The Report states that during the four-year period 1952-55 for which the revised index numbers of industrial production are available, industrial production advanced by 22 per cent or an annual rate of 5½ per cent, the general index rising form 100.0 in 1951 to 121.9 in 1955. This has been achieved partly by the fuller utilisation of existing capacity as in the case of industries like sugar, paper, sulphuric acid, caustic soda, soda ash, soap, glass, cement, diesel engines, machine tools and electricity and partly by the expansion of capacity in many industries, particularly in the case of basic industries like cement and steel.

As regards the trends in national income, the Report observes that the rising trend of national income witnessed since 1949-50 was maintained in 1954-55, the latest year for which estimates are available, though the increase was considerably smaller than in 1953-54. At 1948-49 prices, the preliminary estimate of national income, that is, net national output at factor cost, in 1954-55 is Rs. 10,170 crores as against Rs. 10,040 crores in 1953-54 and Rs. 8,958 crores in 1950-51, the pre-Plan year. At current prices, however, there was a substantial decline from Rs. 10,490 crores in 1953-54 to Rs. 9,900 crores. In 1954-55, per capita income at 1948-49 prices remained unchanged at Rs. 269, while at current prices there was a decline from Rs. 281 to Rs. 262. As compared with 1950-51, national income in 1954-55 was about 15 per cent higher and per capita income 9 per cent higher, both at 1948-49 prices. The rise in national income at 1948-49 prices was accounted for by three major sectors, namely, (i) mining, manufacturing, and small enterprises; (ii) commerce, transport and communications, and (iii) other services (professions, Government services, etc.), the increase amounting to Rs. 6[illegible] crores, Rs. 40 crores and Rs. 60 crores respectively. On the other hand, the contribution of agriculture, animal husbandry and ancillary activities recorded a decline of Rs. 30 crores. The decline in the value of output of agricultural sector was much sharper, from Rs. 5,320 crores in 1953-54 to Rs. 4,580 crores in 1954-55. The tempo of rising prices has halted the growth of per capita income which was envisaged in the First Five-Year Plan. The achievement during the last year of the First Five-Year Plan in the direction of national income was discouraging enough in so far as it failed to raise the real income of the people. In the face of a large deficit financing during the second Plan period the authorities should allow liberal import of

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consumer goods so as to keep down the prices, otherwise the price level will go up and the per capita income will be forced to come down.

About the agricultural finance, the Report states that following the recommendations of the Conference of State Ministers on Co-operation, the State Governments have drawn up programmes for co-operative development for the second Plan period which have incorporated the main features of the integrated scheme of rural credit outlined in the Rural Credit Surgey Report. In the second Plan, the targets for short-term, medium-term and long-term credit to be achieved through co-operative institutions have been set at Rs. 150 crores, Rs. 50 crores and Rs. 25 crores respectively. For this purpose, it is proposed to organise during the Plan period about 10,409 primary-sized credit soccieties and 1,800 primary marketing societies. In addition to organisation of co-operative processing institutions, it is envisaged that about 350 warehouses of Central and State Warehousing Corporations, 1,500 godowns of marketing sscieties and 4,000 godowns of large-sized credit societies will be constructed by 1960-61. For achieving these targets, apart from the contribution which the Reserve Bank will be making to the share capital of co-operative credit institutions, the Plan provides for a total sum of Rs. 47 crores. As regards the medium-term credit, the Report points out that, the Reserve Bank is permitted to give loans with a maturity between 15 months and 5 years under section 17(4A) of the Reserve Bank Act. Under this section the Reserve Bank granted loans to the amount of Rs. 1.30 crores at the concessional rate of 1½ per cent to 9 State co-operative banks during 1955-56.

The Indian Copyright Bill

Copyright laws came to be enacted in different countries of the world to give protection to the writers, artists and musicians to the right of exclusive use of their creations for a limited period of time. Such protection was extended to cover the international field by the Berne International Copyright Convention held at Berne in 1866 under the chairmanship of the renowned French author, Victor Hugo.

India's first copyright law enacted during the British regime closely resembled the international convention with some minor variations. A particularly objectionable feature of that law was the ten-year limitation for the translation of a publication in one Indian language into another. Under that provision a book published in Bengali in a particular year could be translated into another Indian language after ten years even without the permission of the author of the original work. This provision greatly militated against the interests of both the author and the readers in so far as the author was deprived of any benefit of the translation of his book and the readers were often treated with clumsy translations.

There were several other defects in the Indian Act so that in keeping with India's new status after independence a revision of the existing legislation on the matter could not be far delayed. The Indian Copyright Bill, now under consideration of a joint select committee of the Parliament, was framed to meet the situation but apparently it has somehow missed the point and has thereby incurred the wrath of authors, journalists and newspapers.

Referring to the objectionable features of the bill the *Economic Weekly* writes: "One wonders whether the Education Ministry, which sponsors the bill, is aware that the primary purpose of copyright legislation is to protect the producer of artistic works and to assist him in asserting his rights."

Dwelling on the same subject the *Statesman* writes that while the new Bill did indeed in some particulars bring the old law up-to-date its manifest other deficiencies "seem more than likely to cancel out any incidental merits. The final effect, unless it is radically modified, may well be to make nobody's rights, least of all the public's, more secure, but rather to make their enforcement still more difficult and expensive. And yet, though it has been repeatedly criticized since gazetting last October, officialdom seems still unaware that there is anything wrong with it."

Some of the provisions of the bill to which strong exception has been taken by those vitally concerned with the matter are: the provision for compulsory registration of copyright material with a special copyright registrar before legal action for infringement of copyright could be taken; the authority given to the Registrar to grant permission for translation of a book even against the expressed refusal of the holder of

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the copyright; the reduction of the period of copyright from 50 to 25 years after the death of the author (the international copyright convention to which India was a signatory, though she has not yet ratified it, provided for 50 years); the further provision that in the case of a joint work, the period of copyright should be counted from the date of death of the first co-author to die (against the international convention providing for 50 years from the death of the last co-author to die); and the provision that copyright in any material produced by an employed person would generally vest in the employer virtually denying the author the right to enjoy the fruits of his own work.

Referring to the last-mentioned provision the *Economic Weekly* writes: "Here is a highly dangerous provision affecting thousands of free-lance writers who might hardly like to demand from their employers a written release from the operation of this provision." In its provisions regarding enforcement the magazine further notes, the Bill allowed for presumptions of law not in favour of but against the author.

It is to be greatly hoped that the Joint Select Committee of the Parliament would pay heed to the points raised in criticism of the Bill at the time of drafting its report. It is really amazing that a popular government could put so much handicap on authorship and research as the Bill seeks to do.

Personality Cult in India

Outstanding personalities have always claimed public admiration almost in all lands of the world. So long as such adoration does not inhibit one's rationality there is nothing wrong in it. But when the idealization of a man reaches a point where all rational discussions not to the taste of the leader are sought to be suppressed intransigently, as was done in Stalinist Russia and its European satellites, the situation is bound to provoke the greatest concern. In present-day India personal idolatry seems to be taking a dangerous turn. We have already had an occasion (*The Modern Review* for May, 1956) to draw attention to one aspect of the personality cult in India. Since then the growth of the phenomenon of this cult has induced political leaders and newspaper commentators to come out against its evils.

The fortnightly *Aura-India*, July 1 reports:

"Allahabad, June 28: Mr. Purushottam das Tandon, M.P., and former Congress President, yesterday criticised Mr. U. N. Dhebar for his recent appeal to the people to do anything which is not liked by Mr. Nehru if we really love and respect our Prime Minister'.

"Mr. Tandon, who was addressing the inmates of the Congress Seva Dal Camp, said he himself loved Mr. Nehru but he differed with him on many issues. Even the Prime Minister would not like such an appeal, he added.

"Had Mr. Nehru not done anything against the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi? Gandhiji was never in favour of partition of the country but Mr. Nehru and Congress Working Committee adpted a resolution accepting the partition against Gandhiji's wishes.

"Mr. Tandon said it was no politics to have all 'yes-men' in the party."

Describing the growth of personality cult in West Bengal, the writer who regularly contributes to the *Economic Weekly*, under the pseudonym of *Flibbertigibbet*, says that the cult centred round the personality of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Ray, the Chief Minister of the State. Even the Government's officials were infected by it as would be evident by the fact that on July 1, Dr. Ray's 75th birthday, the permanent officials of the State Government, breaking all precedent, organised a *kirtan* in the Secretariat to mark the occasion. This did not in any way suggest the political inclination of the civil servants, the writer points out. Most civil servants were moved by considerations of personal advancement and when they found that promotion was difficult without being in the good books of Dr. Ray, possessing efficiency notwithstanding, they did not hesitate to take up the thread.

Flibbertigibbet writes: "You could train India's hired civil service to devise prayer frmulae for pleasing the newcomers to power. Work they do not want, and they must not be bothered with it. Flattery they like, and oceans and lashings of that shall be arranged. Perhaps it is the same story in most capitals; in Calcutta, the bureaucracy's task has been made easier by the fact that there is only one

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be pleased (not even the Public Service Commission can remove you if Dr. Ray is ...). When he is short of higher posts, he ... help you in the matter of going to the ...el. Hence, the assembly of twenty to ...y people, all senior civil servants, every ...ing at Writers' Building round the Chief ...ster's horse-shoe table. Business is dis-...d, but there is time for such exchange of ...ments as that Dr. Ray is extraordinarily preserved for a man of 75, which is true, ...; Dr. Ray is a master of English prose, ...s is less true. The morning's prayer done, ...ivil servant can go to the Indian Coffee ...se for the rest of the day. He often does."

...n and Chinese Plans

Planning has become a normal feature of ...-independent Asian countries. That the ...-developed economies cannot make any ...ificant progress towards attaining a higher ...ard of living for their peoples without ...ng degrees of regulation and control by ...state is admitted on all hands, including ...ch exponents of free economy as the ...economists. In this context a comparative ... of the economic plans in operation in the ...ouring countries becomes interesting. The ...mic Weekly, Second Five-Year Plan issue, ...s among other valuable contributions ... Dr. K. N. Raj discussing the similar-...d differences between the Second Indian ...First Chinese Five-Year Plans.

Dealing with the similarities between the two ..., Prof. Raj shows that the targets in regard ...e over-all rates of investment in China's first ...were not significantly higher than those which ...proposed in India's second Plan. "It is not ...the targets in regard to the over-all rate of ...ment that are similar; the expected increases ...l national output are also not very much ...in China." As in India in China also it ...not be possible to solve the unemployment ...m. The fear of aggravating the position in ...d to unemployment affected many policies ...ina as in India, Dr. Raj notes. Similarly, ...Chinese Plan placed almost as much stress on ...and household industries as the Indian plan. Turning to the differences between the two ...n Prof. Raj notes that the first important ...rence was in the relative roles of the public ...private sectors. In China, more importance was attached to the public sector. "But it is possible to exaggerate the share of the public sector in China," the writer points out. It would further not be correct to assume that the profits from State enterprises accounted for the bulk of the finance available to the Government or even that they were adequate to avoid the need for deficit financing in China. Though it could not be said for certain whether there was any deficit financing in China investments of the order contemplated were likely to generate inflationary pressures.

"One of the important differences in the Chinese Plan compared to the Indian is in the measures designed to prevent an inflationary rise in prices. It is clear, for instance, that this is the main purpose of the nationalisation of wholesale trade, which does not figure at all in the Indian plan but is a very integral part of the Chinese programme," Dr. Raj writes.

Another significant difference between the two plans lay in the distribution of investment and in regard to certain priorities in investment. The allocation in the Chinese plan for industries producing machines, for example, was considerably larger than in the Indian plan. The Chinese plan, on the other hand, gave a conspicuously lower priority to transport.

Summing up the matter Prof. Raj says: "Allowing for all the assistance that China may be receiving from the Soviet Union, and the unpredictability of the aid that India may get from the West, it is difficult to escape the impression that the Chinese plan shows far greater awareness of the implications of the targets that have been set, and willingness to face them, than one is able to detect in the Indian plan. As a pencil sketch of what should be done the Indian Plan undoubtedly compares favourably with the Chinese and, as a model built on detailed statistics and carefully worked out input-output ratios, it may be even technically superior on a point or two. But as a programme of action, it does not have the claws and the teeth for coming to grips with the problems which it will necessarily have to face."

Communist Nuclear Co-operation

Nuclear research, for both military and peaceful purposes, has made striking progress in the U.S.S.R. The research has apparently reached such an advanced stage that it has been considered expedient to share some of its fruits with the other Communist countries.

On March 26, 1956, an agreement was

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signed in Moscow by the representatives of eleven Communist States of Europe and Asia including U.S.S.R. and China (but excluding Yugoslavia) on the establishment of a joint Nuclear Research Institute "to ensure joint theoretical and experimental research into nuclear physics by scientists of the States signatories of the present agreement." Other States might also be admitted by the decision of a majority of the States members of the Institute.

The Joint Nuclear Research Institute to be located in the Kalinin region of the U.S.S.R. would conduct its activities in accordance with a charter to be prepared by the Institute's management with the approval of the governments of the States' members of the Institute. It would be headed by a Director and two deputy directors elected by the majority of States members of the Institute from among scientists of those States. The terms of the Director and the deputy directors were three and two years respectively. The management of the Institute would be responsible to the States members and would regularly report to them on the activities of the Institute.

A scientific council set up by the member-States from among their scientists—each State appointing three persons, would be entrusted with the responsibility to draw up research plans and to check up their fulfilment and to decide on other questions bearing on the Institute's scientific activities. The director would be chairman of the council.

The Institute would be financed by the States members in stated proportions (U.S.S.R. and China contributing respectively 47.25 per cent and 20 per cent of the total expenditure). The share of each State would be revised on the withdrawal or accession of any State. Article 6 of the agreement lays down: "The share of the States members of the Institute cannot be a factor bearing on the degree of participation of one member-State or another in the Institute's scientific work and administration." The controlling authority in respect of financial matters would be the Financial Committee in which every member-State would have one representative appointed by it. The chairmanship of the Committee would rotate among the representatives of every State.

Any member-State might withdraw from the Institute with three months' notice. The institute might also be liquidated "by agreement among the governments of all the States members of the Institute." On liquidation the Institute with all its equipment would become the property of the U.S.S.R. "The other member-States shall be compensated in accordance with their share in the capital expenditure in the Institute."

The Government of the U.S.S.R. would hand over to the Joint Nuclear Research Institute, the Nuclear Problems Institute and the Electrophysics Laboratory of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences "with all equipment, principal, auxiliary and administrative installations and buildings on the date the present agreement comes into force," says Article 4.

The agreement came into force on May 26, 1956, the date on which it was signed. The signatories were: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, U.S.S.R., China, Korea and Mongolia.

Commonwealth Premiers' Meeting

The Prime Ministers of United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon met in a conference in London from June 27 to July 5. Significant developments in the conference included the British announcement to withdraw military bases from Ceylon and the Indian announcement of her decision to become a republic within the Commonwealth.

Referring to the achievements of the conference in an editorial article on July 10 the *Bombay Chronicle* writes that many Indians questioned the wisdom of India's continued association with the British Commonwealth. Though India's democracy with its insistence on the rule of law and administrative integrity offered points of appreciation such admiration, however, led to nowhere. "What the democratic world hungers for is action, positive action to consolidate peace in the world by guaranteeing the rule of law, freedom for all and racial equality. These positive aspects one misses in the communique issued year after year at the end of the meetings of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers. It is disheartening that these distinguished men cannot embark

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themselves to go beyond mere cliches and platitudes."

Noting that there were wide differences within the Commonwaltfh on economic, political and defence problems the newspaper writes: "There is a feeling that the pooling of trade and currency resources have worked more for the benefit of the United Kingdom at the cost of the other Commonwealth nations." Much would depend on the way how Britain would fulfil her role as the supplier of capital for the development of the Commonwealth countries.

The United Kingdom, the newspaper goes on to say, had failed to bring to book the erring members. "The policy to keep all the old members in the organisation whether they subscribe fully or not to the new ideals will not only make the Commonwealth ineffective but bring its downfall in the end."

The only hope for the future of the Commonwealth lay in the prospect of more and more Asian and African members joining the organisation. It could then become an effective third bloc of peaceful nations "mediating between the two powerful blocs in maintaining and consolidating world peace."

Shri Nehru and the British Press

While in London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, and Mr. Sidney Holland, Prime Minister of New Zealand, were awarded the Freedom of the City of London on July 3 at a memorable function in the historic Guildhall. Describing the function Shri Prem Bhatia writes in the *Statesman*: "Not only for the spectacle but also for the handsome tributes paid to India and her Prime Minister the ceremony will be remembered for a long time.."

How did the British Press report that historic function? It seems that the British Press which, with notable exceptions, was controlled by reactionary Big Business, did not consider it worth reporting in their columns. The national newspapers of Britain largely ignored the occasion, writes James Cowley, *Statesman's* London correspondent. "Readers of the *Mail*, *Herald*, *News Chronicle*, *Mirror* and *Sketch*," writes Mr. Cowley, "might have searched in vain for mention of the Guildhall ceremony. The *Express* also blacked out the news but characteristically could not refrain from an editorial sidekick at Mr. Nehru as one who helped to 'kick the British out of India.' Thus nearly 16 million readers—the aggregate circulation of the six papers I have mentioned—might have remained ignorant, for all their respective editors cared, of the honour done in their own capital city to two Commonwealth Prime Ministers, if the B.B.C. had similarly shirked its responsibilities. Fortunately it did not. . ."

Brioni Conference

The three leading exponents from three continents of non-alignment with any power blocs, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India, President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt and President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, met in a two-day conference at the Yugoslav island of Brioni from July 18 to July 19. The three leaders had had a "detailed exchange of views" in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship, and joint statement on the discussions was released on July 20.

The three leaders reaffirmed their adherence to the Bandung principles, pleaded for an end of the division of the world into mutually hostile blocs of nations, reiterated the need for speedy disarmament and urged for the suspension of the explosion of nuclear weapons even for experimental purposes. They expressed their deep interest in full and equal co-operation among nations in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy. Such co-operation should in their opinion be organized within the framework of the U. N. and the proposed international agency should be representative of all nations.

The three heads of Governments stressed the need for quickening the development of the underdeveloped countries as one of the principal means for stabilizing world peace. In this connection they reorganized "the importance of international, economic and financial co-operation" and considered that it was "necessary and desirable that the proposed special U. N. Fund for Economic Development be constituted and enabled to function effectively." The need for facilitating a greater flow of international trade was also stressed by the leaders.

The joint statement adds:

"The three principal areas of tension and possible conflict are Central Europe, the Far East of Asia and the Middle East region between Europe and Asia. The problems of the Far East cannot be adequately solved without the full co-operation of the People's Republic of China. The three heads of Government express their belief

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that the People's Republic of China should be represented in the United Nations.

"The problems of Central Europe are intimately connected with that of Germany. This important question should be solved in conformity with the wishes of the German people by peaceful negotiated settlements.

"In the Middle East the conflicting interests of great powers have added to the difficulties of the situation. These problems should be considered on their merits safeguarding legitimate economic interests, but basing solutions on the freedom of the people concerned. The situation in Palestine is particularly one of danger to world peace. The heads of Government support the resolution of the Bandung Conference in this regard.

"The three heads of Government considered the situation in Algeria which in their opinion is not only of great importance, but requires urgent attention both from the point of view of the basic rights of the people of Algeria and of the consolidation of peace in that part of the world. Believing as they do that colonial domination is wholly undesirable and is injurious to those who rule and those who are ruled, they must express their sympathy for the desire for freedom of the people of Algeria and they recognise that there are considerable numbers of people in Algeria of European descent whose interest should be protected. But this should not come in the way ef recognition of the legitimate rights of the Algerians. They warmly support all efforts directed towards the finding of a just and peaceful soution and particularly towards a cessation of violent conflicts in this area and negotiation. A ceasefire and negotiations between the parties concerned should lead to a peaceful settlement of the problem."

Shri Prem Bhatia, *Statesman* correspondent at Brioni, writes that while there was basic agreement on broad questions of peaceful co-existence and disarmament, on such specific issues as the future of Germany and the problem of Palestine, "the joint statement reflects a laudable compromise in expression, considering the fact that the detailed views of the three leaders, though basically identical, differed in emphasis."

"Thus Yugoslavia would have liked a more pointed reference to the need for direct negotiations between the two halves of Germany, while Egypt would have been happier with a stronger statement about Palestine."

Dwelling on the significance of the talks Shri Bhatia points to the fact the meeting of the three leaders was not accidental notwithstanding Sri Nehru's remarks to that effect but was pre-planned inasmuch as President Nasser's visit to Yugoslavia had been altered at Sri Nehru's suggestion. Though only a limited number of Yugoslav, Indian and Egyptian newspaper correspondents were allowed to enter Brioni a vast number of correspondents from other countries were present at the nearby town of Pula.

Western observers regarded the joint statement as a "re-iteration of known views" of the three leaders, says *Reuter*.

The *New York Times* in its leader on July 20, entitled "The Neutralists Meet" writes: "After the terrific build-up given in the Yugoslav and Egyptian press, which heralded the rise of a neutralist 'Third Force' bloc against big power blocs, the meeting between President Tito, President Nasser and Prime Minister Nehru has ended in what can only be characterised as an anti-climax." According to the newspaper there was nothing unexpected in the result because "aside from their neutralist attitude the three statesmen have little in common and each has a separate and individual problem to meet. Tito is a Communist, Nehru is a democratic Socialist and Nasser is a military dictator. To Tito and Nasser the meeting with Nehru, head of one of the most populous countries in the world, meant undoubtedly an accretion of prestige and was exploited as such. It served to emphasize their 'independence' of both East and West and to minimize the isolation into which they were manoeuvring themselves. But to Nehru the meeting could mean neither prestige nor profit and it was he, therefore, who put the brakes on whatever larger ambitions the other two might have had."

Nevertheless the newspaper does not altogether dismiss the importance of the meeting. "Like the Bandung Conference," the *New York Times* writes, "it tends to give new impetus to the idea of neutralism as between the West and the Soviet bloc, which can only facilitate communist ideological and economic penetration and, in the end effect, weaken the West. For that reason the West, and the United States in particular, are bound to review their own policies towards these neutralists."

The newspaper considers Nehru deserving the most favourable consideration on account of

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his effort to lead India toward a democratic development in competition with totalitarian Soviet Russia and communist China, and his success or failure may go far in determining the future of Asia."

On the same general principle the encouragement of an independent, even if neutralist, Yugoslavia or Egypt claimed preference over the policy of throwing either or both into Soviet arms, the newspaper writes. But Yugolsavia's recent friendly attitude towards the Soviet Union requires a re-examination of the wisdom of continued grant of military, distinguished from economic aid to her. "And Egypt has mortgaged its future for arms from the Soviet bloc to such an extent that it is no longer capable of utilizing and receiving the Western aid it seeks for the Aswan dam."

The editorial concludes with a justification of the U.S. refusal to honour her promises to Egypt to aid financing the construction of the Aswan dam.

Ghana (Gold Coast) Elections

Elections were held in Gold Coast during the third week of July to determine popular will regarding its immediate independence. The results of the elections for the unicameral legislature of 104 members were: Convention People's Party (CPP) 71, National Liberation Movement 12, Northern People's Party 15, other parties 6.

The victory of the CPP under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, who was the first African leader to become a Prime Minister, meant that Gold Coast was soon to be independent as a Dominion State. The Opposition centred in the National Liberation Movement had advocated a Federal State for the country. In view of the differences between the two principal political parties in the country, the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd had proposed in May last that a general election be held in Gold Coast to determine popular support for the parties. He had further added that after the elections the British Government would be ready to accept a motion calling for independence within the Commonwealth passed by a "reasonable majority."

It is now almost certain that Gold Coast would soon join the Commonwealth as its first African member under the name of Ghana.

Aswan Dam

The withdrawal by the United States and the United Kingdom of their offer to help finance the High Dam on the river Nile at Aswan in Egypt was announced on July, 19. The U.S. and U.K offers were made on December 16, 1955, when at the request of the Egyptian Government, the two Western Powers indicated their willingness to contribute $55 million and $15 million respectively. The World Bank also offered to supply a loan totalling $200 million on condition that the USA and the UK stood by their promise. The withdrawal of their offers by the Governments of the USA and the U.K. would therefore mean that Egypt would be deprived also of the World Bank loan.

The announcement of the British withdrawal followed upon that of the USA. It is interesting to note that as late as on July 19, a British Foreign Office spokesman reiterated Britain's firm stand on her offer to Egypt. Explaining the British reasons for withdrawal a Foreign Office spokesman said: "The factors which had influenced the U.S. Government and ourselves are the same."

The United States action represented a major policy decision indicating that after several weeks' re-examination of policy toward President Nasser's Government in Egypt the State Department had decided to follow a tougher line. The decision was taken in full awareness of its repercussions in Egypt and her allies in the Arab countries of the Middle East, the *New York Times* reports.

Dana Adams Schmidt, *New York Times'* Washington correspondent, writes that the real reasons for U.S. refusal to honour its own promise were both domestic and foreign. The domestic reason was the congressional opposition to the project. "Congressional opposition was based on the belief that a big investment in Egypt would offend zionist sympathies and on the fear of Southern legislation that Egypt might raise more cotton in competition with the United States." The correspondent notes however, and herein perhaps lay the real explanation of U.S. conduct, that quite apart from these extremely influential considerations, the State Department had in the last year grown increasingly dubious of the wisdom of backing President Nasser in so epoch-making an enterprise as the Aswan High Dam.

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The State Department release said that since the December offer developments had taken place which were not favourable for the success of the Aswan Dam project which had led the U.S. Government to conclude "that it is not feasible in present circumstances to participate in the project."

The U.S. refusal was made known to Egypt when the Egyptian Ambassador Dr. Ahmed Hussein had called on the Secretary of State Mr. Dulles on July 19 to convey to the U.S. Government Egypt's eagerness to accept the grant. President Nasser was then flying to Cairo after the talks at Brioni.

The Aswan Dam Project, designed to solve the problem of finding provision for the increasing population in Egypt, is naturally considered as a matter of life and death by all patriotic Egyptians. The Prospect estimated to cost 1300 million U.S. dollars would, when completed, represent one of the biggest engineering enterprises of history. Of the total cost of $1300 million, about 900 million dollars represented local Egyptian currency needs. The Anglo-U.S. offer of $70 million was designed to help Egypt cover the foreign exchange costs of the first stage of construction. The completion of the dam would take twelve to sixteen years, would add two million acres of cultivable land to Egypt's present seven million, and would multiply her electric power resources by eight.

Commenting on the action of the British and U.S. Governments in going back on their own promises the *Hitavada writes*: "The reason presumably is that Egypt is not meekly submitting to America and Britain but is following an independent foreign policy. It is an act of petulance on the part of Britain and also of America." (July 23).

Suez Canal Nationalized

On July 27, Egypt nationalised the Suez Canal. The immediate cause of taking over the Canal is said to be mainly economic. Egypt is in urgent need of large funds for the erection of Aswan Dam. So long the UK and the USA had given hope that they would finance the Aswan Dam. But following the recent entente of Egypt and Yugoslavia, the USA and the UK stepped back from their previous commitment and the position was made further worse for Egypt when the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development also refused to grant loans to Egypt following the refusal of the USA and the UK in the matter. Egypt must have her Aswan Dam on the Nile and she must also have finance for that purpose. Loans being refused the only alternative source of finance has now been tapped and that is by the nationalisation of the Suez Canal. Of course, Egypt's action will give rise to many international repercussions in the near future.

Colonel Nasser declared: "The Suez Canal is an exploiting company. We shall build the high dam by restoring our rights in the Suez Canal. We shall take the income from the Suez Canal—$100 million a year—and build the high dam." He described the Suez Canal Company as "a State within a State" and said that this inadmissible state of affairs was now ended. Egypt is now heading towards a national economy. This is nationalisation with compensation. Shareholders would be paid in accordance with the last closing prices at the Paris Bourse. The Suez Canal Company, with headquarters in Paris, is an Egyptian registered company with a majority of foreign shareholders. Britain is the largest shareholder in it. The 99-year concession granted to Britain is due to expire in 13 years after which under the original agreement the Canal would revert to Egypt.

On August 1, President Eisenhower commenting on the Suez crisis told a Press conference in Washington that it must be made certain that the rights of the world are not abused. He recalled that the Constantinople Convention of 1888 had laid it down that the Suez Canal should always be an international waterway.

The Suez Canal is the most important of the interoceanic Canals. It connects the Red Sea with the Mediterranean. In 1875 Sir Travers Twiss made a proposal for the neutralisation of the Suez Canal and in 1883 Britain proposed an international conference with a view to bringing about the neutralisation of the Canal. It took several years to materialise the proposal and this was done on October 29, 1888 by the Convention of Constantinople. The parties to the Convention were: Great Britain, Austria, Hungary, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Spain, Russia and Turkey. Egypt was not a party to the Convention as she was a protectorate of Turkey at that time. The important provisions of the Convention are as follows:

"(1) The canal is open in time of peace as well as of war to merchantmen and men-of-

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all nations. No attempt to restrict this free of the canal is allowed in time either of war or of war. The canal can never be blockaded.

"(2) In time of war, even if Turkey is a belligerent, no act of hostility is allowed either in the canal itself or within three sea miles of its ports. Men-of-war of the belligerents are to pass through the canal without delay. They may not stay longer than twenty-four hours, a case of absolute necessity excepted, in the harbours of Port Said and Suez, and twenty-four hours must elapse between the departure from those harbours of a belligerent man-of-war and a vessel of the enemy. Troops, munitions, and other war material may neither be shipped nor unshipped within the canal and harbours. All rules regarding belligerents' men-of-war are likewise valid for their prizes.

"(3) No men-of-war are allowed to be stationed inside the canal, but each Power may have two men-of-war in the harbours of the Port Said and Suez. Belligerents, however, are not allowed to station men-of-war in these harbours. No permanent fortifications are allowed on the canal.

"(4) The signatory Powers are obliged to notify the treaty to others and to invite them to accede thereto."

It may be recalled here that during the Italo-Abyssinian war the Canal was closed to Italian shipping, although on May 6, 1936, the British Foreign Secretary said that the "canal could not be closed except by League action." Egypt became a protectorate of Great Britain on and from December 18, 1914. Powers formerly exercised on the Sultan of Turkey were transferred by Germany and Austria to Britain under the terms of Peace Treaty after the first World War. Later on Turkey, under Article 17 of the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923, surrendered all her rights and titles over Egypt as from November 5, 1914. In Febraury 1922, Britain declared the independence of Egypt. Under the Treaty of Alliance between Egypt and Britain in 1936, the latter recognised that the Canal was an integral part of Egypt. But it being an essential means of communication between different parts of the Commonwealth, provision was made for the defence of the Canal by the British forces to be stationed in the territory of Egypt in collaboration with the Egyptian forces.

During the second World War, the Canal was closed by Britain to the Axis Powers. In 1940, Britain took over the interests of the Suez Canal Company. During the Palestine war in 1948, Egypt enforced a lawful blockade of Israel and established her right to visit and search ships passing through the Canal. In 1951, however, the Security Council in a resolution declared that such blockade by Egypt was illegal and called upon Egypt to terminate such restrictions imposed by her, but without any effect.

In 1923, while delivering judgment in the case of *Wimbledon*, in connection with status of the Kiel Canal, the Permanent Court of International Justice stated that the precedents of the Suez and Panama Canals "are merely illustrations of the general opinion according to which, when an artificial waterway connecting two open seas has been permanently dedicated to the use of the whole world, such waterway is assimilated to natural straits in the sense that even the passage of a belligerent man-of-war does not compromise the neutrality of the Sovereign State under whose jurisdiction the waters in question lie."

During his Press Conference on August 1, 1956, President Eisenhower rejected the suggestion that the proposed internationalization of the Suez Canal was comparable to internationalizing the U.S. Panama Canal. He said that the conditions were not the same. The great problem, declared the President, was to make certain of the continued efficient use of the great Suez waterway which was important to neighbouring countries and vital to U.S. economy and to the welfare of the American. But it is very difficult to understand how the welfare of the American can be said to be involved in the issue of the Suez Canal. By the same stretch of argument Egypt may also retort that the welfare of the people of Egypt depends on the Panama Canal.

Under the terms of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty concluded between Great Britain and the United States in 1901, the United States has the exclusive right of providing for the regulation and management of the canal running between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and a number of rules, substantially as embodied in the Suez Canal Convention, have been adopted as the basis of the neutralisation of the Panama Canal. The Panama Canal was opened in 1914 and under the terms of the Hay-Varilla Treaty of 1903 between the USA and the new Republic of

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Panama, the canal and the entrance thereto shall be neutral in perpetuity and shall be open to vessels of all nations. The neutrality of the Panama Canal is subject to the USA's remaining neutral in a state of war. During the second World War, the USA seized all Axis vessels lying in the Panama Canal.

The nationalisation of the Suez Canal has conferred a strategic victory upon Egypt and in the future war Mediterranean will remain a dead sea if Egypt becomes a belligerent country against her. Under the terms of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, after a period of 20 years Britain should have to withdraw from the Canal Zone. But Britain still persists in the Canal Zone and Egypt may claim to have valid reasons for nationalisation.

On August 2, 1956, Sir Anthony Eden told the House of Commons that Britain could not accept any arrangements for the Suez Canal which wolud leave it in the unfettered control of a single Power which could, as recent events had shown, exploit it purely for purposes of national policy. Mr. Eden has suggested world control of the Canal, as he thinks that freedom and security of transit through the canal and efficiency of its operation are essential and these conditions can be effectively ensured by an international authority. "Nothing else than this can be acceptable to us," said the British Prime Minister.

But Egypt may pertinently ask what is the meaning of control by an international authority? In reality it would turn out to be the control by the USA and the UK, who are the trustees or rather the managing directors of the so-called Security Council and the UNO. When Britain was in control of the Canal during the second World War, did she allow free and safe passage to Axis vessels? Legally, during the second World War, the Convention of Constantinople was in force, still, however, was it not an offence on the part of the Allies to deny free passage to the ships of the Axis Powers through the Canal? Today they are invoking the doctrine of the Convention of Constantinople to which Egypt was not a party and as such she is not technically bound by the terms of the Convention. She may put forward the plea that the Convention was imposed on her under duress and this cannot be binding on her in view of her changed status. By applying the argument of Sir Eden, Egypt may lawfully demand that the Panama Canal should also be internationalized. Why that Canal should remain the national preserve of the USA?

If the Suez Canal is to be internationalized, it is deem and proper other canals like the Panama and the Kiel should also be internationalized and the main condition would be that these be permanently neutralised and should remain open even to the belligerents during war. Simply speaking, during the next war, the Suez and the Panama Canal must remain open to the vessels of both the belligerent Powers, without discrimination or restrictions. The Suez Canal is no doubt vital to the Commonwealth trade, more 75 per cent of which pass through the Canal.

On July 27, 1954, Britain and Egypt reached an agreement on evacuation of British troops from the Suez Canal Zone. The agreement provided for the evacuation of the estimated 73,000 strong British garrison, concentrated in the Canal Zone area since British soldiers, sailors and airmen left the main cities of Egypt in 1947. A maintenance staff was to have remained for some time to look after the Canal Zone military installations, valued at £400 million. The chief points of the Anglo-Egyptian agreement were as follows:

1. Evacuation of the British troops from the Canal Zone within 27 months;

2. Reactivation of the base in the event of an attack on the Arab States or Turkey;

3. The duration of the new agreement will be for seven years;

4. The base is to be maintained by a British civilian contracting firm.

The agreement will last until its expiry after seven years from the date of its signature. During the last 12 months of this period the two Governments will consult together to decide what arrangements are necessary upon termination of the agreement. Parts of the present Suez Canal base will be kept in efficient working order in accordance with the requirements set forth in Annexe I and capable of immediate use in accordance with the following:

A. In the event of an armed attack by any outside Power on Egypt, or any country which at the date of signature of the present agreement is a party to the treaty of joint defence between the Arab League States or on Turkey, Egypt will afford to the United Kingdom such facilities as may be necessary in order to place

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base on a war footing and operate it

tively.

B. In the event of a threat of attack on any the above-named countries, there shall be an diate consultation between the UK and

The agreement recognizes that the Suez time Canal which is an integral part of t, is a waterway economically, commercally strategically of international importance and sses the determination of both parties to d the 1888 Convention guaranteeing the m of navigation of the Canal.

Subsequently on October 19, 1954, Britain Egypt signed an agreement for the ation of the British troops from the Suez Zone within the next 20 months from the thereof. The whole of the 8,000 strong garrison in the Suez Canal Zone would Egypt by June 20, 1956 under the terms e new Anglo-Egyptian agreement. But troops are to return to the base in the of an armed attack by an outside Power urkey or on any Arab State.

By nationalising therefore after June 20, it seems that Egypt has not violated the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty on the Canal.

Suez Canal Company

We append the following account of the Canal Company as given in the *New York*

The income of the Suez Canal Company President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt his Government intended to use to build Aswan High Dam, amounts to tens of ns of dollars yearly.

Although the Suez Canal Company—the agnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de —is an Egyptian stock company, its ations are subject to a nine-power interna- convention signed in Constantinople (now il) in 1888 and elaborated in the British- agreement of 1904.

The nations in the 1888 convention were , Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, , Spain, Turkey and the Netherlands. An e of that convention said the canal shall be e and open, in time of war as in time of to every vessel of commerce or of war, ut distinction of flag"—a clause somewhat ed in world history since 1888.

One of the principal stockholders is the British Government. If the stockholders' position is infringed upon, a suit can be carried to the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

If Egypt were able to sustain her claim, the amount of income available would depend on the financial policies she pursued. In 1954, the company's total receipts were $92,730,574. Total expenses were $43,208,171. Ths left a balance of $49,522,403.

Statutory interest and the redemption of shares took $4,968,656, leaving a net income, plus cash on hand, of $44,599,629.

Of this available total, the company set aside $7,428,573 for depreciation and other reserves, and provided $7,142,857 for improvement. Of the balance available for distribution, $30,028,199, the company paid out in dividends $29,778,672, leaving $249,527 to be carried forward.

The gross dividend per capital share, including 5 per cent statutory interest, was $30.51.

Less detailed figures are available for 1955. The combany's report of last June, however, showed that for 1955 total receipts had risen to $98,682,442 and total expenditures to $52,297,584. This left a balance of $46,384,858. Of this sum, $30,500,000 was distributed as dividends. The Egyptian Government received about $5,000,000.

This income was realized from transit dues, tolls on all ships using the canal. These dues have been reduced twenty-seven times in the canal's eighty-seven years of operation.

The Suez Canal Company is an international joint stock company. Its capital consists of 800,000 shares, each of a par value of $80.50.

The shares are traded on the Paris Bourse and in 1955 fluctuated in price between a low of $267.20 and a high of $355.70.

The British Government holds 353,204 shares, the result of the purchsa of the Khedive of Egypt's shares by Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli in 1875. This is 44 per cent of the stock. Of the balance, 78 per cent is held by private shareholders in France and 22 per cent by individuals in various parts of the world.

The company's board is composed of sixteen French directors, nine British, five Egyptian, one Dutch and one United States director.

The canal reduces by 6,700 miles the distance between New York and Red Sea ports and by 3,500 miles the distance between ports on the East Coast of the United States and those on the Per-

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sian Gulf, as compared with the sea voyage around Africa.

The idea of the canal arose out of the rivalry between Britain and France for the Indian trade in the eighteenth century. Napoleon was sent by the French Directory in 1798 to occupy Egypt. An engineer sent with him, Charles Lepere, studied possible canal routes across the Isthmus of Suez.

Ferdinand de Lesseps, vice-consul in Alexandria in 1832 and later consul-general, read M. Lepere's reports. On retiring, he obtained a concession in 1854, improved in 1856. In spite of British opposition, he floated shares in 1858, more than half being taken up in France. He began digging in 1859 and ten years later, after many physical and political obstacles had been overcome, the canal was opened to traffic.

Refusal of Aid to Egypt

The following extract from an editorial in the *New York Times* gives an idea of how lightly the matter of aid to Egypt was considered by the Anglo-American group:

"In 1953, President Eisenhower, six weeks in office, proclaimed a new Middle East policy—to try to stem the 'deterioration in relations between the Arab nations and the United States' and 'restore (the Arabs') confidence and trust (in Washington)'.

The Administration's efforts to win the friendship of the Arabs were long, hard and, it has recently appeared, futile. Instead of joining the West, the Arab nations have been engaged in a flirtation with the Soviet bloc. Instead of peace in the Middle East, the possibility of a renewal of the Arab-Israel war has mounted.

Last week the United States appeared to have altered its Mid-East policy. For the first time Washington sharply rebuffed the leader of the Arab world—President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt. After offering last December to help Colonel Nasser build Egypt's cherished $1.3 billion Aswan dam, Washington announced last Thursday: "It is not feasible in present circumstances (for us) to participate in the project."

Last December the United States offered Egypt a grant of $56 million and Britain offered $14 million—both grants to help cover foreign exchange costs in the first stage of construction. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development agreed to put up $200 million loans, and Britain and the United States promised to give sympathetic consideration to supplying $130,000,000 later in loans and grants. One political string was attached to the offer: in return for Western aid Egypt would have to forgo any Communist assistance."

"Last Thursday the Egyptian Ambassador in Washington, Ahmed Hussein, called on Secretary of State Dulles to say that Egypt was really willing and eager to accept the United States proposition on the dam. Fifty minutes later Ambassador Hussein emerged from the Secretary's office, empty-handed.

Next day the British Foreign Office announced that it, too, had rescinded its offer of aid on the dam. London did not trouble with diplomatic niceties; the announcement was made at a press conference hours before Cairo was formally notified.

Both Washington and London explained their change of mind on the ground that (1) Egypt had failed to reach agreement with neighbouring countries on a division of Nile waters and (2) Egypt's ability to "devote adequate resources to assure the project's success" was now uncertain. That was presumably a reference to the fact that Egypt is bartering a large percentage of her best cash crop—cotton—for Communist weapons and goods.

But these were only the "diplomatic" reasons for the turn-down. Obviously, other factors entered into the West's decision."

Effect of Nasser's Action

The following quotation taken from the *New York Times* of July 28, shows the British action to the nationalization of the Suez Canal:

London, Friday, July 27.—Prime Minister Eden conferred hurriedly early today with United States and French diplomats on Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal Company.

The news of the action by President Gamal Abdel Nasser reached Sir Anthony last night in the middle of a dinner party he was giving for King Faisal of Iraq at 10 Downing Street.

Sir Anthony immediately conferred with Cabinet Ministers and service chiefs present at the dinner.

Later he summoned Andrew Foster, United States Charge d'Affairs, and Jean Chauvel,

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French Ambassador, to the conference at 10 Downing Street. The meeting was still in progress after 1-30 o'clock this morning.

Also present at the post-midnight meeting were Mr. Lloyd, Viscount Kilmuir, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, and the Marquess of Salisbury, Lord President of the Council.

President Nasser's action appeared to have been a stunning surprise to British officials.

No formal response was immediately forthcoming. British officials were said to believe that any counter-action would have to be taken in close collaboration with the United States.

Since Washington took the lead in withdrawing Western promises to help Egypt build the dam, including initial aid grants totalling $70,000,000, the British feel the United States now must stand firmly beside Britain in this crisis.

Deshmukh and Nehru

Following is the text of Mr. Deshmukh's statement:

"For some time past my resignation of my office of Minister has been pending. Yesterday the President's office issued a Press Note to the effect that the President has been pleased to accept the resignation. I consider it necessary to make a statement in explanation of my resignation, and proceed to do so in accordance with Rule 218 of the Rules of Procedure of the Lok Sabha.

"I have resigned because I do not wish to share the responsibility for the Government's decision to separate the city of Bombay from Maharashtra. This issue, so vitally important to the interests of my constituency of Kolaba in particular, and of Maharashtra as well as India in general, has been handled by the Prime Minister.

"My protest has special reference to (1) the inability or unwillingness of the Government of India to persuade the Bombay Government to hold a judicial inquiry into the police firings of November 1955 and January 1956 in the course of which about 80 persons were killed and about 200 injured, and (2) to the impropriety of the Prime Minister's announcement in early June in regard to the future of Bombay while the States Reorganization Bill was before the Lok Sabha and had been referred to the Select Committee. I had in vain pleaded for an inquiry in regard to the former. In regard to the latter I have had no discussion with the Prime Minister, as obviously a discussion after the event was useless and as on the day the Prime Minister returned from Bombay after the A.I.C.C. meeting I asked him to make my pending resignation effective. It was at his suggestion that I agreed that the acceptance of my resignation might await his return from his tour abroad.

"I accepted the office of Finance Minister in May 1950 at the repeated requests of the Prime Minister. The House may be interested to know, as some little proof of my disinterestedness, that I had declined a similar offer made previously by Lord Wavell in May 1946 on the ground that neither by training nor by tradition was I qualified to take on the job of a politician. Before I accepted the Prime Minister's offer I warned him that I was apt to prove difficult where principles were involved and that I would have to resign if there was a major disagreement on matters of principle. His reply, if he will recall it, was 'in that event it will not be a case of your walking out alone.'

"Although the question was never explicitly discussed between us, this remark and assurance formed an unspoken pact between us to pursue and promote a progressive economic policy as a sound foundation for plans for the country's economic development. It is for him to say if he is satisfied or not with the nature and quality of my collaboration with him. On my part I should like to take this opportunity for acknowledging his constant and understanding support in the discharge of my duties, not to speak of his irreproachable courtesy, unlimited patience and unfailing consideration. We have had our differences of opinion, acute sometimes as in the matter of relaxation of financial control, but we have up till now always been able to reconcile them as a result of personal discussion.

"I have never been a member of the Congress Party, and I am inclined to believe that this freedom from a formal party affiliation has helped me to discharge a little more effectively my role as a supposed expert in economic, financial, fiscal and monetary matters. Had the general elections not broken into the tenure of my office and had it not been constitutionally almost inevitable for the Finance Minister to be a member of the Lok Sabha, the present situation

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in which I feel it incumbent to resign on an issue not strictly financial or not of an all-India character would not have arisen—because I have had no serious differences of opinion with my colleagues in the Cabinet and the Prime Minister continued to extend his support to me in all essential matters concerning the Finance Ministry.

"I consider it only fair to all concerned to add that irrespective of the S.R.C. report and for many months past I had been informing the Prime Minister that I did not intend to take part in the coming elections and that it was my firm view that the time had arrived for some one from the Congress Party to take charge of the office of Finance Minister. It was with a view to bringing about a greater association of the concerned members of the Cabinet with the handling of the problems of the Finance Ministry, especially in regard to raising resources for the Second Five-Year Plan that on my advice the Prime Minister has constituted the resources committee of the Cabinet.

"My election as a representative of Kolaba District and as one among the Bombay representatives in the Lok Sabha could not but affect the political aloofness of my role as a non-party financial expert (supposed to be, according to one of my very able colleagues). The constituency and the State concerned called upon me from time to time to take an interest in some local problems, and I have always been able to do so without being untrue to my responsibility to the country at large. The matters involved were not matters of grave principle.

"But I am not one of those who hold that Central Government Ministers should be like disembodied spirits, concerned with only their Central responsibilities and not at all concerned with the affairs, politics and interests of their constituencies or States. Nevertheless, I can truthfully claim that I have concerned myself less with local matters than any of my colleagues, barring the Prime Minister, owing to my lack of party affiliation and the technical nature of the matters dealt with in the Finance Ministry.

"In the matter of the Government's decision in regard to the separation of Bombay State from Maharashtra, however, my conscience will not permit me to remain aloof or unconcerned as I hold strongly that the decision, with its latest modification, is grossly unjust and unfair to the people of Maharashtra and against even the interests of the country. I can find no single valid argument in justification of it. I hope I shall have an opportunity of elaborating this during the course of the coming general discussion on the S.R.C. Bill as reported by the select committee.

"But even in this matter, following my role as a non-party financial expert, I did not take up a strong personal attitude until I became convinced that the announced decision was unacceptable to the people of Kolaba in particular and Maharashtra in general and involved grave risk of economic ruination to them.

"I also anticipated the difficulties likely to arise over Bombay city and the lengths to which Congress-devoted Maharashtra leaders were prepared to go, and used my influence in securing acceptance for the bigger bilingual Bombay State (*i.e.*, including both Saurashtra and Vidarbha) which was the only genuine bilingual State arrangement in my view. Unfortunately this was rejected in turn by the Congress Working Committee, the Gujarat and Bombay Pradesh Congress Committees and finally by the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee themselves by implication. Although I am certain that the Maharashtra and the Gujarat public will even now favour such a solution, with the present local leadership being what it is, I fear this solution will not be feasible.

"Even before the Prime Minister made his announcement about Bombay in January last, I had informed him and the Cabinet of my view that if the bigger bilingual Bombay State was not possible, then the only alternative was the formation of a separate Gujarat and a separate Maharashtra including Bombay city and that the separation of Bombay city from Maharashtra would be a grave economic and political blunder, besides being unjust to Maharashtra.

"I refrained from protesting against the Government decision of January last—which was not taken in the full Cabinet—until I became seized of the reactions of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee and was satisfied that the decision was unacceptable to Maharashtra in general and my constituency in particular. On being satisfied on this point I tendered my resignation to the Prime Minister.

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"In reply he referred to the desirability of doing everything possible to discourage violence, as also to interesting possibilities of the formation of big bilingual units such as Dakshina Pradesh, Purva Pradesh, etc. At about the same time a few friendly fellow-members of Parliament advised me not to precipitate matters until Parliament had had an opportunity of considering the question. It was in view of those considerations that I refrained from pressing my resignation in January last.

"Although the S.R.C. Bill as introduced made no change for the better, from my point of view, I was content to await the report of the Select Committee. But discussions in this respect were in my opinion gravely prejudiced by the extraordinary action of the Prime Minister in making his announcement in Bombay early last year. His later explanation that he was always free to announce the Government's decision is not valid, as in no sense was the decision a decision of the Government. There was no consideration of the proposal in the Cabinet or even by circulation. There was no individual consultation with members of the Cabinet known to be specially interested as, for instance, myself. There is no record even of a meeting of a committee of the Cabinet, and to this day no authoritative text of the so-called decision is available to the members of the Cabinet.

"This instance is typical of the cavalier and unconstitutional manner in which decisions have been taken and announced on behalf of the Cabinet by certain unauthorized members of the Cabinet, including the Prime Minister, in matters concerning the reorganization of the States. The separation of Andhra from Tamilnad was decided upon and announced by the Prime Minister without reference to the Cabinet. The decision last January in regard to placing Bombay city under Central administration was again without reference to the Cabinet, whose previous decision was Bombay should be made a city state. Nor did that decision represent a solution agreed upon by all concerned, including the Maharashtra leaders, since their proposal to that effect was conditional on (i) Bombay city being retained as the capital of Maharashtra and (ii) provision for later merger of the city with Maharashtra.

"It is true that a committee of the Cabinet was constituted to decide boundary matters, but it was never the intention that the committee should decide the fate of Maharashtra and Bombay city on behalf of the Cabinet. In any case, I have a grievanec in that I was not consulted in regard to the specific decisions announced, although as a Minister specially interested, territorially and electorally, at least common courtesy demanded that I should have been. My complaint is that the Prime Minister and the Committee of three have arrogated to themselves powers not delegated to them by the Cabinet as a whole.

"Even more summary and discourteous has been the rejection by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister of my request that they promote an inquiry into the Bombay firings of November 1955 and January 1956. I am convinced that they are being false to their principles in regard to the safeguarding of civil liberties in helping to hush up matters.

"Since the Prime Minister has at a later date argued that the question of Bombay city cannot be reconsidered just now because Bombay has misbehaved, he cannot argue that the matter is one concerning the Bombay Government alone. His view that such an inquiry will only exacerbate public feelings further is not valid, since truth can never embitter, and what is alleged with a great deal of prima facie evidence is that the people showed lack of fire control and grossly exceeded their legal powers.

"There is evidence to show that they were instructed by the Chief Minister to shoot at sight and to shoot to kill that the deliberate use of tear gas before intended firing brought out women and children from their rooms choking for breath, only to be shot down by the indiscriminate firing of the police, using tommy guns, firing several rounds to the second, that there were 2,500 rounds fired resulting in 80 persons dead and 450 injured, that the police injuries through stones and acid bulbs were insignificant and not contemporaneous with the firing episode.

"That the ruling party should have thought it fit to order an inquiry into the Hoshiarpur lathi charge when they resolutely refused to order an inquiry into the Bombay firings, shows an animus against Maharashtra with which I refuse to associate myself. I drew attention of the Prime Minister to many of these matters and informed him that I was dissatisfied with the

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apathy with which this matter has been viewed by him.

"I pointed out to him that in any other country calling itself civilized with such a courage a judicial inquiry would have been compulsory by law. Even now, when the coroner has held in several cases that the firing of November 1955 was unjustified, there seems to be no intention to inquire into the matter.

"These matters, viz., the usurpation of the powers of the Cabinet by an inner circle and the denial of civil liberties by giving a carte blanche to the Bombay police, have a bearing on public interest going far beyond the range of the dispute over Bombay city. Violence can only be curbed by justice and rational behaviour. The aggressive non-violence of many men responsible for the Bombay decision will do far more to disrupt the unity of the country than outbursts of violence, which no sane man will concede and which must be dealt with firmly, but not brutally, especially where hundreds of palpably innocent citizens are involved."

Mr. Nehru, who was cheered by the Congress benches when he rose to read a prepared statement, said: "It is with deep regret that I have listened to the statement made by my honourable friend and my colleague in the Government till yesterday. I regret having to part company in the work of the Government from a valued colleague. I regret that on this occasion an element of controversy has been introduced. I am not referring to the merits of the questions raised by my friend. These will no doubt be dealt with in the course of the discussions in this House.

"The honourable member has criticized the various actions for which I am responsible. I accept that responsibility fully, as in fact, I must, in my capacity as the Prime Miniser. But I am reluctant to enter into a controversy which, to some extent, is of a personal character. Since we are ending our close association as members of Government, I should like this parting to be with goodwill (cheers).

"I shall only mention here two or three matters to which reference has been made. The account that the honourable member has given of various developments is not, in my opinion, quite correct in all its particulars or is incomplete and hence may give a wrong impression as to what happened.

"Reference has been made to the proceedings of the Cabinet. It is not usual to do so, and it is a little difficult to deal with this matter without a full account of what the Cabinet considered at various times. I do not think it is proper for me to deal fully with the proceedings of the Cabinet."

"This matter (Bombay issue)," Mr. Nehru continued, "has been under consideration in various ways for many months and it has always been our desire to have the largest measure of consultation and agreement not only in the Government but in Parliament and elsewhere. We discussed this in the Cabinet on many occasions and when the Cabinet appointed a sub-committee we kept the Cabinet informed of its work."

Mr. Nehru said: "The honourable member has said that my announcement early in June in regard to the future of Bombay was wrong in propriety as the S. R. Bill was before the Lok Sabha and had been referred to a Select Committee. I am wholly unable to appreciate this argument. What I announced then was the Government's policy which had already been included in the draft Bill before Parliament. The only additional statement I made was that the future of Bombay might be decided five years later by Bombay, a fact which had been referred to repeatedly. There was considerable speculation and uncertainty about this which called for clarification. In such circumstances it was necessary to state the position clearly. Apart from this it is the business of the Government to declare its policy and place it before Parliament. It is open to the Select Committee to accept it, vary it or reject it. I had in fact stated in Bombay that it will naturally be for the Select Committee of Parliament to decide what they thought proper.

"Reference has also been made to the decision not to hold a judicial inquiry into the incidents in Bombay in November 1955 and January 1956. These incidents were serious. But, after the most careful consideration and in consultation with many colleagues and others, we felt that our principal aim of developing normal and good relations in Bombay between various communities and groups would be jeopardized by such a prolonged inquiry at this stage. We felt that our chief effort should be to establish good relations again.

"I should like again to express my deep regret at this parting of the ways."

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INDIA'S NEW INDUSTRIAL POLICY

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By Prof. C. L. KHANNA, M.A.

Background

...ndia is on the verge of an industrial revolu-... The nature and extent, the pace and pro-...ess of this revolution would, obviously, ...end on the industrial policy of our country. ...such a policy, if rightly conceived and properly ...ented, can prove a potent weapon for the ...erated growth and balanced development ...the economy of our motherland. The Govern-...nt of Free India, immediately after the ...linment of Swaraj, recognised that a dyna-...national policy should be formulated to ...ease production and to secure its equitable ...ribution. It was on the 6th April, 1948, ...the Government in its resolution No. 1(3)-...(3)/48 of even date promulgated for the ...time the "fundamental aspects of its ...strial policy" with the confidence that "a ...and intensive effort will be made by ...r, capital and the general public, which ...pave the way for the rapid industrialization ...the country." It was stressed at that time ...the State must play a "progressively active ...in the development of industries. The ...ribution of the State was, inevitably, limited ...its resources in men, money and material. ...Government had, therefore, to bank upon ...ate initiative and enterprise to fill up the ...left as a result of the "disabilities" of the ...The entrepreneurial activities had, ...quently, been demarcated as between the ...sector and the Private sector but this ...ation was not watertight. The two sectors ...to co-exist and work as equal partners in ...great adventure of building up industrial ...Notwithstanding this, it was stipulated

"While the inherent right of the State to acquire existing industrial undertaking will always remain, will be exercised whenever the public interest ...it, Government have decided to let existing ...takings in these* fields develop for a period of ...years, during which they will be allowed all ...ities for efficient working and reasonable expan-...

This was a period of interregnum—a period ...the private industrialists were, in a way, on trial. Eight years have gone by. They have plied their furrows almost unhampered except where State was forced to intervene under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951. They had both an opportunity and a challenge to justify their existence in the democratic socialism of our country. Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, the Union Minsiter for Commerce and Industry, says, in this connection :

"In practically 80 per cent of the industries with which I have been concerned, the private sector has not been coming forward to anticipate and provide against the increased demand for the products of the industries under its care."[1]

The production in the Private sector was thus restrictive, and failed to match with the needs of the country during the transitional stage. Any connivance or procrastination on the part of the State was detrimental to the interests of the people at large. The time has come for the Government to intensify its efforts for the transformation of our backward country into a country of extensive industrialisation and modern technique at an unprecedented tempo.[2] The era of *laissez faire* and capitalist enterprise has since long been dead. Almost in the same vein Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had spoken at the historic session of the All-India Congress Committee held at Lahore in 1929. He said :

"I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a republican and am no believer in kings and princes, or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry who have greater power over the lives and fortunes of men than even kings of old, and whose methods are predatory as those of the old feudal aristocracy. I recognise, however, that it may not be possible for a body constituted as is this National Congress and in the present circumstances of the country to adopt the full socialistic programme. But we just realize that the philosophy of socialism has gradually permeated the entire structure of society the world over and almost the only point in dispute is the pace and methods of advance to its full realization. India will

(1) Coal, (2) Iron and steel, (3) Aircraft manufacture, (4) Ship-building, (5) Manufacture of telephone, telegraph and ...apparatus, excluding radio receiving sets, and (6) Mineral

1. *Commerce*, December, 1955, p. A 14, "Private Sector in a Socialist Economy."

2. Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, observed while inaugurating the new building of the Indian Chambers of Commerce that he believed that within the next ten years India will be able to cross the Rubicon becoming from an under-developed country a vastly industrialist country.—*Tribune*, May 12, 1956, p. 1, column 2.

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have to go that way too if she seeks to end her poverty and inequality, though she may evolve her own methods and may adopt the ideal to the genius of her race."

This stand, as we all know, has been reiterated in the phrase "socialist pattern of society" (the Annual Report of the Congress Parliamentary Party now refers to the national goal in a clearer and shorter terminology as "socialist society." It also expresses the hope that bigger strides would be made in future for the realization of this objective within a measurable time). In unison with this pronounced deviation in the ideology our National Government enunciated its New Industrial Policy on April 30, 1956. The new policy has fortunately synchronised with the inauguration of the Second Five-Year Plan in which rapid industrialisation constitutes the core of economic development. It is, therefore, high time to examine this policy. It would help facilitate our analytical study if the highlights of this policy are enumerated first.

Highlights of New Policy

The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 is not merely a re-enunciation of the old resolution. It is not "old wine in new bottles" as some critics have characterized it. It makes fundamental departures from the traditional grooves allowing of course the "mixed economy" to continue with a swing towards the "Left." It now looks more "red" than before. The New Policy says:

"The State will progressively assume a predominant and direct responsibility for setting up new industrial undertakings and for developing transport facilities with a view to reducing economic inequalities and concentration of economic power and monopolisation."

Motivated by this basic approach the Government of India have divided industries into three categories as indicated below:

(A) *Exclusive State Monopoly*: This group comprises the following seventeen industries in which the initiative for all new units will exclusively rest with the State except where under the force of circumstances or in public interest the State secures the co-operation of the private enterprise.

It may be of some interest to note here that the preponderance of State enterprise has involved not only the inclusion of defence and strategic industries named at items 1, 2 and 14 (as done in the 1948 resolution) but has drawn in this fold five more industries (items 3, 8, 12, 15 and 16) which were heretofore within the ambit of State-*cum*-Private sector. The bounds of Public sector have thus been enlarged considerably. This category includes:

Defence Industries

1. Arms and ammunitions and allied items of defence equipment.
2. Atomic energy.

Heavy Industries

3. Iron and steel.
4. Heavy castings and forgings of iron and steel.
5. Heavy plant and machinery required for iron and steel production, for mining, for machine tools manufacture and for such other basic industries as may be specified by the Central Government.
6. Heavy electrical plant including large hydraulic and steam turbines.

Mining

7. Coal and lignite.
8. Mineral oils.
9. Mining of iron ore, gypsum, sulphur, gold and diamond.
10. Mining and processing of copper, lead, zinc, tin, molybdenum and wolfram.
11. Minerals specified in the Schedule to the Atomic Energy Order, 1953.

Transport and Communications

12. Aircraft.
13. Air transport.
14. Railway transport.
15. Ship-building.
16. Telephones and telephone cables, telegraph and wireless apparatus (excluding radio receiving sets).
17. Generation and distribution of electricity.

(B) *Concurrent* (*State*-cum-*Private*) *Sector*: This would include the following twelve industries:

1. All minerals except "minor minerals."
2. Aluminium and other non-ferrous metals not included in the preceding list at (A) above.
3. Machine tools.
4. Ferro alloys and tool steels.
5. Basic and intermediate products required for chemical industries, such as, the manufacture of drugs, dyestuffs and plastics.
6. Anti-biotics and other essential drugs.
7. Fertilizers.
8. Synthetic rubber.
9. Carbonisation of coal.
10. Chemical pulp.
11. Road transport.
12. Sea transport.

(C) *Exclusively Private Sector*: The

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third category will embrace all other industries such as sugar, cotton textiles, cement, etc. Normally the development of industries in this group will rest solely with the private industrialists but the State will also reserve the right to set up any industry even in this region.

It would at once be admitted that this three-fold classification of the industrial realm is not doctrinaire and rigid. As a matter of fact, it permits of interpenetration and dovetailing between industries in the two sectors.

Decentralised Sector

Another outstanding feature of our Industrial Policy is that it accords the small and cottage indusries a distinct role in the present economic structure of our country. This is justified on four scores :

1. They will help mitigate the "disguised" unemployment by absorbing a large number of under-employed and unemployed people in the rural and urban areas;
2. They will iron out the income and wealth disparities;
3. They will facilitate canalisation of the idle or potential resources in capital and human skill; and
4. They will reduce (if not eliminate altogether) the new social and economic problems emerging from unhealthy urbanisation.

It is noteworthy that stress has been laid on self-dependence rather than on "spoon-feeding." It is also contemplated that the decentralised sector of industries should be patterned on co-operative basis. The pyramidical industrial structure will thus have a broad base of village, small and cottage industries.

Some Views

The New Industrial Policy has had mixed reception in our country. While some regarded it as progressive, realistic and fair, others think that it is worse than the 1948 Industrial Policy, and is highly unrealistic and visionary. The Committee of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry held that this statement will hamstring the Private sector and that a more "flexible" approach was needed for the simultaneous functioning of the Private and Public sectors. The Committee urged that "the major question is rapid development of the economy and not so much as to who should do it." This seems to be an impartial, scientific and balanced approach. But the crux of the matter is : Who can undertake this rapid development in the present juncture when our country is under-developed and is passing through the travails of industrial regeneration? Should it be the State or the Private *entrepreneur*? The answer to this may be sought in the observation made by a world-renowned British economist, A. C. Pigou :

> "Private enterprise left to itself, even when it operates under conditions of simple competition, often leads to a distribution of resources less favourable to the national dividend than some other possible distribution."[3]

The tempo of productivity will be at a lower ebb if private initiative and enterprise is allowed to continue *status quo*. In order to create a milieu in which the small man is enabled to put in his best for ameliorating his own living standard as also of his countrymen, the State has to play a greater part in the economic progress of the country. This line of argument is countered by the private *entrepreneur* by putting forward the plea that the enlargement of its sphere of activities in preference to that of the State is justified by its "performance" during the First Plan period. In support of this contention the following figures of investment are adduced :

Table I

	First Five-Year Plan		
	Total allocation	Actual expenditure	Percentage of short-fall in expenditure
	Rs. Crores	Rs. Crores	
1. Public Sector	101	57	40
2. Private Sector	383	343	11

	Second Five-Year Plan	
	Total allocation	Percentage increase of allocation over that of 1st Plan
	Rs. Crores	
1. Public Sector	710	700*
2. Private Sector	700	200 (about)

* *N.B.*—If compared with the actual expenditure incurred during 1951-56, the percentage stands at 1246.

The above data bears eloquent testimony to the fact that on the investment-basis the alleged "strangulation" of the private sector by allocating to it proportionately smaller share of the investible resources is unjustified. It implies that just because the Public sector failed to utilize the entire planned expenditure of Rs. 101 crores during the First Plan, its share of outlays

3. *Economics of Welfare*, 4th Edition, p. 381.

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of the future Plans should also be less. We are inclined to believe, however, that such a policy would amount to calling a dog a bad name and hang it. "Once deficient, ever deficient" does not appeal to any sane person. We, rather, feel that not only for ideological but practical reasons also, the Public sector should have higher apportionment of expenditure to enable it to regain the ground lost in the past.

The case for the Private Sector derives further strength from the fact that its contribution to the total national dividend of India is regarded as impressive by some critics. The Table given below makes this point clear :

(See TABLE II)

On the basis of the above statistics Shri Morarji J. Vaidya, President of the Indian Merchants Chamber, holds that

"The general feeling of the Private Sector is that in the enthusiasm to assign an increasingly larger role to the Public Sector, the scope of development for the Private Sector has been unnecessarily restricted."

The validity of this platitude is beyond our comprehension. In an expanding economy such as ours, the advances made, in whatever sector they may be, will influence the entire fabric of the country. Therefore with the prosperity of the State enterprise, its counterpart—that is, the Private sector—is bound to flourish. The only difference will be that under the changed conditions the benefit will accrue to the community at large—to the privileged as well as the unprivileged or less privileged class—and not to an individual or a body of individuals.

Another charge levelled against the 1956 Policy is that it gives a bias to the development of heavy and machine-making industries. The critics view this as un-Gandhian. To our mind this appears a dismal approach which reflects perverted and parochial thinking. There is no doubt that village and cottage and small-scale industries have a vital role to play in our economic renaissance, yet to make them as the bulwark of the future economy would be perilous. Taking cognizance of this fact, the Second Five-Year Plan makes a provision of Rs. 200 crores for cottage industries out of an aggregate allocation of Rs. 710 crores for industrial undertakings in the Public Sector. Further the industrial Policy unmistakably says: "The aim of the State policy will be to ensure that the decentralised sector acquires sufficient vitality to be self-supporting and its development is integrated with that of large-scale industry."

The New Policy scrupulously avoids the mention of that most-accursed term "nationalisation" which served as a scare-crow to the industrialists since the first Policy statement on the subject was made in April, 1948. The protagonists of the Private Sector interpret the absence of a guarantee against nationalisation as an element of uncertainty and risk which would retard industrial growth. The question is whether such an assurance is called for in the context of the new approach envisaged in the 1956 Resolution. India now stands committed to the socialist economy. In such an economic set-up capitalism his no abiding place. Moreover, it is clearly stated in the Resolution under discussion that industrial undertakings in the Private Sector have necessarily to fit into the framework of the social and economic policy of the State. The objection raised thus holds no water.

The immunity from nationalisation is deemed by some critics as the "Charter of exploitation" under which the industrialists could take out all the kernel and leave the husk to posterity. This, too, is an unwarranted charge.

The argument that State-ownership or State dominance over the basic and strategic

TABLE II

(Fig. in Rupees Abja : 1 abja=100 crores)

Items	National net product (in terms of 1952-53 prices) in the year 1950-51	1955-56	1960-61	Percentage increase during 1951-56	1956-61	Total net product during 1950-51	1955-56	1960-61
1. Agriculture and allied pursuits	44.50	52.30	61.70	18	18	91.10	108.0	134.8
2. Mining	0.80	0.95	1.50	19	58			
3. Factory establishments	5.90	8.40	13.80	43	64			
4. Small enterprise	7.40	8.40	10.80	14	30			

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ustries will avoid concentration of economic ower or monopolies is questioned by the private repreneurs. It is said : where is the guarantee ar such evils (if evils they are) will not ce in the Public sector? Even if it were ted that the measures calculated to expand public enterprise will result in public opolies, it is undeniable that such organisa- s will work for the public weal not public as the private monopolies are wont to do.

Conclusion

It is evident that the latest Industrial ry, although drawn up pragmatically and the aim of fostering rapid economic trans- ation, cannot satisfy all. It has its points eakness as well as of strength. It is a potent agent to turn the first sods for building up a free and viable society. But much depends upon the crusader's zeal and the pioneering spirit with which it is implemented as India enters the second lap of planning. Unless we have faith in our economic policies and unless we come to believe that India's economic improvisers of today, however dubiously they are now regarded, will be the sages of tomorrow, the new Industrial Policy will fail to make much leeway. Let us, therefore, shun that sceptical and cynical attitude, which many Indian intellectuals cherish towards the economic policies formulated by the Nehru Government. Given that faith and self-confidence India will soon become a power to be reckoned with in the resurgent Asia, if not in the world.

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THE EMPLOYMENT TARGET OF OUR SECOND PLAN

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draft outline' stage of the Second Five- Plan has recorded a marked change in employment target, from 11 million to 8 n, which, however, is significant only se employment is intended to be the n of the Second Plan. The statement of ntitative fall of about 27 per cent in the oyment target amounts to almost nothing, the qualitative implication of the success failure on this count, of an employment- ted plan. In so far as this implication avoidable in the common platform, the oyment target of our Plan needs a ough reappraisal, although apparently it seem that the draft outline has been more cautious and realistic than the ative framework.

It appears that there have been adopted methods for calculation of the employ- intensity of our Plan. The first is to late the value of invested capital per ker in different sectors and to calculate the ber of workers that can be absorbed by tional investment planned for; this may called the capital intensity method. The ond method is to calculate the output per ker in different sectors and determine from planned increase in output target, the number of additional workers required under certain assumptions of increase in labour productivity over the five-year period. The third is the method of regional socio-economic surveys conducted in different parts of India, by the Planning Commission, in order to assess the extent and distribution of the problem of unemployment in our country, in the context of which the employment target has to be adjudged. There may be good reasons to think that this third factual survey method has lent as much realism as is contained in the draft, as distinguished from the tentative framework, in its broad conclusion that "even with the larger effort that is envisaged in the Second Plan, the total volume of unemployment may be of the same order as at present." The question whether, in the scheme of investments planned for, the run to keep at the same place will not fall short of the new-set modest target. In fact, there are reasons to think in the negative, if the First Plan results are taken as any guide whatsoever. The now famous quantitative target of 5 to 6 million employment in the First Plan and the actual results achieved by now must at least beget some wisdom. In fact, the draft Second Plan clearly admits that in its effect

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on "direct employment," the Second Plan will be like the First, in reaching a figure of about 4.5 million, though with double the volume of Government investment and priority placed on employment. Even admitting the figure of direct employment to be 4.5 million, the rest half of the target depends on the impulse of the private sector. The Second Plan outline has been delightfully vague in not giving any breakdown of estimate of the employment intensity in the public and private sector separately. In a sense this is unavoidable but for the quantitative statement of the target in the Plan. There are good reasons in not being complacent over the reaction of the Private Sector, specially after the New Industrial Policy statement by the Government and the restriction scheme for factory production of consumer goods. The differential excise tax-subsidy scheme appears to be too poor a substitute for diverting private investment otherwise destined to factory, to labour intensive village, small-scale, cottage and hand industries (viz., the mill *vs.* handloom). It is not only that the employment multiplier cannot be 2.4 on the optimistic assumption that 4.5 million will be the value of direct employment in the Second Plan framework, but it may be very much less than 1.8 even, as assumed in the draft Second Plan. The Survey of Calcutta by the Socio-economic Survey Project group of Planning Commission has clearly indicated the extent of decline of employment opportunities in the organised private sector in the industrial area of Calcutta, to the tune of about 4 per cent during 1951-1954. The Indian picture may well be seen through it.

Apart from the question about the reliable basis of calculation of increment of labour productivity for different sectors, one other consideration is relevant here, that is a distinction between the income content of a given volume of employment and the employment content of a given volume of output. It is one thing to increase output and quite another to create additional employment. Even if the output targets are all realised, the volume of employment generated in the indirect level will be much less than about 4 m. estimated in the Plan outline, due in the first place, to the distribution of more working hours to the already employed, and secondly to the accession in intra-industry efficiency along the optimum size of units in the organised sector, because of availability of financial aids and facilities.

But there is a big but, in the estimates of additional employment for the export-oriented industries like tea, jute, etc., which are tied to forces of world demand and supply. The target for tea industry, for example, is 11 per cent increment of output in the Plan, and the existing employment in the industry is about 2 million and on this basis the estimates of additional employment may be roughly put at 0.2 million, but how fantastic this may sound in the content of recent depression in the industry and the threat of large-scale retrenchment in tea gardens, mainly because there have been too plenty of supply in relation to total world demand. Our Plan has not provided any reliable safeguard on the external front, except some meagre steps for storing the unsold volume.

The breakdown of total additional employment of 8 million in the Plan outline shows that about 26 p.c. is accounted for by construction activities and about 33 percent by others including trade and commerce. It is admitted by the draft outline in a footnote that the estimate of construction employment has been an overestimate, which, however, is expected to be corrected by an underestimate in trade and commerce and others accounting for 33 p.c. almost the whole of which is in the private sector. One fact appears to be left unconsidered that construction offers a type of floating employment which needs to be regenerated in properly dovetailed projects of matched timing, the failure of which will generate the additional waste of skilled labour how. The regional survey of the planned township of Faridabad and Chittaranjan conducted by the National Sample Survey Group clearly indicates the marked fall in the absorption capacity of the respective regions, after the end of the first flush of construction, although the percentage of unemployed persons rank in equal technical education with those of their employed brethren; the ratio of employment in the planned and unplanned sector in the Chittaranjan economy today, for example, is roughly 8 to 1, and moreover, employment in private sector has been mainly of low income content and of 'on the-spot-service' type.

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This bespeaks the momentum of the feedback process by planned investment in selected regions; likewise, the present apprehension of large-scale retrenchment in the D. V. C. sector is an instance of lack of proper timing of completion of different projects.

Further, it may be noted that the Second Plan assumes that the rate of urbanization during the decade 1951-61 will be 7 percent higher than that of the preceding decade which means in effect that the mobility of the rural semi-underemployed will not be greater than that in the last decade. It is clear that the Plan outline has not estimated the total volume of under-employment in the rural sector which, however, will be a very large figure and even the mobility of a 2-3 p.c. of this large volume may upset the employment calculations of the Second Plan. As has been estimated by Dr. [illegible] that excluding absolute unemployment, the figure for persons under-employed amount to something like 20 million, of which rural agriculture accounts for about 16 million, rural non-agriculture for 2.4 million, and urban areas for the remaining 1.6 million; the implication of mobility of only 2-3 p.c. of this large volume of under-employed can only be telling on the Plan outline. The unmistakable trend of mobility may doubtless be gathered from the Census finding that in the decades 1931-41, [illegible]-51, the urban population has increased by [illegible] 34 p.c. and 41 p.c. respectively whereas [illegible] rural by about 12 and 9 per cent respectively. This trend of migration has also been manifested in the migration pattern of [illegible]ed Chittaranjan township, for example, [illegible] of total migrant labour force in house[illegible] families of about 7,655, 64 p.c. and 36 [illegible] hail from urban and rural areas respectively. And about areas from where [illegible] migrant labour force came, the major [illegible]ntage has been accounted for by the pro[illegible]

[illegible]	Percentage to total migrants of Chittaranjan	
[illegible]ployer	Before migration	After migration
[illegible]ployer	0.2	0.03
[illegible] account worker	50.7	87.8
[illegible]employed (first seeking)	13.9	2.6
[illegible]er unemployed	8.2	4.7
[illegible]hers	8.2	4.9
Total	—	—
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The fact that out of the significant percentage of unemployed, and own account workers, and family members a large part obtained full time work in place of half or quarter work, can be gathered from the finding that out of 36 per cent of all migrants who were not in gainful employment, due to some reasons or others, 32 p.c. got full work, in continuous employment, and 2.4 p.c. in seasonal and casual employment. This indicates well the directions of mobility.

But apart from urbanization, the degree of monetization is likely to increase considerably over the plan period, and hence though it cannot originally generate the inflationary process, it can, with other attendant circumstances, accentuate the inflationary process generated by the Plan and this has two serious implications for unemployment problem. In the first place, this process dissipates small savings and hence regional investment opportunities and secondly there occurs large-scale shift to the volume of employment seekers out of other categories of industrial status like the own account worker, family member not essentially required for household work, student, infirm and aged people, who constitute the bulk of the population.

Thus the employment targets of the draft Second Plan has several 'ifs' to tackle; if the private sector moves in step, if the external market conditions remain favourable, if the calculations of productivity increment are correct, if the mobility of the rural under-employed be not significant in the plan period, if the timing of fruition and launching of construction projects is properly matched and if the inflationary process can be checked in its burden on the middle-income group and lastly if there is some long-term idea of occupational planning behind, then and then only the employment target of the Second Plan outline may approach its fulfilment.

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THE PROPOSED NEW PATTERN OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN INDIA

By J. LAHIRI, M.A., B.T., Dip. Ed. (Lond),
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The Need for Reform of Secondary Education

In October 1952, Government of India appointed a Commission to enquire into and report on the present set-up of secondary education in India in all its varied aspects and suggest measures for its reorganisation and improvement. The Commission submitted its report in August 1953, which has since been published. The Central Advisory Board of Education at its 21st meeting held at New Delhi in February 1954, generally approved of the recommendations of the Commission.

Both the C.A.B.E. and the Commission are agreed that secondary education is the weakest link in the Indian educational chain. Elementary education is already being remodelled on the two basic patterns, *i.e.*, the orthodox Wardha lines of 8 years integrated education as well as the structural pattern of the C.A.B. under junior and senior basic schools. This reform of elementary education has made reform at the secondary stage all the more imperative and urgent. Besides, it will be agreed that secondary education determines the quality of education at the collegiate levels, which is admittedly poor. Secondary schools again supply teachers of primary schools and students for colleges and other institutions of higher level. The reform and reorganisation of secondary education in India has been recognised for many decades.

The emergence of India as a free democratic republic and the rapid development of commerce and industry and of science in this technological age have also led to a demand for an entirely new type of secondary school to meet the new social and economic needs of the nation, which the existing system is unable to meet because it was originally planned by the British to turn out clerks and administrative personnel of the lower orders. In a free State which has adopted democracy as its goal secondary education must on the one hand train up 'the large body of intermediary leaders whose services are needed for the efficient and effective functioning of the State and on the other help to select the smaller band of leadership at the highest level to guide its policies in public affairs and the professions. Besides, under the impact of the industrial revolution that has been taking place after the war, the economy of the country has changed. The pace of this change is now being accelerated by the programme for rapid industrialization of the country under the Second Five-Year Plan. But in spite of the fact that vast projects have been initiated by the Government for the construction of civil works, roads, canals, irrigation works, the generation and transmission of power and the development of agricultural and industrial productions generally, the process of technological advance is being blocked by the great shortage of technically trained personnel at all levels. All this calls for radical reform in the duration of the secondary course, the nature and content of its syllabus and the objectives of secondary education in relation to the democratic society, its socio-economic needs and the individual of a free country. The present system is unilateral, overweighted on the intellectual side so far as syllabus is concerned, dominated by examination and solely concentrated on preparing for entrance to the Universities instead of being multi-lateral and self-contained although the fact remains that only a small percentage of pupils go in for higher studies in colleges.

Why the Courses should be Diversified

It is, therefore, clear that owing to the change in the character of Indian economy from agricultural to industrial-cum-technological, it has become necessary that not only should education be pupil-centred but also community-structured, *i.e.*, its education system

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should be so planned as to take due account of the means by which the country exists and prospers in this atomic age. The spread of technology all over India under the Second Five-Year Plan will have changed the whole aspect of the country making newer demands on the education system than ever before. So unless education is planned on the needs of the community with an eye to the future, it will be education. There can be few things more disastrous for individuals no less for the nation as a whole than that they should be educated for a way of life that does not exist for the community of the community. If a country's education system remains static in a rapidly changing technological age, tensions are bound to be created especially among those who may have been prepared by their early training for a type of society which is passing away. There is the need for establishing a proper link between education and occupational opportunity available to the nation's youth, never before is co-operation more needed between education and industry than now—never before is there a greater need for establishing a dynamic equilibrium between educational provision and technical needs of the more than the present age. The Directorate of National Sample Survey has just revealed there are at the moment more than 5 lacs educated unemployed which proves that our education system is unrelated to the economic development now going on in the country. Expansion of educational and training facilities has therefore to be based on the future needs of the economy, discouraging simultaneously the growth of educational facilities in sectors which merely keep young persons out of the employment market without adding to their employability. The newly-started industries under the Five-Year Plan are sure to hold new avenues of employment for the nation's youth possessing the necessary technical training from the accredited Technical Institutions of the country. There was a time when it was justly feared by Messrs. Abbott and Wood in their report on Vocational education that the provision for technical education side by side with the development of industries in the country, the market might be flooded with unemployed skilled workers and technicians. Now there is a great shortage of technical personnel as a virtual industrial revolution has started under the impact of the First Five-Year Plan. In these altered circumstances if secondary education still continues to be bookish and academic—if it does not develop practical skill, aptitudes, interests of the nation's children—suitable children with first-class brain will not be available for admission into our Technical Colleges. This then is the most important point of the argument for reorientation and diversification of the secondary course to meet the needs of an expanding industrial economy.

The second argument for diversification of the secondary course is psychological. The age of 12-14 is regarded by the psychologist as a diagnostic period in which particular abilities, interests and aptitudes develop in the adolescent through a number of well-thought-out programme and varied courses out of which he may choose in accordance with his ability, interest and inclination. A worthwhile system of secondary education must, therefore, cater for the needs of the nation's children who are entering and passing through the stage of adolescence giving the pre-adolescent and adolescent years a new school life and a change of atmosphere and outlook which answers to their special needs, interests and aptitudes and brings out their special values. Adolescence is not an abrupt event with these well-marked characteristics but recent research has shown that it is but the culmination of a slow process of growth which has been going on steadily from birth at varying rates in different individuals. Modern psychology says that intellectual development of the pre-adolescent is governed by a single central factor, *viz.*, that of "g," *i.e.*, 'general intelligence' entering into everything which the child attempts to think or say or do, besides the emergence of "s," *i.e.*, special aptitudes and interests which have very important educational implications demanding a change in atmosphere, outlook, curriculum and methodology at 14. This is the psychological justification for diversification of courses at 14 and the introduction of practical subjects for all pupils. The latest phase in all progressive countries is that intellectual and cultural development through any scheme of 'general' education is best imparted through a varied and diversified course containing both the traditional curricu-

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lar or academic subjects and practical work through which alone the integrated development or the education of the growing personality of the adolescent is possible.

A New Conception of 'Liberal' Education

It is just here when you propose the intermingling of what is traditionally called 'general' or 'cultural' education with practical or 'vocational' or 'technical' education that we come into conflict with the old-time conception of 'liberal' education. The fact is that the old-time view of liberal education has now changed. The function of liberal education is to provide the means for the unfolding and development of the balanced personality of the child in its four-fold aspect—physical, social, moral or spiritual, aesthetic and intellectual, *i.e.*, "the whole man," *i.e.*, to live *physically* by the use and enjoyment of body—to live *mentally* or *intellectually* by deep thinking so that it may discharge itself into action—to live socially in terms of relationships in the pattern of school life with the object of giving the child the real social experience in the service of the community, and to create and enjoy beauty—and to live in the *spirit* through moral and spiritual education. Never since the days of the ancient Greeks have these four-fold aspects of the 'whole man' been given so much attention as in the progressive secondary schools of Europe and America today. It is now difficult to see why a man should be said to have a 'liberal' education if he knows something of the classics and humanities and very little about sciences whereas he is reviled as a mere 'technologist' if he knows about science and engineering and very little about classics and humanities. In the Technical Universities of Berlin, Massachusetts, Zurich and Kensington technical students in 4 faculties spend half their time in the humanistic faculty. Merely because one branch of learning was the more important so long this does not prove it to be superior to other branches which lie at the root of all industrial productions in the modern world.

This apparent antithesis or dualism between culture (so long the monopoly of 'liberal' education) and utility (the objective of 'technical' education)—between knowledge and action—between pure and applied thought—is the legacy of the past tradition in education which makes us believe that culture and utility are necessarily hostile, and that a sub-ject is illiberal because it is useful, and cultural because it is useless. The traditional opposition between culture and utility rests on the notion that culture is derived from a higher source than is practical activity and possesses a higher and more spiritual worth. I quote from Prof. John Dewey whose fundamental thesis is that there cannot really be any dualism in true education between the vocational and cultural—between physical and mental—between pure and applied thought.

"The contempt for the physical aspect of things—for the senses and sense absorption—the feeling that knowledge is high and worthy in the degree in which it deals with ideal symbols instead of with the concrete in the scorn of particulars, the disregard for the body, the depreciation of arts and crafts and practical activity as intellectual instrumentalities—sought shelter and found sanction under the estimate of their respective values of experience and reason of the practical and the intellectual."—Dewey: *Quest for Certainty*.

Cultural Values of Technical Subjects

The so-called technical subjects in the diversified course proposed by the Ministry of Education are now universally admitted by educationists all over the world to have cultural values. Prof. Dewey says that a vocational education may be as cultural as any; he says that the ramifications of every subject, even of a trade, are so wide that it can become the source and origin of real culture. pushed far enough. Prof. Kerschensteiner of Munich says: "On the way to the ideal man is the useful man." On the contrary there are some to whom the very name of craft or technical and vocational education in the scheme of 'liberal' education is anathema. If we get down to bed-rock we, however, find that all education is ultimately vocational. "We cannot really think of an education in vacuo—an environment is an essential element in education and an abstract environment is practically a contradiction in terms," says Prof. John Adams. This is the reason why the bookish tradition is now giving place to practical work of great variety and scope. Our applying the dictum of Sanderson of Oundle that "nine people out of ten think with their hands or other than with their brains."

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ies, according to the newer concept of purely eral education mere intellectual training as vided for in the traditional bookish type of condary education does not cultivate the al personality of the child. This is the ational justification for broadening and versifying the curricula and for introducing ctical courses to teach young people greater more individual initiative, more taste to e them so as to prepare themselves for the e they will be called upon to fill in society. change in the curricula of multi-purpose ols is also to be accompanied by a change the methods of instruction which provide ter and richer opportunities for individual rity of the great majority of pupils drawn an entirely new stratum of society from newer type of Junior and Senior Basic ols.

A study of the Statistics of the incidence the educated unemployed made recently by versities shows that 50% to 65% of arts commerce graduates turned out by have been unsuccessfully looking for loyment during the last 2 or 3 years. In returns of the State employment ex- ges show that out of 92,000 registrations about 6,000 placements are on record. the position is that far too many students ve instruction at the University level for resent level of national economy and that s a planned attempt is made to divert frustrated students at the secondary to useful channels of employment by re- ising secondary education, the problem educated unemployed cannot be solved factorily. It is with the object of reducing proportion of high school students going to a University by diverting some to imme- employment that the occupational diver- ation of the curricula for higher secondary has been proposed.

The Proposals

Secondary education in India is pro- d to be reorganised on the following :

(1) The first Degree course in the Col- should be of 3 years and 17 should be minimum age for entry into Universities the completion of the higher secondary se and on the abolition of the present Intermediate course. The first year class of the latter is to be tagged on to the newer type of Higher Secondary schools and the second year class to the Degree colleges.

(2) The end of secondary education at 17 should mark a terminal and self-contained stage in education, preparing students for the complex civilized life of today in a technological age for the majority and also for higher University education for the minority who have the ability to profit by such education.

(3) As it is not possible to upgrade all the High schools at once by adding one year to Higher Secondary schools, we have to envisage the co-existence of two types of secondary schools during the interim period, terminating in a public examination, *viz.*, the present School Final Examination from the former type and Higher Secondary School Leaving Certificate from the latter type. If anyone of the students with S.F. Certificate wish to go in for the University Degree Course, he will be required to spend one year in the pre-University course of study, which should be attached either to a Higher Secondary school or a college, during the transition period of say 5 to 10 years from now. The pre-University classes will thus replace the existing first year classes in the Intermediate course as an interim arrangement. Ultimately when all the High Schools are converted into Higher Secondary schools they will be taken over by the latter, the Intermediate colleges and the Intermediate classes of Degree colleges being entirely abolished.

(4) The main argument advanced by the sponsors of the plan in its favour is that it will be the much-needed 'practical bias' to secondary education through the introduction of diversified courses offering to children with different aptitudes, ability and interests, different courses, thus making education more pleasant and enjoyable as well as more profitable. There must be a 'core' curriculum to be worked out by all the types of secondary schools, *viz.*, Junior High, Senior Basic and High schools on terms of equal partnership engaged in a co-operation task under such headings as language, mathematics, arts, science and physical education. There must be parity of esteem in public opinion for different types of schools staffed by teachers hav-

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ing approximately the same scale of pay for the same work.

(5) Technical schools are to be started either *de novo* or as parts of multipurpose schools mainly in industrial areas and in co-operation with the industry concerned and a suitable pattern of technical and technological education in Universities should be evolved. If we accept the *academic ladder* as primary school, high school, University, then it is only logical that industries in a technological age should recruit mainly from those who have climbed an *alternative ladder, viz.*, primary school, technical school, college of technology or Technical University.

(6) At present the qualifiation for admission into the professional colleges is the Intermediate. Under the new set-up one year of intensive pre-professional study in the relevant pre-professional subject is proposed to be introduced and organised in the institutions themselves. Admission to these courses should be open to (a) those who have completed their Higher Secondary Course and (b) those who have successfully completed their High School course and have besides put in a year's course at the pre-University class.

Provision for "Guidance" Through the Appointment of "Career Master" and "Psychologist"

In order to minimise capital and running costs in building, staffing, equipment, etc., a multi-purpose school must needs be part residential, must cater for a large area and be planned on an "area" basis as in Australia, after a careful survey of the actual needs of the locality in which it is proposed to be established. For these reasons its enrolment must needs be large. Now the greatest drawback of a school with a large enrolment is that the child is apt to be lost in the crowd, unless steps are taken to prevent this from the very start of his secondary career by adopting some system of *guidance*, as in the Comprehensive Schools of United Kingdom and U.S.A. The first two years of work in the big school should be exploratory and diagnostic. By the end of the second year the child should have settled down to a course of study built round his individual needs. He will select a group of activities which will form the core of his school work and the basis of his cultu[illegible] as an individual. To assist him in this choi[illegible] and in general to act as an adult friend a[illegible] guide each child should have a personal tu[illegible] or Career Master or Counsellor who is a[illegible] important member of the staff, besides t[illegible] Psychologist to test the "bias" and the pote[illegible] tial capabalities of the children for the dif[illegible] rent diversified courses; in order that the ul[illegible] mate choice of occupation may not be a hast[illegible] and haphazard decision but a matter in wh[illegible] the final decision is taken against a backgro[illegible] of developing intelligence, abilities a[illegible] interests in consultation with parents. T[illegible] latest phase in secondary education in all pr[illegible] gressive countries is to bring it into closer re[illegible] lation with occupational requirements of th[illegible] nation.

We must introduce the Cumulative Re[illegible] cord Card as the new form of assessment of th[illegible] effectiveness of instruction as well as for gi[illegible] ing us information of real importance regar[illegible] ing the total personality of the child.

Problems of Upgrading

(1) *Problem of Selection*: According t[illegible] the Ministry of Education's scheme, 30[illegible] selected High Schools were to be converted i[illegible] to multi-purpose schools each with at least [illegible] units of diversified courses during the remai[illegible] ing months of the First Five-Year Plan perio[illegible] It is not known what progress has been ma[illegible] in this direction in all the States. So far a[illegible] West Bengal is concerned 65 High Schools [illegible] the public and privite sectors are to b[illegible] selected for the change-over during this fin[illegible] cial year. It is not known whether this sel[illegible] tion has been made or whether in future su[illegible] selection will be made for converting 200 su[illegible] schools next year—after an overall survey o[illegible] the actual needs by acknowledged expe[illegible] keeping in view an agreed basis of criteria fo[illegible] such conversion such as, good academic rec[illegible] building on a suitable site easily approach[illegible] from nearby areas by transport arrangem[illegible] good finances, equipment and need on [illegible] basis, etc., as is required to be done under [illegible] Indian Government scheme. There is a feel[illegible] lurking in the minds of educationists and pr[illegible] tagonists of various professional organisatio[illegible] in the State that this selection has been ma[illegible] arbitrarily and without a survey. In view [illegible]

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...s it is time Government came out with a ...ehensive Note clarifying the whole position and ...ing their scheme. It is perhaps well for us ...sound a timely note of caution at this stage, ... errors of policy or planning or in execu... of detail or in selection of schools for con... in an unplanned manner, committed ... will take decades to remedy. So before the ...ry or administrative provision for the new ...p is translated into terms of organisation, ... before it is worked out in detail in our ...lopment plans for overall conversion, its ...st implications should be meticulously ...ined by all concerned in the work of ...ation.

During the interim period of ten years ... now on there is bound to be down-grad... of some existing High Schools with poor ...demic records and unstable finances to ...r High Schools with consequent drafting ...their teachers to lower forms thus disturb... their seniority and possibly of salary-...ure. So care should be taken by Govern... to ensure that such steps may not cause ... deterioration in the overall standard of ...ation, withdrawal or even restriction of ...ational facilities by the area affected by ... demotion or downgrading or dismissal of ...nent and qualified members of the staff ... cannot be fitted into the newer pattern ...igher Secondary schools.

The question of selection of staff is no ...mportant and urgent. No educational ...ce is possible until the present teaching ...e is substantially reinforced by qualified ... and women entertained on adequate and ...ctive pay. It is indeed a fact that men ... women with first-class qualifications ...ally in science and technology are no ...er being attracted to the profession be... of the present low esteem of the status ...chers in the community and the poor ...structure of teachers with which they ... very difficult to meet the mounting ex... of daily necessaries of life. The plain ...distressing truth is that the occupation of ... teacher is dated far below anything ...oaching its social value. In view of the ...cal part which education must play in ...ocratic society, the teacher has certainly a ...ger claim than most in demanding early adjustment. It is suggested that those younger graduates who can improve their academic and professional qualifications should be encouraged by higher salaries to improve themselves so as to be fitted into the staff of the newer types of secondary schools. The work of progressive upgrading should go hand in hand with the starting of multi-purpose schools during a period of intensive preparation by effecting improvements in accommodation, staffing, equipment, library, craft teaching, etc. Subjects of special importance, such as, General Science, Social Studies and Crafts should be taught with a reorientation of aims and teaching methods and to make this possible, grants for improving laboratory for General Sciences and for providing equipment and appliance for such crafts as have a local importance in the area served by selected High schools for conversion during the ten-year period should be made available from the State as well as from the Centre. As a necessary preliminary step to the recasting of courses of study in these selected High schools and to make education more practical and realistic, certain changes in staffing and equipment for the teaching of crafts in the middle stage, *i.e.*, Class VI to VII should be made at once and two additional teachers for craft teaching should be drafted to these selected High schools. Headmasters who are selected for appointment as Principals, teachers and inspecting officers for the new types of secondary schools should go in for intensive short courses on the curricula, mode of selection for bifurcation, organisation and methodology of the new pattern of multi-purpose schools. The teacher training programmes of all existing Training Colleges or Institutes of education for men and women should be immediately reoriented for this purpose. Reorientation or co-ordination courses must be arranged also for the technical staff, such as, the Graduates and Licentiates of Engineering—Civil, Mechanical and Electrical—so that they may know what actually they are expected to teach keeping in view the objective of giving an occupational bias to the trainees. The training of Career Masters or Mistresses, of Guidance Officers and Psychologists should be immediately undertaken by all Training Colleges and Institutes of Education. All training institutions should ini-

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tiate and undertake curricular research in their demonstration schools.

(2) *Problem of diversification of courses*: If we take the average number of new courses to be provided for in each multi-purpose school, the choice of the courses must be made according to actual needs and circumstances of the catchment area for each such school, *e.g.*, if we add technical courses in Elements of Workshop Technology and Elements of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, we must ensure that there is a demand for such technical personnel in the locality in its local industries. It should be understood that diversification is admissible under seven groups out of which 3 subjects in one group are to be chosen. The seven groups are: (1) humanities group, (2) science group, (3) technical group, (4) agricultural group, (5) commerce group, (6) fine arts group, (7) home science group. If each multi-purpose school is to offer at least 2 of these 7 groups of diversified courses, then in fixing our choice on the two particular groups we must ensure that there is a local demand for the products to be turned out by each such school in the community for absorption in the local industries after further training as a paid or unpaid apprentice.

(3) *Problems of organisation*: The fundamental problem of a multi-purpose school is how to organise the school and plan the buildings, apart from complications of curriculm and time-tables, so that a *unity of spirit* among the boys or girls and the staff can be established and maintained. There will be boys or girls of high, average and low intelligence, every one of whom is to be made to feel that he or she is of equal importance. Each has to be given the opportunity of developing his or her particular talents, personal as well as artistic, academic and practical. As the staff of a multi-purpose school should be large, it is important that a unity of spirit should pervade the staff also. How the staff can be welded to form a unity will depend upon the personal influence of the Principal. There is no doubt that it can be done if each member of the staff is given the opportunity of contributing not only in the class-room but elsewhere also to the full life of the school through the House System (N. C. C., Scouting, Bratachari) and such other means. The different types of activity for the diversified courses will be housed in separate blocks, e.g. science, art, workshops, etc. The planning of each boy's work will be the duty primarily of the House Master while the co-ordination planning will be the function of the Principal.

Another basic problem in organisation is the type or pattern of multi-purpose school to be developed. Is it to be *tripartite*, i.e., Grammar, Secondary modern and secondary technical High schools separately organized as in England or is it to be *multilateral* with clearly defined alternative sides pursuing entirely separate works in the same school or *comprehensive*, i.e., providing for diversified courses in separate blocks of buildings with attached workshops but with partly integrated courses organised in the same school? For social security a comprehensive school can be so organised that pupils not only mix and blend on social occasions inside the Assembly Hall but also do some work together irrespective of varying degrees and kinds of ability. To my mind this kind of comprehensive school as in Scotland, England and America has certain definite advantages. It is capable of providing a richer community life than the multilateral school, offering separate courses of work to children of varying abilities and aptitudes. The richest community is founded on clashing views because any social group which contains elements of variety difference recognised and accepted as such members forms a richer community than a flat, uniform group of 'likes'. It is only under such conditions that the school can become colourful and rich. In a comprehensive school aptitudes and interests can be detected as they mature at different ages in different individuals through psychological tests. A comprehensive school will need a Principal with wide interests, great gifts of delegation and organisation and above all a clear conception of the essentials of a full community life with a burning determination that his school will solve them. In a predominantly industrial or agricultural area we may organise entirely separate Technical High schools with attached workshops or agricultural farms as the case may be. Such schools should be reached by an *alternative* technical ladder like the academic ladder or broad highway through Primary or Junior Basic, Senior Basic and Junior Technical schools followed by the College of Technology.

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technological courses at the highest level in a technical University. This is most important as the two top layers of the intelligence of the nation's youth must be equally distributed to academic as well as to the technical side of national system of education in this technological age. The time was when technical education was regarded as an inferior limb of the non-educational—as the sort of place to which we sent a boy only when it had become evident that he was incapable of assimilating any of the more fashionable and traditional forms of education. That position has now completely changed.

(4) *Problem of siting accommodation,* The next problem is that of suitably siting the school according to the needs of the society—of accommodation, building, equipment, technical blocks, Assembly Hall, workshops, laboratories, etc., within the campus of the school. Room must be found for providing additional class-rooms, craft-rooms, workshops, special rooms for General science, social studies, besides Councillor's or Guidance Teacher's room, Psychologist's room, House Master and House Tutor's rooms, agricultural fields, playgrounds, Assembly Hall, etc. There is a great dearth of trained and experienced psychologists and the lacuna is not likely to be filled in the course of many years to come unless the existing Training Colleges or Institutes of Education come forward to train some of their persons for this type of work in their postgraduate M.A. course. Unless this is done, it will be impossible for the schools to test the aptitude and potential capacities of the students for the diversified courses. The Psychological Institute should construct and standardise aptitude-*cum*-intelligence tests for this purpose. The paucity of accommodation, equipment and accessories, trained personnel which cannot be made up within a short period will continue to be a standing barrier in the way of effective instruction in the different courses of study proposed under the scheme.

(5) *Problems of Syllabus, Text-books and Time-tables:* The detailed syllabi for the lower school and for the diversified courses of the upper school as well as for the pre-University and pre-professional courses are not yet ready. It is suggested that a panel of experts should work out detailed syllabi in craft and technical subjects. This done, necessary text-books will have to be written up and got approved in the manner suggested in the Secondary Education Commission Report. The construction of the time-table for the lower and upper school will also present a unique difficulty.

In all these matters it is feared that the steam-roller of uniformity as proposed in the common pattern of secondary education for the whole of India is calculated to stunt the free and normal growth of mind of the students in different parts of the country, as each State system has so far developed according to different traditions, psychological background and objective conditions in the socio-economic structure. Before we embark on this experiment, we must first of all see that it is rooted as far as practicable on our past traditions in education. Our experience in the past has shown that no foreign plant grafted root and branch on uncongenial soil has any chance to thrive, unless it takes kindly to the native soil. The structural pattern should as far as practicable be designed after our inherited institutions. It will also be unwise to restrict our experimented schools in their development to predetermined lines somewhat on Western models of tripartite or multilateral or comprehensive schools as in England, Scotland and America. We must evolve our own lines of growth according to the genius, racial psychology and background and the socio-economic needs of the nation, in a technological age. I will give you an example. The success or failure of multilateral or comprehensive schools in America or Scotland or England is not a conclusive evidence one way or other of the success or failure of these types of schools in West Bengal as each of these countries has a different educational tradition. The English comprehensive school can only develop naturally from the English educational system. If it is to be an import to be grafted on to our native educational tradition, it has little chance of success, but if it is developed out of our own system, based on fundamental educational tradition, it will succeed because it is a natural or true growth.

(6) *Problem of discovery of special interests, abilities and aptitudes of pupils at 11 and of division of pupils to diversified courses at 14:* The age of 12-14 years is the period of

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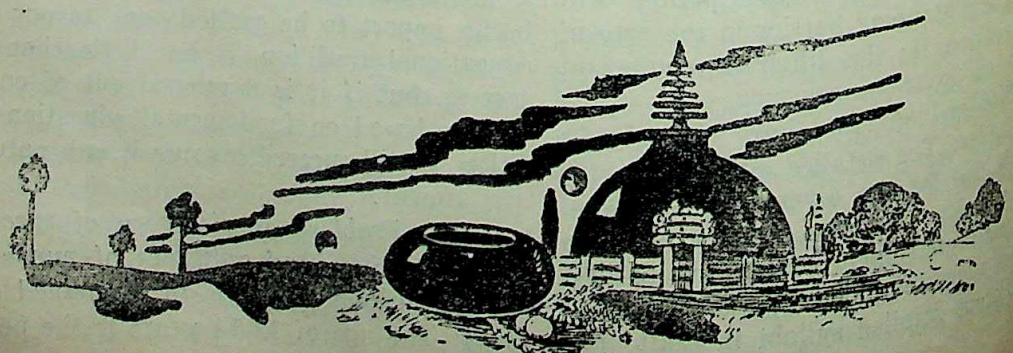
diagnoses and of discovery of the particular abilities, aptitudes and interests of adolescence which is not an abrupt event but rather the culmination of a slow process of growth which has been proceeding steadily at varying rates from early childhood. When the interests and abilities are clearly marked by 11+, *i.e.*, directly after completion of primary (Junior Basic) course, we must meet them by a change of atmosphere, outlook and appropriate curriculum. We must allow both for early discovery of special abilities no less than for delayed discovery of 'late Bloomers' say at 14+. Such a discovery will depend on skilled observation over a period of time which may vary considerably with different pupils and the diagnostic methods (*i.e.*, intelligence-*cum*-scholastic-*cum*-vocational tests and scales, cumulative records, etc.) employed. The process of differentiation for the appropriate type of secondary education should begin in the later years of the primary stage through effective school records giving a history of the child's development and containing an objective record of progress (intelligence and other tests). On the basis of these combined verdicts a recommendation should be made that a pupil should continue his education with the type of school or course appropriate to him, due consideration having been given to the wish of the parents and pupil. By the end of two years every pupil should have been sympathetically and skilfully reviewed and at roughly the age of 14 promotion of suitable pupils should be made into higher forms. Thus by the use of the cumulative records of the primary (basic) schools and by a period of observation and trial in the lower school differentiation would be possible. But the chief difficulty at the moment is that these measuring instruments (intelligence and vocational or performance tests standardised for use with Indian chidren) are not yet ready for the purpose of selection of pupils either at 11+ or at 14+.

Stage of Experiment

At this stage when we lack experience of the new educational system, when secondary education in a new setting is to be tried out for the first time, we should be very careful about our selection of schools to be converted into schools of the newer type. Once selected, schools should be free to experiment. It will be unwise to restrict schools in their development to pre-determined lines somewhat on Western models of multilateral or comprehensive schools. We should take into confidence the accredited leaders of our professional organisations such as the W.B.T.A., W.B.U.T.A., A.B.T.A. and W. B. Headmasters' Association. In England every bit of educational advance—every line of reform—is determined in the last resort by the N.U.T. Teachers are wanted who are ready and able to explore boldly to discover and try out new means to the new ends society is setting before itself, for education is in transition; the concepts of its purpose and its function in society are broadening and deepening and consequently its content, its organisation and its methods are in a state of flux. The change-over from the old to the new order of secondary education is a fascinating task fraught with consequences of the highest importance to the future of the nation. To carry it out will require the best and bravest of the nation's manhood and womanhood.*

* Summary of my lectures at a series of symposia at the Hare Training College and the Institute of Education for Women, Hastings House, Calcutta in January and February, 1956.—J. L.



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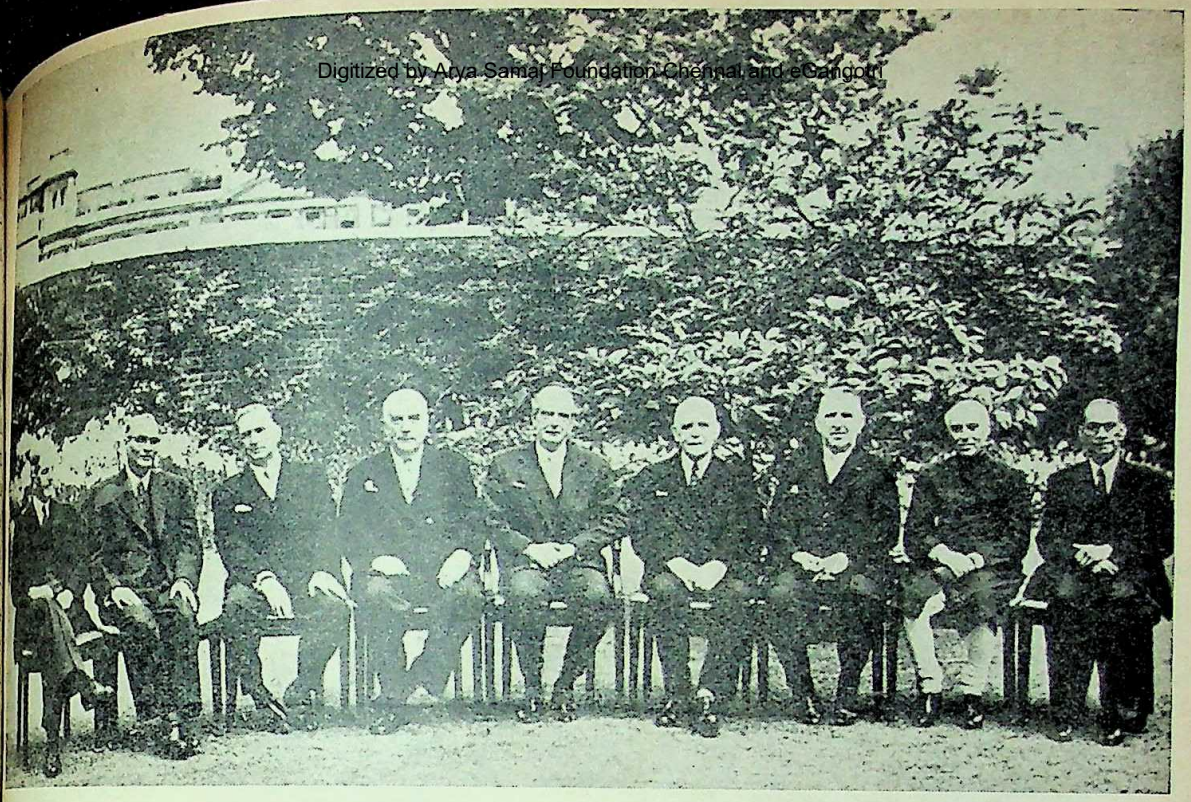
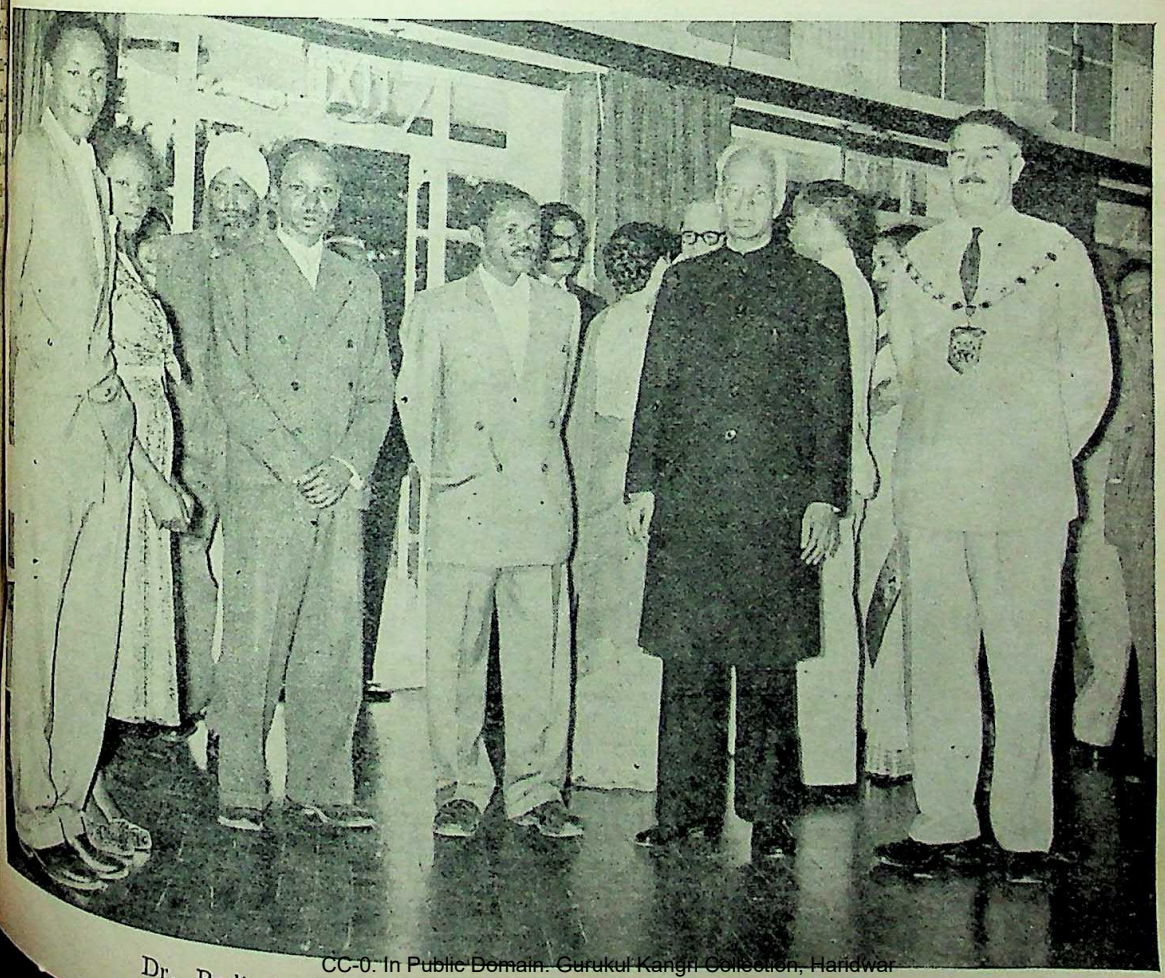


The Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth countries met at No. 10, Downing Street, London, recently. (*Right to Left*) Mr. Bandarnaike (Ceylon), Sri Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Mr. S. G. Holland (New Zealand), Mr. St. Laurent (Canada), Sir Anthony Eden (Britain), Mr. R. G. Menzies (Australia), Mr. J. G. Strigdom (South Africa), Mr. Mohammed Ali (Pakistan) and Lord Malvern (Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland)



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Dr. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, visits Dar-es-Salaam

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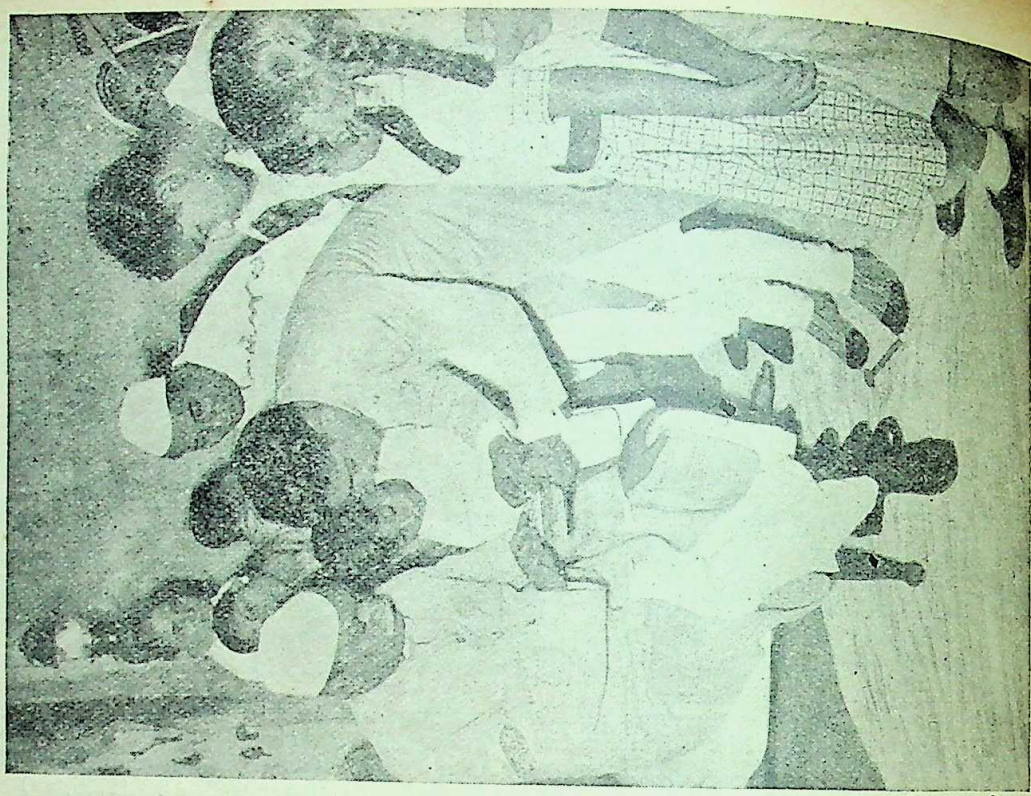
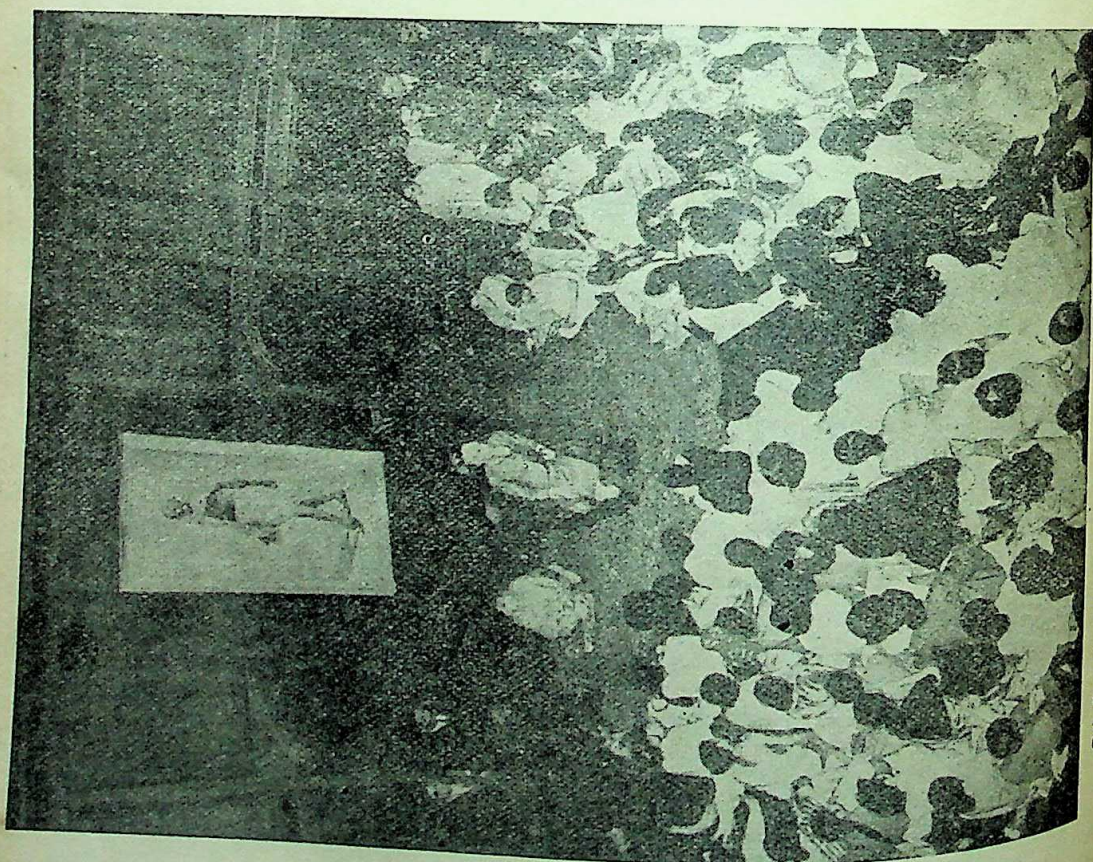


President Dr. Rajendra Prasad visited the Bidri Works Centre, Bidar, recently. He is seen on a corporative loom at Bidar recently



Sri Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the Indian students at India House, London, recently. He is seen in the Vidyarthi

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CYPRUS

By H. N. GULATI, M.A.

...ery the British were losing hopes of retaining the ...e canal zone Cyprus offered itself as an alternative. ...e Island's strategic value in relation to the ...dle East defence cannot be overlooked. It has ... capacity to house an extensive air base. In the ...t of a global war it is expected to serve as a ...al bridgehead of attack. Its geographical ...tion gives her significant advantages relative to ...ance from potential air targets. Moscow is only ... air miles, Baku, the Soviet oil centre, is 1,000 ..., Rostov the principal industrial centre on the ... river is 900 miles, Sverdlovsk a newly developed ...re of Soviet heavy industry is 2,000 miles, and ...il-fields of Rumania are only 800 miles from ... Furthermore, the closeness of Cyprus to the ... canal places it in a position of vantage to ...se influence over Egypt for the use of the canal ... event of war.

Cyprus is situated 240 miles from Egypt, 60 miles ... Syria and 40 miles from Turkey. Out of a total ...ation of 500,000, Greeks constitute 400,000 and Turkish Muslims 90,000.

The Island had been under Ottoman rule for ... years when in 1878 it was taken over by Britain ...ase by a treaty with Turkey signed at ...ntinople. In return for the occupation of the ...y, Britain pledged to protect Turkish empire ... East against Russian aggression. The formal ...ignty, however, lay with the Sultan, till 1914, ... the British completely annexed and absorbed ... The annexation was recognized by Turkey and ...e in the Treaty of Lausanne signed in 1923. ...1925 the island was designated as a Crown colony. For the administration of the Island a Constitution ... framed in 1882. It provided for an Executive ...cil to advise the High Commissioner and a ...ative Council, which was to consist of six ...al members and 12 elected members, three of ... were to be elected by the Turkish citizens ...ine by the non-Turkish. The Council was ...ed in 1925 by adding 3 official and 3 non-...al members. The latter were to be elected by ... non-Turkish population.

The 'enosis' movement which stands for the ...n of Cyprus with Greece is an outgrowth of ... movement for liberation from the Turkish rule. ...n the Greeks achieved independence in the 19th ...ury, the movement developed into a concept of ...tachment with Greece. The movement has been ...ed by the Greek orthodox church of Cyprus. In consideration of its legal status it is important to remember that ever since its known history Cyprus has never been administered by Greece nor yet a part of her territory. The 'enosis' clamour for affiliation with the "mother land" has no basis other than the common language, religion and culture.

Though enosis movement got under way much earlier, it gained momentum in 1931, when it assumed a terroristic form, but was soon suppressed by the British. The constitution was suspended and the island came under the rule of the governor.

The Greek public opinion and the Greek Government are vigorously espousing the cause of the enosis campaign. The Greek radio broadcasts have frequently criticized the British attitude towards the movement. On February 15, 1951, M. Venezelos the Greek Prime Minister thus spoke in the Greek Parliament:

> "I am happy to have this opportunity to express from this official tribune to the chamber and the whole of the Greek people the demand for the Union of Cyprus with Mother Greece, a matter which constitutes the ardent desire both of the Cypriot and the Greek people."

On several subsequent occasions the Greek Government has brought home to the British the necessity of the applicability of the Wilsonian principle of the "right of self-determination" to the Cypriots. The British answer has always been a flat refusal to recognize the principle in the context of her special responsibilities in the Middle East and the Mediterranean. The Island's strategic importance whets Britain's appetite for a hold over Cyprus. A United Kingdom representation at the United Nations stated on September 23, 1954, that

> ". . . . in its efforts to maintain international peace, the United Kingdom had assumed numerous defence obligations, particularly in the Middle East and under the North Atlantic Treaty to which Greece and Turkey were also signatories. Cyprus was an integral part of that defence system and the United Kingdom had to have complete administrative authority there in order to ensure stability in the Middle East."

The British Government have no doubt been making offers of transfer of power to Cyprus from time to time. But in scope they never went beyond the sphere of internal affairs. Being shorn of real power, which could have meaning only in the grant of external sovereignty, the Greek Cypriot parties—both right and left—considered the offers hollow, and made them the subject of ruthless criticism.

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Being dissatisfied with the lip sympathy of the Britishers the aspiration of the Cypriots grew in intensity and in August 1954 again kindled the smouldering splinters of the enosis movement. The population grew restive, a vigorous anti-British campaign got under way. The British did not allow the grass to grow under their feet. The situation was brought under control by the enforcement of sedition laws.

The Greek Government petitioned the United Nations General Assembly at its ninth Session to consider an item entitled, "Application under the the auspices of the United Nations of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples in the case of the population of the Island of Cyprus." On December 17, 1954, the General Assembly decided not "to consider further the item," since, "for the time being, it does not appear appropriate to adopt a resolution on the question of Cyprus." The Assembly decision was adopted by fifty votes to none with eight abstentions.

The Turkish population in Cyprus do not view with favour the 'enosis' movement; rather they look down upon it as a severe below to their interests. As such the Turkish National Party in Cyprus expressed their views on enosis, telegraphically to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in the following words :

> "100,000 Cyprus Turks strongly protest against the Greek Government's petition regarding the Union of Cyprus with Greece, and vehemently reject enosis, self-government or a plebiscite."

The decision of the General Assembly infuriated the Cypriots' majority in the Greeks. The hot tempers culminated in uprisings in both Cyprus and Greece, anti-British feeling became intense. The Greek delegation at the United Nations on May 10, 1955, appraised the Secretary-General of the "alarming" situation in Cyprus and expressed a resentment in a letter presented to him against the Government of Cyprus stating that the Government had followed "a policy of brutal repression in order to stifle any expression of the will of the people."

Britain who has been tied to Greece by the North Atlantic Treaty, took steps to placate Greek public opinion in inviting Greece and Turkey to a Convention on "political and defence questions which affect the Eastern Mediterranean including Cyprus." A three-power convention began in London on August 29, 1955.

The Greek delegation again emphasized the exercise of "the right of self-determination" by the Cypriots and gave the understanding that their government would accept the verdict of the people of Cyprus. The British delegation expressed the view in unequivocal words not to surrender soverignty over Cyprus. No compromise on this stand was possible. The principle of self-determination was set aside against the weight of strategic considerations.

Turkey stood for the *status quo*. Alternately it took the stand that Cyprus should unite with Turkey, since the island was but a continuation of the Turkish mainland. Britain came to have control over it in 1878 "under a sort of tenancy," and at a price assumed the obligation to defend the whole area against an anticipated Russian aggression. Furthermore, Cyprus was 500 miles from Athens and only 40 miles from Turkey. Defence considerations argued for a union with Turkey. A hostile foreign power in control of Cyprus would be in a position of easy access to Turkey's southern ports. The island might become "a pistol pointed at Turkey's heart." As such it should revert to Turkey if Britain surrendered sovereigty over it.

On September 6, 1955, U.K. foreign Secretary submitted proposals to the conference envisaging a gradual transfer for power to Cyprus in all spheres of Government excepting foreign affairs, defence and public security. The proposal contained safeguards for the rights of the Turkish minority. Furthermore, United Kingdom put forth a proposal to set up a Committee represented by the three powers to thrash out the detailed aspects of the new constitution. The Turkish and Greek delegates did not give an immediate decision but postponed it till a consultation of their governments was secured.

The tripartite conference instead of ironing out differences deadlocked the situation. Greece was deeply hurt, Turkey remained in suspense, Cypriots were extremely unhappy. A conference convened to consider the Cyprus question but without a representative of Cypriots was felt badly by them.

The situation since then has progressively deteriorated. In the island terror and sabotage were supreme. Greek radio began to incite the people by propagating anti-British, anti-Turkish and pro-Enosis propaganda. Greece furthermore refused to participate in the N.A.T.O. activities in the Mediterranean area during September, "because of the presence of Turkish forces." Greece-Turkish tension is an ulcer in the N.A.T.O., and is viewed with grave concern by the United States. On September 18, 1955, John Foster Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State, addressed identical notes to the Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey expressing her concern at "the dangerous deterioration of Turkish-Greek relations caused by the Cyprus question. Regardless of the causes of the disagreement, which are complex and numerous, I believe that the unity of the North Atlantic Community which is the basis of our Common Security, must be restored without delay . . ."

On October 3, Sir John Harding took over as the Governor of Cyprus, and announced the same day that he would be meeting Archbishop Makarios (the

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leader of the 'Enosis' campaign) the following day, to find a solution to the tangled situation.

The Archbishop on his part was already anxious to meet Harding. Three meetings were held on October 4, 7 and 11. The Governor also had talks with the leaders of the Turkish Cypriots on October 5. All efforts proved abortive. At the end of the meetings it was announced that they had "stated their separate views without being able to reach agreement."

Harding-Makarios meetings were again arranged on January 9 and 13, 1956, at the residence of the Anglican Archdeacon of Cyprus in Nicosia. As before nothing came out of the renewed attempts.

The British Government's attitude to Cyprus was finally disclosed by Mr. Harold Macmillan (the foreign secretary) on December 5, 1955, when the Cyprus problem was discussed in the House of Commons. In substance Macmillan's statement revealed basically the same stand as each party took at the tripartite conference. Greek Cypriots were adamant on the right of self-determination.' Turks would accept no solution short of *status quo* or reversion of Cyprus to Turkey. Britain's attitude was thus expressed:

"If we were to make a gesture of abdication, we would be failing in our obligations to all other people who depend on us as one of the main pillars in the defence of freedom and democracy both in NATO and the Middle East. We would be in this sense abandoning our task instead of doing it as we intend to do."

Another attempt was made, to resolve the deadlock when Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the British Colonial Secretary, visited Cyprus and held discussions from January 26 to 29 on the constitutional future of the island with Harding, the Governor, Makarios, and the Turkish-Cypriot leaders. As usual the talks proved unfruitful.

Terrorist activities which were already under way increased in momentum in Cyprus. On March 9, 1956, Archbishop Makarios together with three other leaders of the Enosis campaign were arrested and deported to the Seychelles in the Indian Ocean by order of Sir John Harding. The charge was preferred against the Archbishop that in addition to his overt seditious activities there was also "a large volume of evidence showing that the Archbishop has been deeply implicated in the campaign of terrorism launched by the organization known as Eoka."

Greek population retaliated to deportation with riots and anti-British demonstrations. The Greek Cabinet on March 10, decided to recall their Ambassador, M. Vassilion Mostras, in London immediately. By an order of the Home Minister, the British institutes in Athens were closed down. The Greek orthodox Church decided to appeal to the heads of all churches to secure the release of Makarios, whose deportation was described as an "unholy act." It was also decided to send a similar appeal to the World Council of Churches.

M. Palmas, the Greek delegation at the United Nations, delivered a note of protest to the Secretary-General against the deportation.

The United States ambassador in Athens expressed sympathy with the Greek Government. President Eisenhower on March 14, at a Press Conference said that U.S.A. was ready to do "anything reasonable and practical," to help in a solution of the Cyprus problem. Both Greece and Britain were to Americans "very best friends," and their co-operation in NATO was essential to the success of that organization. The solution of this "tough and complicated" problem would have to be reached by the parties concerned but the U.S.A. wanted to maintain with both sides the very friendly historic relations it had always had with them.

In Cyprus itself the population grew restive. Uprisings on an unprecedented scale got under way. The upheavals were brought under control by counter-operations by the British Security forces.*

Greece-Turkish rift does not remain localized. Its impact on the defence arrangements in the Balkans and the Mediterranean is of no small import. The two years old Balkan pact, a military agreement for the defence of the area between Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia, already weakened by the renewed friendly relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviets, has become more or less a dead letter because of the tension between Greece and Turkey.

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* London, July 12.—Sir Anthony Eden, British Prime Minister, told the House of Commons today that the Government intended to proceed with the development of internal self-government in Cyprus.

He announced that the eminent lawyer Lord Radcliffe will start work forthwith as Constitutional Commissioner to draw up a constitution for the Mediterranean island colony where there is a violent campaign for union with Greece.

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SMALL-SCALE AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN THE FUTURE ECONOMY OF INDIA

By Prof. R. B. LAL SHARMA, M.A.

Employment is guaranteed to every able-bodied citizen of India by our Constitution. Avadi Session of the A.-I.C.C. also promised full employment to the people of the country within a period of ten years. The Second Five-Year Plan also envisages the targets of employment for the next five years at 11 to 12 million jobs outside agriculture. What is the present position?

The country has already been facing unemployment to a great extent. This is equally true of urban as well as rural employment. The condition becomes worse when we take into consideration the figure of 1.8 million labour force which will be added every year in this country according to the Census Report of 1951. We have to think over this problem seriously. If we want to liquidate this weighty problem of unemployment sincerely, we have to evolve a technique of production which is labour-absorbing and not of capital-absorbing.

Before every country there are two production techniques: first, large-scale production technique requiring larger amount of capital resources and less amount of labour power—called capital intensive or organized industries and, second, small-scale or cottage industries technique of production requiring more of labour power and less of capital resources. We have to decide, which of the two we are going to adopt, taking a special note of the problem of unemployment cited above.

In the Case of Producer's Goods

In every country, some basic industries must be on large-scale production method. Nobody would think of producing machine tools, railway locomotives or aeroplanes, in this machine age, on small-scale production method. This is essential for the production of power or capital goods as the economic development of the country has been hindered because of the paucity of producer's goods. This is the reason why the development of such industries has been accorded a high order of priority in the Second Five-Year Plan.

In the Case of Consumer's Goods

The production of consumer's goods of daily needs consisting of clothes, paper, oil and many others can efficiently be carried either on the large-scale production method or on the small-scale production method. For the production of such goods, we shall see, which of the two is preferable.

Paucity of Capital Resources

Capital resources are scarce in our country while there is abundance of labour power. Naturally we shall prefer a technique of production which requires less of capital resources and abundant labour power. Cottage and small-scale industries fulfils this aim. Adoption of the technique of cottages, some say, is out of date as the fruits of science cannot be utilized by adopting such a method. We shall not go with them. The example of Japan is before us. Likewise we shall not forget to make use of the latest scientific and technological developments in the art of production but these have to be adopted according to the actual needs of the country. Organised industries in our country provide employment to nearly 3 million people out of 35 crores of people living in India. We can visualize the potentiality in this direction.

Machinery Displaces Labour

The use of machinery displaces manpower. With growing industrialization, it would be difficult to find sources of employment for such displaced persons. Moreover, the adoption of the process of rationalization and new inventions displace human labour very rapidly otherwise it becomes less efficient in production. This 'technological unemployment' is more dangerous and should be guarded against. For example, says Mr. Stuart Chase :

> "The introduction of the continuous hot strip mill in the steel industry in the 27 mills of Pittsburg since 1926 has thrown out 100,000 workers."[1]

Again, Mr. Philip Murray, the Chairman of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, says :

> "The continuous automatic steel strip exhibits 126 men to do the work previously performed by 4512."[2]

Moreover, experience so far proves that employment opportunities do not expand at the same rate as industrialization.

1. Mr. Stuart Chase : "The Twilight of Communism in U.S.A." in the *Readers' Digest*, Sept., 1941, quoted by Prof. Wadia and Merchant, p. 503.

2. Shri Khandu Bhai Desai : *Economic Review*, p. 11.

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Cost of Machinery

Secondly, if we think of absorbing either the displaced labour or the already existing surplus labour in further industrialization the cost factor makes its treatment very difficult.

"The amount of investment required to give employment to a person in a modern type of industry like iron and steel may well be over Rs. 10,000, for example, in Mysore Iron and Steel Works Ltd. approximately with a capital investment of Rs. 48 crores, only 4,782 workers get employment."[3]

With the amount of capital in hand and with the view of its formation, we can think of the practicability of the mass production technique. Therefore, in finding a solution of the problem of such a huge magnitude it would be wrong to ignore the possibilities of traditional economic organization.

Equilibrium in the Two Forms of Economies

According to the Census Report of 1951, 82.5 per cent people live in villages. We are going to build a Socialistic Pattern of Society, we must try to favour the larger number against a smaller one. We fulfil this aim by levelling up more incomes than by the reverse. With the drive towards economic efficiency we must attain a position of equilibrium rural as well as urban economies. The village being the backbone of India's economy must be given the consideration The rural people must be aware of their share in the progress and prosperity of the country if we want to build up a happy and healthy life and this prosperity must flow to rural areas simultaneously with the urban areas. It means we must achieve work not only for urban people but for every able-bodied person in the country-side.

No authoritative data is available to know the actual figure of unemployed persons in rural areas but every person is well aware that an Indian farmer is unemployed at least four months in a year. The cottage and the small-scale industries will remove partial unemployment from the rural areas and also enhance the earning capacity of the village people.

The concentration of industries in a few cities is undesirable in the larger interests of the society. The type of economy we have aimed at is a decentralised one. Therefore, we must distribute all our industries on the basis of social equity. The decentralisation of industries is also important from the strategic point of view.

"As the nations of the world still continue to be in the same state of nature as they have done in the past it is desirable to distribute the industries all over the country to escape concentrated aerial attacks which might otherwise cripple the fighting capacity of the country by destroying its basic industries."[4]

The Social Costs

The case of a decentralised economy through small-scale and cottage industries becomes more weighty when we take into account the cost of covering social risks emerging out of the concentration and development of large-scale industries in a few cities. Their costs for a poor nation becomes too high to bear. Concentration of industries gives rise, in its turn, to many social problems—in the nature of accidents, industrial congestion leading to housing and sanitary inadequacies in the cities. These have to be provided for and such social risks as accidents and unemployment have to be covered by social security schemes. All this is not needed if the economy is based on the technique of small-scale production.

The Drift from the Villages

The modern tendency among the rural educated is to migrate to the towns at the first earliest opportunity. In the interest of the nation we have to check it. How we shall do so? By developing additional economic activities in the country-side and making it prosperous and full of amenities of modern living, the drift from the villages can be checked. Not only the rural educated migrate to the towns, the village craftsman who is a cultivator "by tradition and temperament," also does so out of sheer necessity. Sometimes this causes inefficiency of individual labour.

"Culture and refinement come to the artisan through his work amidst his kith and kin,"[5] says Dr. R. K. Mukerjee.

If we want to preserve this heritage we should provide productive channels to the rural areas and should enhance the purchasing power of the rural people. The development of cottage industries can serve this end.

The Price Factor

The argument of 'Price factor' is often stated with great force. It is said that with small-scale production technique the cost of an article becomes huge, consequently its price. Let us examine this argument more closely. The cost of production of an article is always low if the article is produced on the basis of large-scale method because of the advantages of the economies emerging out of such technique. We can also reap these advantages in case of small-scale production with the help of co-operatives. Thus we can reduce the cost.

We can also increase the productivity of the village craftsman by equipping him with such small

1. Ibid, p. 11.

4. Prof. Wadia and Merchant, p. 504.
5. *Foundations of Indian Economics*, p. 326.

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machines, such as, 'Ambar Charkha.' This improved type of spinning wheel provides better technique of spinning yarn. 'Ambar Charkha,' according to the calculations of the Khadi Board, reduces the gap between the prices of mill cloth and Ambar-cloth to only about four annas per yard whereas the present gap is of the order of rupee one and annas four.[6]

The second consideration is of quality. The consumer would not mind to pay a little more if he is assured of the quality of the product. The yarn spun by the help of Ambar Charkha is finer and stronger than that spun by the ordinary spinning wheel. The Sarva-Seva-Sangha has carried out several tests in regard to it. "The handloom weaver requires yarn of different counts and judging by the experiments that have been carried out so far, we find that with certain adjustments in the operation of Charka, we can produce yarn of different counts, on different varieties of cotton grown in different parts of the country."[7]

Likewise many other instruments of prod... used in the small-scale method can be improved. T... is possible when we are determined to do it.

There is a little more consideration. Besides... facts mentioned above, price remains a bit high and... consumer suffers a loss to such an extent. As alre... stated, the development of large-scale industries... places labour and thus causes unemployment; one... choose between these two alternatives—unemp... ment on the one hand and paying a bit high price... the other. Certainly, the consumer will prefer... second one.

We can also avoid competition by disallowing... expansion in the capacity of the large-scale indus... and by reserving the production of consumers' g... exclusively to the small-scale and cottage industr...

What more? If we are determined to wipe off... menace of unemployment from our midst, we sh... have to develop small-scale and cottage indus... with concerted and systematic efforts. People can... wait longer; they want the fruits of their fre... soon. One is reminded of Bapu's words, "Salv... of India lies in cottages."

6. Shri S. N. Agarwala: "Economics of Ambar Charkha" in the *Economic Review* of Dec. 15, 1955.

7. Shri V. L. Mehta: "Ambar Charkha—A Revolution in Hand-spinning." *Economic Review*, Dec. 15, 1955.

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THE BASIS OF JUDICIAL REVIEW IN INDIA AND U.S.A.

A Study from the Federal Point of View

By SAILESH CHANDRA GHOSH, M.A.

The distribution of powers is the foundation upon which the pluralistic super-structure is built up. The two pillars which keep the structure erect are generally said to be the amendment and judiciary.

The vesting of the power of altering, modifying, supplementing the constitution both in the Centre and units saves the original distribution from being revised for the benefit of the one to the detriment of the other, but does not provide for the settlement of the controversies and disputes as to the distribution of powers. The constitutional laws cannot provide for all unpredictable circumstances but simply lay down the general principles. Besides, powers are often overlapping by nature. Hence is the necessity of a body independent of the control of the Centre and regions for the settlement of disputes.

I

Legal Supremacy of the Constitution

It has been urged that the power of the judiciary in interpreting the constitution is the outcome of the written character of the constitution. But the essential thing is that the constitution is the fundamental law and legal supremacy of the constitution is essential to the existence of the state. This supremacy of the constitution is clearly laid in the American Constitution in Clause 2 of Article VI:

> "This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land and the Judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

This clause not merely establishes the supremacy of a federal law, duly made, over a state law in the event of a conflict between them, but also establishes the supremacy of the constitution itself over a federal law in case of an inconsistency between the two. Every judge is therefore bound to treat as void every legislative act enacted by the Congress or state legislatures which is inconsistent with the constitution.

His duty, as Dicey puts it, "is as clear as that of an English judge called upon to determine the validity of a byelaw made by Great Eastern or other Railway company. The American judge must in giving judgment obey the terms of the constitution, just as his English brother must in giving judgment obey every act of Parliament in the case."

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JUDICIAL REVIEW IN U.S.A.

Judicial review in America, therefore, arises not of the written character of the constitution but of its supreme character: its so-called written is only a question of form and follows as a consequence from that supremacy as a matter of supremacy. The so-called written character is of a ary consequence of something which is of ary importance in it, namely its supremacy as Confusion must not be made between what is essential and what is essential. The essence of situation is that

"While it is the duty of every institution established under the authority of a constitution keep within the limits of these powers, it is the duty of the Courts, from the nature of their function, to say what these limits are."

This principle has been laid down in *Marbury Madison* by the Chief Justice Marshall. Although Marshall, CJ laid emphasis on the supremacy of constitution, he was wrong in thinking that the judicial review followed as a consequence from the written character of the constitution mainly two reasons. Firstly, the constitution does not in the written text but lives as much in tions and usages. Secondly, there are countries as France both under the constitution of the Republic and the Fourth Republic which have called written constitution in which the doctrine judicial review does not operate or does so only ly.

The judicial review arising out of the supreme of the constitution gains muster from the of separation of powers in the United States. rigid application of the theory debars the Legislature "to set aside judgements of compel them to grant new trials, order the of offenders or direct what steps shall be in the progress of a judicial enquiry." Coupled "the due process clause" has made the supreme in American political life. The Amendment to the constitution of the U.S.A. that

"No person shall be . . . . deprived of his liberty or property, without due process of

The Fourteenth Amendment imposes similar on the state authorities. These two are called the "due process clause." Under clauses the American Judiciary claims to a law as void, if it is not in accord with process' even though the legislation may be the competence of the legislature concerned. The constitution, however, does not contain a of the 'due process clause.' Nor has been Court consistent in its interpretation of these clauses. Broadly, the Court defines it so liberally as to enable it to invalidate laws which may be supposed to offend against "the spirit of the constitution."

"Due process has both a procedural and a substantive meaning. Procedural due process means that in dealing with individuals, the government must proceed with settled usages and modes of procedure, *e.g.*, no conviction without a hearing. Substantive due process, on the other hand, means that not only the proper procedure should be followed but the law itself must be reasonable."[2]

Consequently, it means, as Wills and Cooley point out, reasonable law according to the view of the majority of judges holding office at a particular time.

However, it must not be thought that the judiciary in the United States knows no limit and its power is absolute. The Supreme Court itself has laid down certain 'self-limiting rules of interpretation.' (1) It proceeds on the presumption that the impugned legislation is constitutional unless it is satisfactorily rebutted by those who challenge it. (2) If there is any doubt on any point, the benefit of doubt rule shall apply. That means the impugned legislation stands. (3) Where it is possible to avoid the question of constitutionality of an issue without prejudice to the cause of justice it shall be avoided. (4) If an invalid part or section can be separated from other parts or sections which are not open to challenge then the latter remains whereas the invalid part or section only goes. (5) No decision is given on political questions which are left to the judgment or discretion of what are called the political branches of the state, that is, the legislature and the executive. (These rules of interpretation are more or less observed in English and Indian Courts).

Besides, the very function of the judiciary sets limits to its power. The Court can only interpret the fundamental laws contained in the constitutional document. It cannot itself legislate.

"They have a discretion, but it is a discretion within the law and not above the law. Courts may modify, they cannot replace. They can revise earlier interpretations as new arguments, new points of view are presented; they can shift the dividing line in marginal cases; but there are barriers they cannot pass, definite assigment of powers which they cannot reallocate. They cannot assign to one authority powers explicitly granted to another . . . . And although it may be wise for a court to give the legislature the benefit of doubt, where there is a doubt, it is no part of a court's duty to do for a legislature or for a majority of the electors what a constitution has not done for them."[3]

II

OUR JUDICIARY

But unlike the constitution of the United States, there is nothing in our constitution which expressly

Wheare : *Federal Government* (2nd Edition).

2. D. Basu : *A Commentary on the Constitution of India* (2nd Edition), pp. 152-155.

3. Wheare : *Federal Government* (2nd Edition). p. 237.

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declares itself to be the supreme law of the land. Nor is there such a declaration in the constitutions of Canada and Australia. But this does not make much difference. For the essence of the situation is more or less the same: both the Union government and the state governments derive their powers from the constitution, and constitution has imposed definite limitations upon each of the organs and any transgression of those limitations would make the act void.

No Separation theory and due Process Clause

Nor is there any rigid application of the theory of separation of powers in our constitution. Apart from the provision vesting the executive power in the President, there is no corresponding provision vesting legislative and judicial powers in the judiciary. It also breaks away from the doctrine "in so far as it engrafts the Englisth Cabinet system upon an elected President." The differentiation of functions of different organs is not the outcome of the doctrine of separation of powers but the express constitutional provisions which prevent the exercise of such powers by any organ other than the one specified. Apart from the two limitations in respect of criminal law such as prescribing judicial punishment with retrospective effect, it is open to our legislature, like the British Parliament, to override the effect of a judicial decision by legislation.

Nor is there any due process clause in our constitution enabling the judiciary, like its American counterpart, "to examine the validity of laws not only from the point of view of the Legislature's competence but also from the broader angle of the inherent goodness of law." The Article 21 of our constitution declares:

> "No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law."

In *Gopalan* vs. *The State of Madras*,[4] there was an attempt to construe this Article as affording the same protection as the 'due process clause' does in the United States with this difference that in our case the protection is confined to the procedural law and does not cover the substantive law. But the Chief Justice Kania has rightly nipped this in the bud. Normally, the expression producedure established by law must mean procedure prescribed by the state. Here the word 'law' does not mean principles of natural justice. It means *lex, i.e.*, enacted law and not *jus, i.e.*, law in the abstract sense of principles of natural justice. For, there was nothing to prevent the Constituent Assembly to adopt the American constitutional expression. Besides, the rules of natural justice, even as regards procedure, are no where defined and the constitution cannot be read as laying down a vague standard. The expression 'procedure established by law' made the standard specific, and it cannot be specific except by reading the expression as meaning procedure established by the Legislature. Moreover, although the word law in Part III has different shades of meaning but in no article does it appear to bear the indefinite meaning of natural justice. Besides, this expression in our constitution has been borrowed from the Japanese Constitution and in that constitution, the word law does not mean *jus*.

In absence of the full importation of the doctrine of separation of powers and the due process clause, the position of our judiciary is somewhere in between the courts in England and the United States.

> "Our Constitution, unlike the English constitution, recognises the Court's supremacy over the Legislative authority, but such supremacy is a very limited one, for it is confined to the field where the legislative power is circumscribed by limitations put upon it by the constitution itself. Within this restricted field, the court may, on a scrutiny of the law made by the legislature, declare it void if it is found to have transgressed the constitutional limitations. But our constitution, unlike the American constitution, does not recognise absolute supremacy of the Court over the legislative authority in all respects. For outside the restricted field of constitutional limitations, our Parliament and the State Legislatures are supreme in their respective legislative fields and in that wider field there is no scope for the Courts in India to play the role of the Supreme Court of the United States."[5]

In what has been stated above it is evident that the courts in our country will have no power of judicial review as the Courts in the United States have. But this does not detract in any way from the federal principles. The federal principle demands only that the power of settlement of disputes as to the limits in terms of the constitutional powers of Union Government and those of any State should be confided to an independent body. Nor is it true that this body must be judiciary and judiciary alone. In Switzerland the Federal Tribunal, the Supreme Court—cannot declare any federal law to be invalid for infringement of some provisions of the constitution. It may annul Cantonal Law in case it conflicts with the federal or Cantonal constitution. The Swiss constitution expressly assigns to the federal legislature the right of interpreting both the Federal Constitution itself and laws passed thereunder.

But it should be emphasised that in the absence of provisions to the contrary, it is perfectly logical and necessary for courts to consider and pass an opinion on these questions.*

4. C. Justice Kania: *Supreme Court Reporter* (1950), pp. 418-20.

5. Justice Das in *A. K. Gopalan* vs. *The State of Madras*, *Supreme Court Reporter* (1950), p. 520.

* This is a portion of my paper entitled "Federalism in the Constitution."

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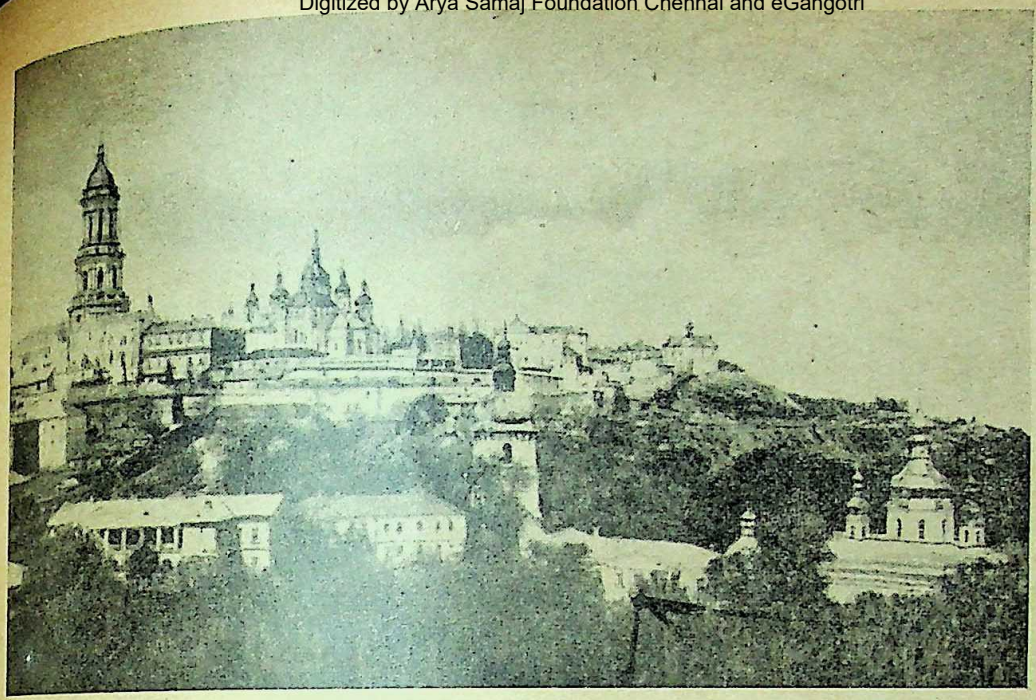

The city of Kiev, Ukraine

BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

By NARENDRA DEV

II

theatres, ballets, operas, folk songs and folk circuses, cinemas, concerts, etc., proved that field of cultural development Soviet Russia to way behind the more advanced countries of Every evening we were treated with one or these cultural entertainments by our hosts.

had been to several of their cultural parks, over an extensive area of their large and cities, where theatres, cinemas, lecture-halls, pavilions and band-stands as well as more swimming pools are provided. Boat races, culture exhibitions, and other atheletic sports regularly held there. Every week agricultural, and floricultural demonstrations impart- education are arranged for the school and students.

pioneer camps of Soviet Russia are worth ing. Hundreds of boys and girls between of six and sixteen gather in different pioneer every year during the summer recess, where trained in every branch of vocational educa- There the children run their own railways, post banks, stores, amusements, sports, study cir- other departments, knowledge of which sub- essential to the civilised human society. We the future generation of the Soviet people making.

Any country may be proud of the huge libraries, museums, art galleries, and other useful cultural concerns of the big Soviet cities.

The rest-houses for the workers are practically health-resorts, where they get an opportunity of regaining fresh energy and strength. The rest-houses are run by the Trade Unions; and workers can stay there a month for a change and rest with their family free of cost.

The Soviet Union has preserved carefully all the invaluable ancient treasures, gold, silver, jewelleries, ornaments, draperies, dresses, cutleries and crockeries, as symbols of the past glory of the royalties from Peter the Great down to the last Czar. The Summer Palace, the Winter Palace, the Kremlin and other royal Houses as well as the cathedrals, chapels and other ecclesiastical temples of worship with all their episcopal and pastoral possessions have been allowed to remain intact. The abandoned churches are being utilised for serving the educational needs of the nation.

The newly-built thirty-two-storied Moscow University with its splendid halls and gorgeous chandeliers weighing two and a half tons each can be well described as a modern Kremlin Palace. It has an accommodation for the boarding and lodging of ten thousand students, various departmental classes for twenty

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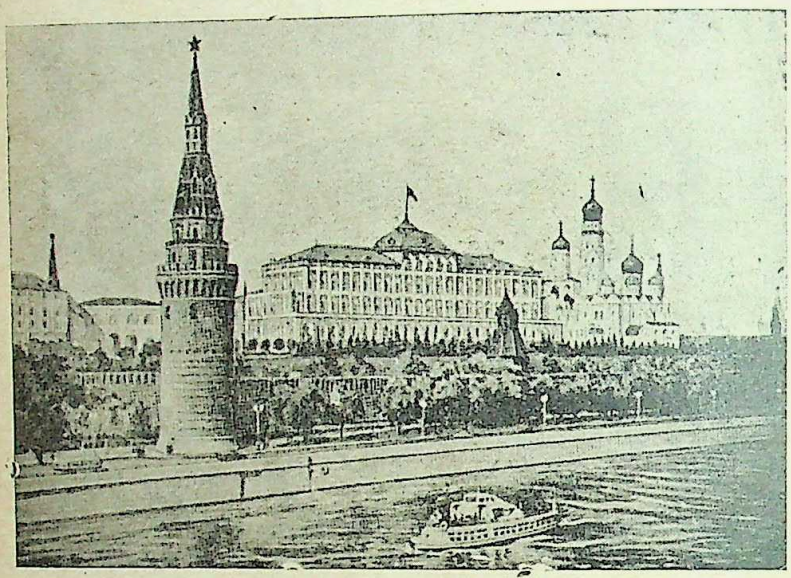
thousand day-scholars, laboratories, libraries, residences for the large staff of professors, teachers and readers, etc. It almost resembles an American sky-scraper with a touch of oriental colour. The all-round knowledge of the University students of Leningrad and Moscow have proved the wonderful success of the



The Kremlin, Moscow

Soviet system of imparting education to the young students from the Nursery to the University. Though the pattern appears to be of a set standard, we found that most of the students there could speak, read and write one or other of the foreign languages. Our guides and interpreters who were composed mostly of University students, were well-versed in Hindi, Urdu, English and Bengali.

Hospitals, Clinics and Nursing Homes which we had the opportunity of visiting, have almost reached perfection. Successful diagnosis and free treatment of acute diseases and wonderful surgical operations won our admiration. Patients are well-cared for in every medical establishment, and they are safe in the hands of experienced specialists, most of whom belong to the other sex.

We visited some factories. The turbine, ball-bearing and motor car manufacturing and heavy steel industries appeared to us as gigantic and of very high order. Every factory has got its own coach for higher training of the workers. They provide them with cheap quarters and canteens and with nurseries, cultural homes, libraries, reading-rooms and rest-houses as well as their own factory magazines, and kindergartens for their children.

We met some distinguished members of the Soviet Writers' Union both at Leningrad and Moscow. The Unions formed by the writers themselves are powerful bodies, who exercise a strict control over the writers of the Soviet Russia. The State does not interfere. It is the Union that directs authors as to what they should write and what they should not. This, of course, we failed to appreciate.

When we brought this charge against them that the Soviet writers appear to have got no individual freedom, they explained that it was a necessary evil. They said that Soviet Russia is still in the making and as the process of transforming it into a full-fledged Socialist State with the help of Marx and Engels theory of Communistic ideology is yet in its infancy, we are afraid we cannot or should not allow

Moscow University

to thwart our national plan by writing anything irresponsible, which might go against it and frustrate the noble cause. We should not during this experimental period dare to allow any one to write anything which might counteract our efforts and endanger our aims and objects or tend to distract in any way the

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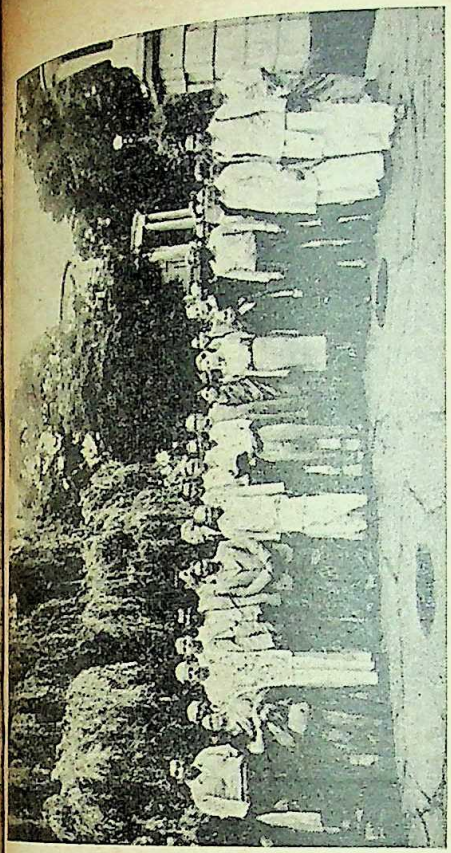
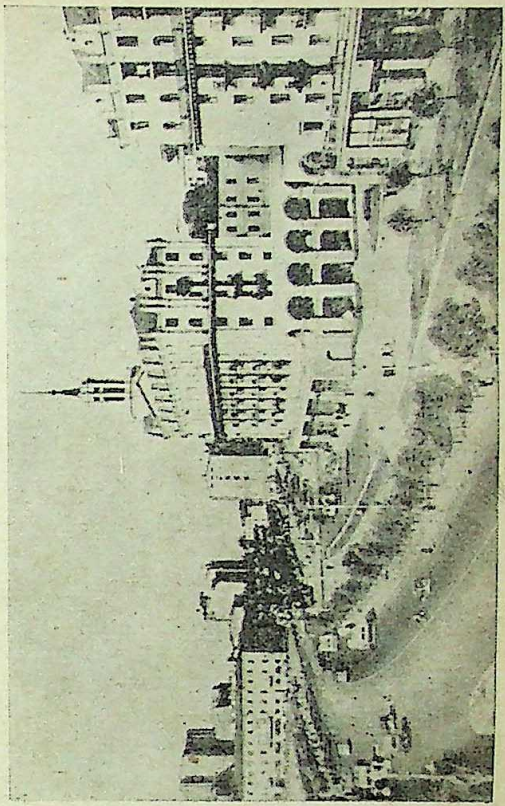
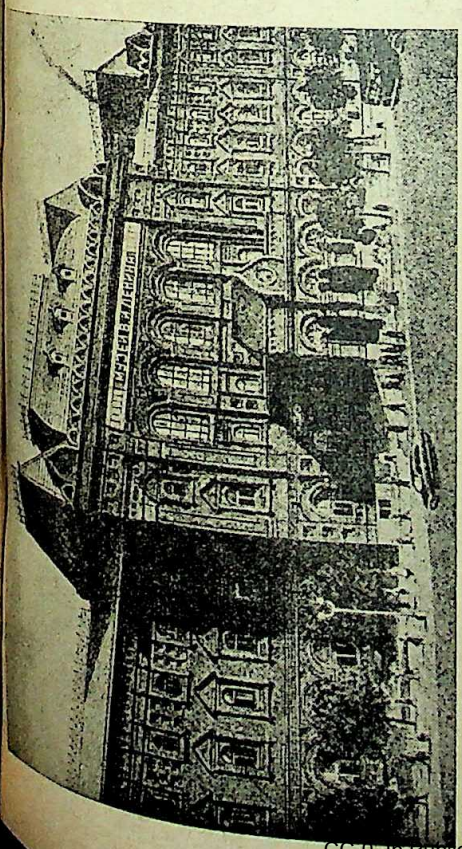


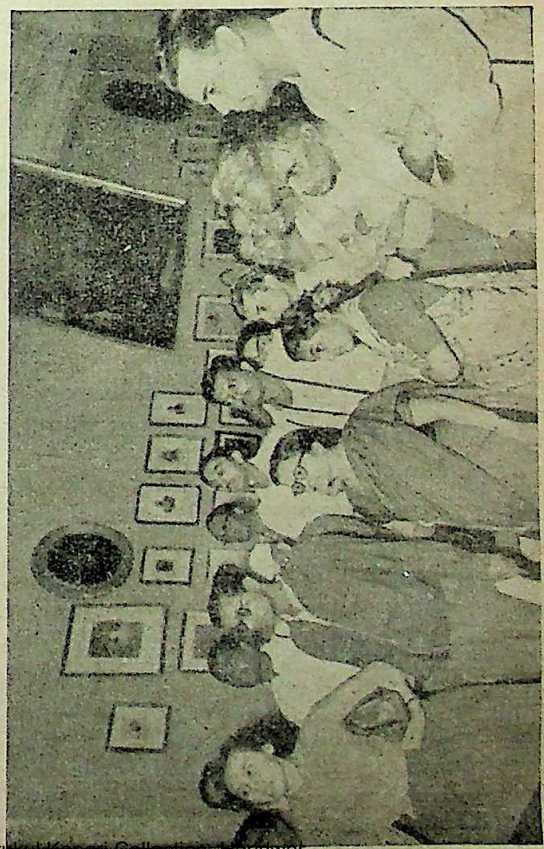
In the Weeping Park, Kiev



A street in Kiev



The Lenin Museum and Library, Moscow



In the Sevchenko Memorial Hall, Kiev

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of the reading public. Prompted by our patriotism and love for our country, we insist upon all our writers that, whatever they will write, they must wield their pen for the good of the people only and help their State in the hard task of the nation-building efforts. It is to our own people's vital interest that we have adopted certain rules and regulations for the guidance of our writers."

A few copies of the Rules and Regulations framed by the Soviet Writers' Union were distributed to us, still we could not reconcile ourselves to this gagging policy. Considering the fact that, after well-over 36 years of Soviet rule which has now survived a generation, such strict control over writers of the land seemed in our opinion as unnecessary and quite out of date.

The Bolshoi Theatre, Moscow

In spite of Soviet Russia's amazing advance in many essential and utilitarian matters of extreme importance, we must admit frankly that they have not yet been able to remove the poverty of the toiling classes altogether. Slums still exist here and there in the very heart of the metropolis. In the villages, we found many poorly-built cottages with mud-walls and thatched roofs, as well as tottering old huts made of wood and rafters, long uncared-for and unrepaired. We saw many ill-clad workers and cultivators working in their field bare-footed and using such implements that can be described as primitive and obsolete. But, we must admire the young men and girls of Soviet Russia, who are a very well-behaved lot. We never came across any indecency in their conduct, even when they were occupying a solitary bench under cover of a lonely grove at a shady corner of the public park or in a quiet roadside garden, in contrast with what one often notices in London or Paris parks.

The women of Soviet Russia who are very prominent in that country gave us the greatest surprise. They have either discarded or have never adopted the fashion of artificial make-up with a variety of toilet and cosmetics, lip-sticks or nail-polish, snow, powder, cream or rouge. They do not feel shy, rather they are proud to appear in their own natural beauty, and as such they look far more attractive and beautiful than their painted sisters of Western Europe.

Any visitor in Soviet Russia will notice in no time that men are in a minority being greatly outnumbered by the female-folks everywhere. In a factory which work with only 4,000 hands, we found 3,000 of them belong to the softer sex. In all the workshops, hospitals, schools, news-paper offices, agricultural firms, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Banks and departmental stores, wherever you go, you will find women in much greater number than men. The predominance of the weaker-sex in every line, heavy or light, led us to believe that there must be dearth of male-folks in the U.S.S.R. Some of our fellow travellers or rather visitors who were formidable anti-Communists remarked that all the able-bodied men were forced to join the Army training camp on the other side of the Urals or in the far-east of Siberia, if any day the Communist-phobiac Americans with their dollar-beggar friends dare to jump over Soviet Russia and attack them simultaneously from all the ill-gotten military bases, the two hundred million strong power of the Soviet Union might be easily released for war, without their daily routine of home-work being hampered in any way.

However, one thing in Russia has distressed us much. It is surely a matter of regret for the Indian tourist when visiting any of the cities of the Soviet Union, that he cannot buy anything there which he likes to have. Not because selling of goods to people other than Soviet citizens is prohibited by the State, but because of the prohibitive price of all luxury goods which stands in the way.

A pair of plain shoes will cost you over two hundred rupees. You cannot get even an ordinary suit at less than sixteen hundred rupees. For a packet of 20 cigarettes you shall have to spend five rupees. Our good hosts provided us with everything we needed there, say, for instance, the replacing of a pair of broken specs with a new one, a set of new teeth in place of your decayed biters, a new vest for your torn one, a cabin trunk for your smashed tin-box, regular supply of cigarettes, with free food and wine, all-day sight-seeing and entertainments every night, accommodation of high-class hotels. This saved us from being financially ruined. You will get there only eleven rupees

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twenty kopeks in exchange of a £1-note. Then I will have to pay about 68 roubles for a piece of silken handkerchief which I bought from Moscow as a souvenir for my daughter. You will realise that, in the way of a tourist. Visiting the U.S.S.R. I did not have been able to purchase that piece of silk, had I not earned a few hundred roubles for which I was invited to broadcast from the Moscow Radio. Would you believe that those printed cloth-things are not worth even five Rupees in India. We did not mind paying this high price because, only did we want to take something from the U.S.S.R. as momento of our tour in Eastern Europe, we had to spend it at the source as roubles are not only within the Soviet Union. These paper-notes are worthless outside Russia. We offered to donate the whole sum amounting to 650 roubles to the All-India Peace Committee, but the young and the secretary with his smiling face thankfully had to accept it as the rouble-notes would be scraps of paper in India and elsewhere.

In conclusion, I must acknowledge that the Soviet people are the best people in Europe. They have treated us in every way. We found them extremely hospitable, very gentle and noble in nature. They have developed a liberal and cosmopolitan view of the world, a society full of diversities, that exists in every part of the world. No black or brown people of the world are looked down upon by them as niggers or treated as members of an inferior race. All men and women are equally respectable and honourable in their estimation. They never think like the Fascists that the white people are God's privileged race who claim racial superiority over the coloured people. Everywhere we received very cordial and friendly welcome from all of them. We have returned home with happy memories of the Asiatic Republics of the

A girls' school, Samarkand

U.S.S.R. We found the Soviet people truly peace-loving by nature. We saw them engaged whole-heartedly in their nation-building activities, repairing carefully all the terrible devastation caused by the last world war, and paving new avenues for the advancement of their country and their people. They stand solidly and sincerely against war and aggression, and are engaged in ushering in a new era of peace and plenty in the world. *(Concluded)*

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EXPERIMENT IN INTERNATIOAL RELATIONS

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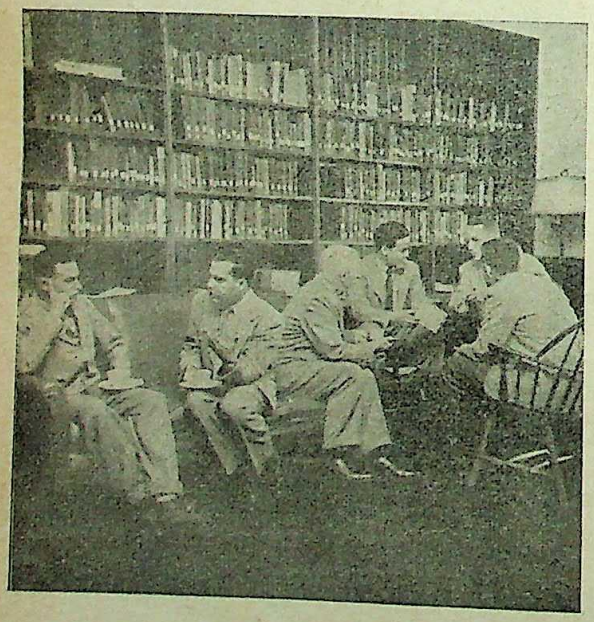
An experiment in international relations, at the grassroots level, at one of America's largest universities has proven so successful that it has become a major annual undertaking.

As part of the program during International Student Night at the University of Michigan, visiting students from Jerusalem, Japan, America, Lebanon, and the Philippines, participate in a panel on education



During International Student Night at the University of Michigan, two visiting students from India and Korea have a serious discussion with American students in the school's library

The project was launched several years ago when faculty members at the University of Michigan realized their University had the largest enrolle of international students of any educational insti in the United States.

Realizing that home and family life play crucial role in the lives of people, Michigan State fac members and students, with assistance of the Internati Student Counsellor, enlisted the operation of the local towns-peo in planning a year-round program. One of the scheduled was an informal which proved so successful has now become an annual affair these gatherings students from over the world have formed ships which have continued correspondence long after the dents return to their homes. also at this event that local "adopt" students and "adopt" families. Under this rangement a student has a where he feels free to go take his friends. He very is invited for a week-end shares in the family's life.

Doris Reed, International Student Counsellor at the University of Michigan, serves cofee to students from India during International Student Night

A highlight of the program is Internati Student Night which has also become an annual

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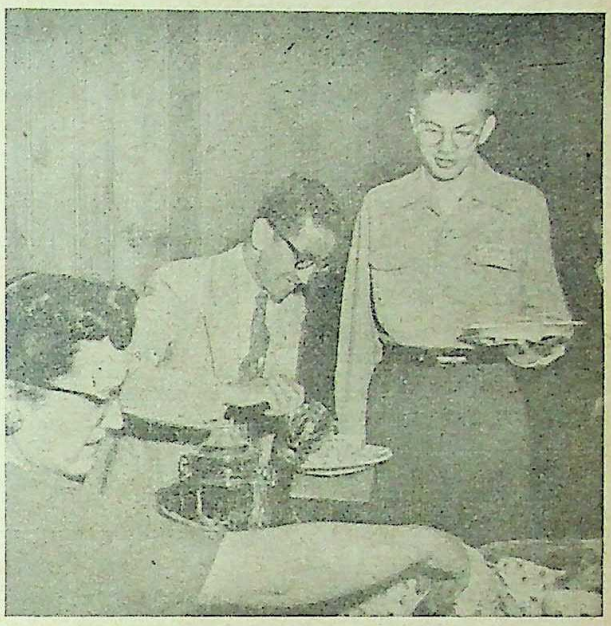
at the beginning of the school term, it gives visiting students an opportunity to meet in an informal friendly atmosphere.

During International Student Night at the University of Michigan, a student from India prepares to take a picture of his new friends



A student from Bangalore, India, assists his hostess at International Student Night

During International Student Night, visiting students examine a wire globe which shows the location of their own countries

Students from India discuss their plans for the future during International Student Night

Another regular event which is growing in popularity is a series of pilgrimages to several metropolitan centers in the immediate area. One of this year's trips was to Detroit, America's automobile capital, where fifteen students spent a week-end as the guests of several Detroit families. While there, they visited some of Detroit's large manufacturing plants, art museums, religious organizations and were entertained at several informal parties.

The overall program, designed to make visiting students feel among friends while living and studying in a strange country, also includes a series of faculty receptions, informal dinners, student parties, week-end outings and other events which serve to fill the spare time of these students and provide many opportunities to make new and lasting friendships.

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Two students from India discuss the evening's activities with the program-assistant for International Student Night

An engineering student from India talks with a student from the Philippines during a get-together in Detroit, Michigan

All of this has been called an experiment in furthering understanding among peoples of different ethnic origins, religions and customs—and, judging from appearances, a very successful experiment—*USIS*.

——:O:——

THE MASTER OF THE QUEEN'S MUSIC

By FRANK HOWES,

Music Critic of The Times, London

THERE are still a good many offices at the court of the Kings and Queens of England which bear sonorous and venerable titles like the Keeper of the Privy Purse and the Lady of the Bedchamber, and sometimes a new one hardly less picturesque is added to the roll—such is the Master of the Queen's Flight. Among the older offices is that of the Master of the Queen's Music which goes back to 1626.

Long before Nicholas Lanier was designated Master of the Music to King Charles I there had been officials charged with the supervision of the royal musical establishment, which consisted of wind instrument players and minstrels in addition to the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal who constituted the monarch's choir for religious services. Such was a 'marshal of the minstrels' at the coronation of Richard III in 1483. But there is no continuous history of such an office until Lanier's appointment of 1626.

The choirs of the Chapels Royal still exist and sing on Sundays but the Master of the Queen's Music is no longer responsible, as Lanier was, for the provision of ceremonial music at court, which is now provided by the service bands of the armed forces. He is an officer without prescribed functions and his office is now what he makes of it. The duties are nominal and the post honorific. If the holder is a composer he may act as the musical equivalent of the Poet Laureate and write to order for special occasions. If he is an executant, as many of the holders of the office have been, he will conduct the King's Band or organize a royal command concert.

FORMAL OBLIGATIONS

Sir Walter Parratt (1893-1924), the organist of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, was the last Master of the Music to conduct the royal band, which was dissolved by King Edward VII. Sir Walford Davies, who held the office from 1934 to 1941 in the reigns of King George V and King George VI, devised a new kind of concert in place of the old state concert which had been held in Queen Victoria's time

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of these two sovereigns was musical—the of Hanover, which had in the person of George employed Handel both in Germany and England had been musically reconditioned a century by the Prince Consort, seems somehow to have this part of its German inheritance. But Davies's for Empire Day consisting of English music in the Albert Hall by representative choristers all parts of the country won the King's approval. was in 1935—there was another of the same sort celebrate the Coronation of George VI—and was a discharge of an injunction which Davies had from one of his child listeners to his radio who wrote to him, "I hope you will put good into the King's head."

Putting tunes into the King's head may mean accompanying the sovereign to the opera or to a on the rare occasions when he attends such and it always means supervising the for the Coronation, though in practice the is shared with the organists of Westminster The Master of the King's (Queen's) Music on appointments and honours. He is the musical adviser and there his formal ends now end in return for his small stipend. the past during the five centuries of the of the post the duties appertaining to it varied. There have been eighteen holders of including its present occupant, Sir Arthur

A Famous Name

that list the most famous name is that of Elgar who held the post from 1924, when died, to his own death ten years later. Elgar been something of Musician Laureate long before was officially his. An early cantata bore the *The Banner of St. George* and his patriotic and feeling for pomp and circumstance had expressed in the military marches with that name. composed occasional music both in peace and that captured the public imagination. His composition as Master of the King's Music was *Nursery Suite* which he wrote soon after Princess was born for her and her sister, the present

successor, Sir Arnold Bax, devoted his whole composition, though he had in addition very literary gifts. He wrote seven symphonies good deal of piano music and chamber music late romantic idiom. For the Coronation of Elizabeth II he fulfilled his official duties by a march that was played in Westminster but otherwise there was not much official during his tenure which embraced the years

Sir Arthur Bliss

Arthur Bliss, who adds to his talents as composer those of a fine orchestral conductor and of an administrator capable of directing the policy and the activities of the B.B.C., as he did for two years during the war, is anxious to use his new position for the advancement of the art, and has already shown that he does not regard it as a sinecure. He produced a choral piece *A Song of Welcome* for the homecoming of Queen Elizabeth from her world tour in 1954. His best music has been written for the ballets *Checkmate, Miracle in the Gorbals,* and *Adam Zero,* but he has one symphony to his credit composed in 1922, and one opera *The Olympians* to a text by J.B. Priestley. His *Music for Strings* and concertos respectively for piano and violin are of spacious design.

Arthur Bliss, musician and composer

Sir Arthur is a man of wide culture and vigorous personality, interested in all the arts, forward-looking though no longer iconoclastic in musical outlook, independent in opinion but quite capable of working with others. He was educated at Rugby School and Pembroke College, Cambridge. His career at the Royal College of Music, where he was for a very short time a pupil of Stanford and Vaughan Williams, was cut short by the war of 1914, in which he served

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with distinction in the Grenadier Guards. There is still something of the soldier in his bearing, though in appearance he is a lively intellectual more like a philosopher.

Of his early predecessors in office Maurice Greene (1735-55) and William Boyce (1755-79) were both composers of church music of distinction, John Stanley (1759-86), a blind organist, wrote instrumental music which has recently been rediscovered and admired, and William Shield (1817-29) wrote attractive songs in the light operas of the period, many of which have survived in popular anthologies. The position has never corresponded in importance or scope to the *Kapellmeister* of German courts, but has usually been an additional appointment for a prominent musician of his time who can adorn it and be adorned by it.

——:O:——

DIGHA

By TUSHAR RANJAN PATRANABIS

Forests of casuarina, stretches of the 'keya' plant, immense sand dunes, a beach wide till the vision ends and a safe surf conjure up a breath-taking view in the world. And this is what the visitor finds at Digha. Digha is West Bengal's only sea-side resort and is reached from either of the two South Eastern Railway stations—Khargpur and Contai Road. The distance to Digha from the former is a little over 75 miles and from the latter about 57 miles. Although train connections for Khargpur are better, the road-way leading from that place is decidedly less comfortable than what one gets from Contai Road some 22 miles farther from Khargpur—on the east coast section of the South Easern Railway.

The Journey

Leaving Calcutta by the Howrah-Puri Passenger train shortly after 10 in the night the visitor reaches Contai Road—94 miles away—at about 4 on the next morning. He finds several motor-buses waiting at the station and soon his journey begins in the remaining stillness of the night. Piercing the darkness by the head-lights the vehicle speeds on in its unhindered journey, for traffic is sparse. As the morning sun appears on the horizon, the visitor is enchanted by the view. He discovers that his journey is flanked on either side by miles of golden sheaves of corn lying motionless in the breezeless morn.

At about half-past-six the visitor reaches the sub-divisional town, Contai. The sand-hills he meets on his way to the bus-station reminds the visitor that at one time Contai was itself on the sea. After a two hours' rest (and a warm breakfast) the visitor changes for the Digha bus. Digha is only 22 miles from Contai but the journey takes over two hours because at Pichaboni on the way a canal has yet to be bridged and the motor-bus is ferried across.

Digha—A Discovery

The visitor discovers Digha hidden behind a forest of casuarinas and braving a sparkling sea. He soon realises why for the gently shelving sea, the just-right breakers, the wonderfully firm sand and the excellent air Digha is an obvious choice for one who wants an escape, albeit temporary, from the din and worry of a city life.

There are miles of broad golden sand and a palm-fringed shore at Digha. The beach is backed by pleasing rows of brown sand-dunes with clusters of green 'Keya' bushes sprouting out of the sand. The casuarina plantations started by the West Bengal Government have not only stopped the sands from advancing further inland, but have also imparted a pleasant look to the landscape.

Sea is Warm

The sea is warm and pleasant and vigorous; yet safe for bathing. The sand on the beach is firm and level; it has been recorded that in the 18th century visitors from Calcutta used to drive their carriage along the beach. Today driving a car, nay, even landing a plane, is possible on the firm sands of the 2½-mile long and over 200 feet wide sea beach at Digha.

Phosphorescent Breakers

The sea at Digha has a special attraction at night. On the moonless nights in particular, the breakers, outlined with phosphorus, look like frills or the curtain of the sky, for the sea and the sky appear as one, and at twilight the phosphorus-lit breakers look like lines of dimly-lit huts suspended in nothingness. On moonlit nights, again, the breakers with their crown of phosphorescence seem as if bouquets of blue-white petals are strewn with a dramatic suddenness to disappear as quickly as they bloom.

Accommodation

At present there is a Dak Bungalow at Digha and this place, in fact, commands the best view of the sea. For accommodation at this Bungalow prior permission from the Government Engineer at Midnapore (the dis-

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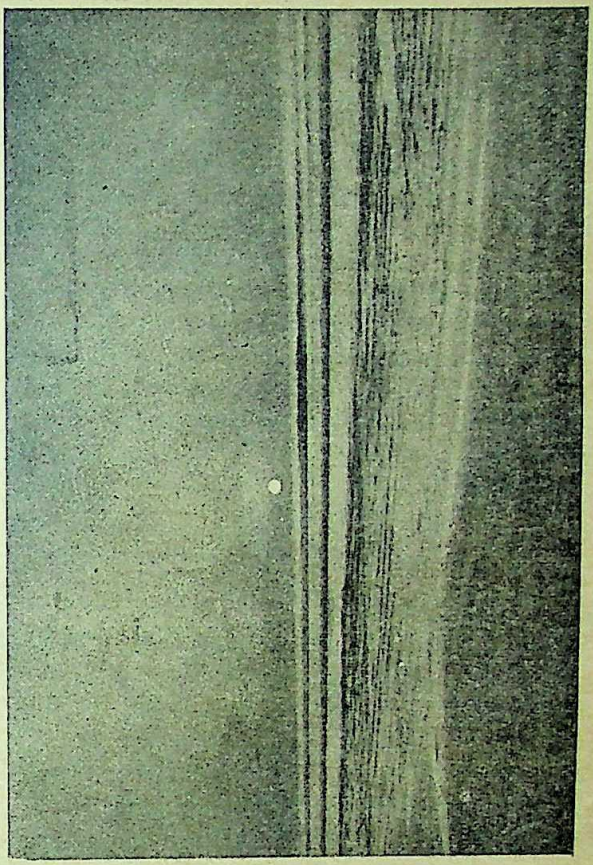
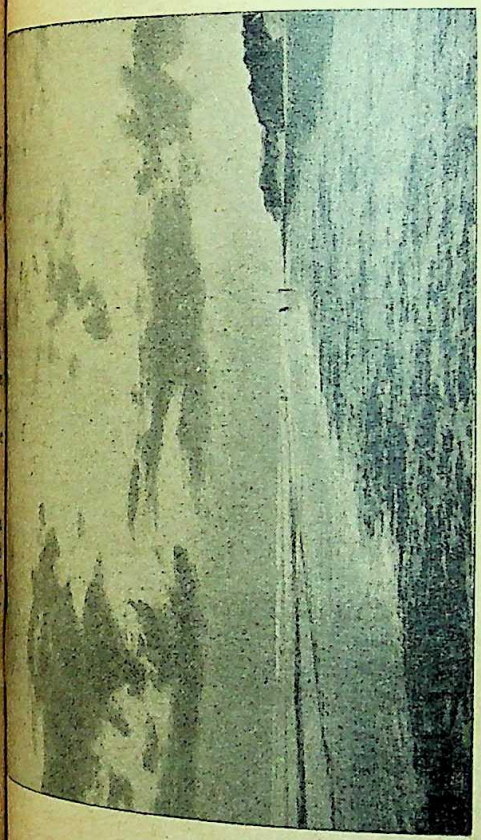
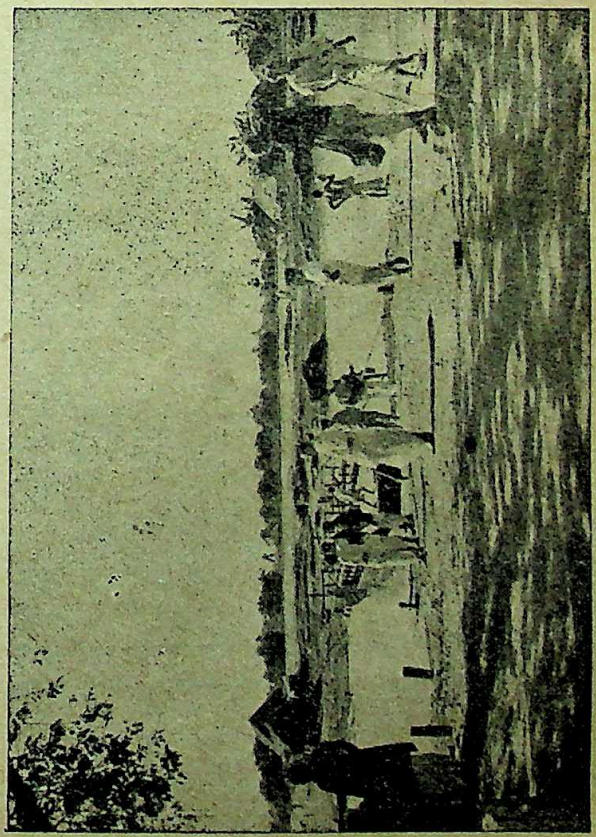


Sunrise at Digha



Fleecy clouds. Afternoon at Digha beach



Ferry at Pichaboni : Way to Digha

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trict town of Digha) is necessary. The West Bengal Government have recently built a two-storied hostel where board and lodging are both available. Besides, there are two private hotels in each of which board and lodging for nearly 20 persons are available at rather cheap rates.

Plan for Development

The Government have an ambitious plan for developing Digha as a sea-side resort. Transport arrangements to and accomodation facilities at Digha are proposed to be improved at an estimatel cost of Rs. 55 lakhs. The improvements are expected to be completed within the first Five-Year Plan period. Already a Government hostel has been opened and a bridge over the Pichaboni canal is being built. A fore-shore road is being laid at Digha. Electricity for street lights has been arranged. Besides, when road-bridges at Bagnan over the Damodar and at Kolaghat over the Rupnarain are built, the entire disance from Calcutta to Digha may be covered by a car in six hours.

Warren Hastings, it is said, liked Digha; but it was 'Bercool,' for the present Digha was then about two miles under the sea. Warren Hastings was so much enamoured of Bercool that not only did he use to frequent the place as often as the State-business would permit, but he also likened Bercool to Brighton. When the present plans for the development of Digha are all implemented, there is no reason why Digha should not bloom out as the 'Brighton of Calcutta.'

——:O:——

EARLY BACKGROUND OF HUNA HISTORY

By Miss PUSPA NIYOGI, M.A.

Origin and Connection of the Huna with the Hiung-nu and Other Nomadic Tribes

It is known to all students of history that a race of Asian nomads poured down from the steppes of Central Asia and overran the continents of Asia and Europe during the early centuries of the Christian era. That they contributed to the downfall of three great empires of the ancient world, namely, the Roman Empire in the west, the Persian Empire and the Gupta Empire in the East, is also a known fact. These Asian nomads were known by different names in different countries. Thus, to the West they were known as "Huns"; the Persian writers called them 'White Huns or Ephthalites' and by the Indians they were called 'Hunas.' The name 'Huna' is to be found in Indian inscriptions and literary texts.[1] It is admitted that all these different hordes of invaders belonged to one common stock.

Although most historians agree to group the Huns of European writers with the Hunas and White Huns—known to India and Persia respectively, there is a good deal of speculation as to the connection of these Hunas (or Huns) with the Hiung-nu (of Chinese historians) and also their origin.

Majority of historians are of the opinion that the predecessors of these Hunas are the Hiung-nu of Chinese annalists whose activities can be traced to the very beginning of the history of China. Deguignes[2] holds the view that the European Huns were descended from the Hiung-nu of Chinese writers. This is also the opinion of Bury[3] who states that the word 'Huns' is simply a Greek corruption of 'Hiung-nu'. The designation (meaning common slaves) was used by the Chinese for all the Asian nomads. Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar connects the name Huna with the nomads who occupied the North-west corner of China under three variant forms of one and the same name—the Hiun-yu, Hien-yu and Hiung-nu. According to Dr. Hirth[6] also, the Huns were known to the Chinese as Hiung-nu. The same view is expressed by the author of the article on the Huns in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*,[6] where he states, that the name Huns is given to at least four peoples, whose identity remains obscure. They are (1) the Huns who invaded the Eastern Roman Empire (A.D. 372-453); (2) the Hungarians or Magyars who crossed the Carpathians into Hungary in A.D. 898; (3) the 'White Huns' or Ephthalites who harassed the Persian Empire about 420 to 557 A.D. and (4) the Hunas, who invaded India during the same period.

1. For inscriptional evidences see *Fleet Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III; *Epigraphic Indica*; *Indian Antiquary*. B. C. Sen, *Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*. References also occur in the *Mahabharata*, *Raghuvamsa*, *Harshacharita*, *Nishadacharita*, *Rajatarangini*. Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*. My paper entitled 'Later references to the Hunas in India.'—Proc. of the Indian History Congress, 1950.

2. Deguignes : *Historic Generale des Huns*, etc.
3. *History of the Later Roman Empire*, Vol. I, p. 101.
4. *I. A.*, XLVIII, p. 65.
5. *Ancient History of China*, p. 13.
6. 14th Edition, Vol. XI, p. 916.

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the writer adds, that the last two, *i.e.*, the Ephthalites and the Hunas are identical. In the 1st century A.D. the Chinese drove the Hiung-nu westward and the same division of the Huns remained in Transoxiana and Afghanistan the other pushed further and rested near the south Urals. It was from the region that they are believed to have invaded Europe.

The name 'Huniscita' in the neighbourhood of the Chinese Empire, found in the Latin map of St. Anonymus which was compiled during 376 and 420 A.D. lends some support to the theory that the Huns were the successors of the Hiung-nu and came from the neighbourhood of China. It is marked on the map by 'seres oppidum' surrounded by walls. Some believe that this location was due to an error made by the Geographer Orosius[7] (c. 400 A.D.) who was a pupil of Hieronymus and whose geography was translated by King Alfred. In the work of Orosius the folk-name 'Huni-Scythae' is as that of a place in the neighbourhood of Uttaru (Uttarakuru). According to ancient Indian texts, it is situated on the other side of the Himalayas. The Aiteraya Brahmana[8] located them beyond the Himalayas. The Puranas associated this country with a legendary people. The Mahabharata[9] refers to them as an earthly people among whom plenty prevailed in the days of Pandu. On the basis of Indian evidence Prof. Aiyangar[10] locates Uttaru in the Tarim Basin in Chinese Turkestan and points out that

"It is generally believed now that Orosius introduced this correction either from the Latin map drawn on the wall of Polla Hall in Rome, under the orders of Emperor Augustus in 7 B.C. or from the work Orbis Pictus of Agrippa which was in general use."

From this Kalman Nemati[11] concludes:

"The Latin writers therefore of the Hiung-nu had really heard of the Hun under the Chinese Great Wall, although they did not know their history."

All these facts are supposed to lead to the logical conclusion that the Hunas are the successors of the Hiung-nu.

The above view that the Hiung-nu were Huns is supported by Julius Klaproth.[12] He tries to prove by a comparative study of languages that the Hiung-nu were not Huns but Turks because the Huns according to his opinion were a Finnic people.

This theory has been criticised by Kalman Nemati[13], who points out that Klaproth has made a chronological mistake by regarding the history of the Tu-khin (Turks) as identical with that of the Hiung-nu because prior to the 5th century A.D. the Tu-khin (Turk) folk-name did not exist at all.

The third group of scholars on the basis of the above two theories connects the Hunas with the Hiung-nu on the one hand, and group both as possessing 'Turkish nationality' on the other. This theory has been supported by many scholars, chief among them being Deguignes.[14] Vincent Smith[15] describes the Hiung-nu as a tribe of Turki nomads. Dr. Hirth[16] concludes that the 'Hiung-nu' or Huns were actually Turks in a racial sense whatever the other nations may have been.

The contribution of Turki origin to the Hiung-nu-Hun, it is pointed out, is not in accord with the evidence cited above, which shows that the word 'Turk' only came into existence not earlier than the 5th century A.D. The Tuchueh (Turk) of the Chinese derived their descent according to Parker,[17] from the Assena clan of the Hiung-nu. Literary evidence is supported by inscriptions. The decipherment and interpretation of the old Turkish Stone inscription, found on the banks of Brchon and of the Tonjukuk inscription found near Urga shows that the language in which they are written is Turkish. The Turk and Sir-Tardesh whose histories are recorded in these inscriptions were offshoots of the old Hiung-nu, from which it may be assumed that the Turks are descended from the Hiung-nu. It cannot be true that it was from the Turks that the Hiung-nu derived their origin.

There is another theory which may be noticed in this connection. This is the Hiung-nu Mongol theory which was set up by Yakint Bichurin. This has been accepted by Schmidt. Yakint Bichurin states that

> "Hunnu is the old national name of the Mongols, the Chinese used for the transcript of the word Hunnu (*hun*—wicked, *nu*—slave). But the Mongolian Hunnu is a proper name and the Chinese characters have no meaning."

The theory assigning Mongol origin to the Hiung-nu is open to criticism. As Li Ung Bing[18] shows, nothing is known about the early history of the Mongols. They are noticed for the first time in the records relating to the T'ang Dynasty. During

Seven Books of History Against the Pagans. English translation by I. W. Raymond.
Giles's Translation, VIII, pp. 14 and 23.
Aiyangar: Op. Cit., p. 128.
Aiyangar: Op. Cit., p. 65.
The Historic-Geographical Proofs of the Hiung-Hun Identity. The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review, XXIX (1910) p. 7.
Journal Asiatique, 1925.

13. K. Nemati: *Op. Cit.*, p. 352.
14. *Op. Cit.*
15. *Early History of India*, 4th Edition, p. 263.
16. *Op. Cit.*, p. 13 ff.
17. Parker: *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, B.K. IV.
18. *Outlines of Chinese History*, p. 197.

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the rule of the dynasty they were known as the Hsi Wei, a name vaguely applied by ancient writers to the descendants of the Hiung-nu . . . Under the leadership of Kabul, grandfather of the famous Jenghis Khan, the Mongols took up the side of Talam, a prince of the House of Chin and succeeded in freeing themselves from their subjection. For some years he held his own against the forces led by Ushu, the Chin General, and the Chins were ultimately compelled to recognise him as 'king of Mengfu Kuo.' Instead of Mengfu, Kabul later adopted the name Mengku—thus leading to the appearance of the 'Great Mongol Nation.' The evidence put forward by this scholar, goes, according to him, to support the theory that the Mongols were in fact descended from the Hiung-nu.

Dr. W. Radloff originated the Hiung-nu-On-Uigur theory. This theory has been criticised by Kalman Nemati[19] on the ground that he has mixed up the Hun Ugurs of Hun times mentioned by Greek and Latin writers with the legendary Ten-Uigurs of the Perso-Turkish works composed during the Mongolian period. Radloff is said to have made a serious mistake by identifying the Ugurs living on the banks of River Volga with the Uigar of Central Asia.

From the foregoing discussion it will appear that a strong case has been made out in favour of the view attributing a common origin to such diverse groups of people as the Hiung-nu, Huns, the Turks, the Mongols. As Parker[20] says, they were practically reshuffles of one and the same assemblages of people, the Turks and the Mongols coming into the picture at a later time, Hiung-nu is the genus comprising the different race species of 'Huns, Turks, Mongols' etc., of later days.

The Chinese historical records[21] give the names of some groups of nomads who lived to the north of China. One of these groups was called Rung, another was called Di and the third was known as Hun-Yu. Rung was a common designation applied to them all. Among the Rung tribes were groups which belonged to the Di and Hun-Yu, who are supposed to be closely related. This group is believed to have been the ancestors of the Hiung-nu.

The Hiung-nu and the Dynasty of Hia

The Hiung-nu took their origin from the dynasty of Hia. As the Hunas of later times are supposed to have been connected with the Hiung-Nu the origin of the Hunas is definitely to be traced to the same (Hia) dynasty According to Li Ung Bing[22] relying on Chinese sources, the Hiung-nu barbarians descended directly from Hiung-Yu, son of Chieh, the last ruler of the house of Hia. He is said to have migrated to the steppes north of the Mongolian Desert, with his father's concubines. This may account for the earlier name of the Hiung-nu.

An account of the Hiung-nu is preserved in the historical annals of Chinese dynasties, *viz.*, contemporary Shi-Ki and Han-shu, where it is recorded that the Hiung-nu dynasty took their origin from the dynasty of Hia, founded by the Emperor Gu-Yu, the son of the Minister Kun, in 2205 B.C. The 17th ruler of the Hia dynasty, Kieh-kieh was banished in 1766 B.C. After his death his son Shun-yu migrated together with five hundred members of the family of Hia to the northern border district of China. The descendants of these people again became a ruling power under the name of Hia.

Homeland, The Hiung-nu Associated with the Ordos Region

Nearly all scholars locate the homeland of the Hiung-nu in the north of China, north of the Great Walls. It was a dry and barren tract of land in the provinces of Shen Si, Shan Si and Chin Li near about the Ordos region. Dr. Hirth[23] points out that the Chinese historians located the ancient horde of the Hiung-nu, south of the Ordos territory. In another place he states that Wu-Wang (1050. B.C.), duke of the Chou dynasty, relied on the help of the Hiung-nu and overturned the Shang dynasty and that Wu-Wang's army was formed by Kun barbarians of Hiung-nu of the Ordos territory.[24] K. Nemati[25] on the basis of contemporary histories of She Ki and Han Shu states that the Emperor Shih Huang Ji (3rd century B.C.) of the Ch'un dynasty captured all the Ordos desert in the Hwang-Ho river district from the Hiung-nu and for the security of his country built the Great Wall. Eberhard[26] holds a similar view about the connection of the Ordos territory with the Hiung-nu. The rulers of the Ch'in, he says, "which pushed their frontiers far to the north," which practically resulted in the withdrawal of the Hiung-nu from the Ordos region who thus became deprived of their best pasturage.

We hear of the Hiung-nu raids from the Ordos region again during the reign of Emperor Wu Ti. This seems to show that they had again entered the Ordos where they became a menace to the capital of China. The Emperor Wu Ti, however, entered upon an active policy against the Hiung-nu and drove them further north and recovered the Ordos region.[27]

19. *Op. Cit.*, p. 352 ff.
20. Parker: *History of China*, Chap. II, p. 16 ff.
21. Trans. by Legge: *The Chinese Classics*, 8 vols.; Shi Ki. Parker, *China Review*, Vol. XX.
22. U Ling Bing: *Op. Cit.*, p. 62 ff.
23. Hirth: *Op. Cit.*, p. 68.
24. *Ibid*, p. 69.
25: *Op. Cit.*, p. 352 ff.
26. *History of China*, p. 68.
27. U. Ling Bing: *Op. Cit.*, p. 76.

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Light Thrown on Early History by the Mahabharata

From what has been said above it will appear the Hiung-nu were from a remote time ed with the Ordos region. Curiously enough is a verse in the Sabhaparvan of the Mahabharata[29] which may be interpreted as containing ence to the nomads of the Ordos region. The significance of the verse has not so far been fully appreciated. In order that the contents of verse may be conveniently discussed it is ary to quote it here:

Kiratam Sakams tathach Odran Varvaran
Nanavasitah
Yavanchyan Hana-Hunamscha Krishnan
Haimavatamstatha

The occurrence of the expression 'Odran' in this is curious. Dr. H. C. Ray Chowdhuri[29] seems right in implying that this cannot refer to the own Indian tribe the Odras, after whom the y occupied by them came to be called (*i.e.* He must have been thinking on these lines he said:

"The mention of the Odras in this connection ell. The word, however, known to us from n literature is 'Odra*not* Odro' the form in it is found used in the above-quoted verse. the expression to the word 'Odran' is curious inexplicable it has been proposed by him to ed the text and substitute *chadotamacha* for *odran*, 'Chadota' being the name of a terri- in Central Asia near Khotan."

Will not enter into a discussion of the of the suggestion, but I may be permitted out that the elimination of 'Tatha' will interfere with the sense intended to be by the verse, which appears to group the and the Chinas together under one category ed from those referred to, in the remaining the first line of the verse. The emendation the Sakas and the Chinas and others, such barbarians together, which was probably not tion of the author of the verse. The use of aining 'likewise' should be regarded as of importance.

e studying the history of China and Central their relation to the ancient history of India be struck by the repeated use of the word and its derivatives in Chinese history. This ans a camp such as the Hiung-nu, the Turks ngols used. It means a camp where these ded and which was, for that reason, ly regarded as their home and military base.

'Ordo' as stated by Parker,[30] is frequently used in Turk history in the sense of Turk's encampment, where the chief resided, in his palace Howorth,[31] however, says that the felt tent in which a Mongol lives is called a yurt and that a collection of several yurts is known as Ordu or camp. Elsewhere he mentions that 'Ordu' is a collection of tents or separate palace of the Khan or chief, which is the sense in which Carpini used it.[32] According to Howorth[33] the word 'Ordo' is of Moghol origin meaning a horde. Dr. Hirth[34] while translating the account preserved in Chang Q'ien's record states:

> "In B.C. 123 the King sent Pian-ki general to conquer the western ordu (capital) of the Hiung-nu."

In another place of the same work, he states that

> "Regarding Wu-Sun, Chang K'ien said that the Wu-Sun king was styled K'un-mo, it was a petty state by the side of the Hiung-nu. The Hiung-nu ruler attacked and killed his father and the K'un-mo at his birth was cast away in wilderness, where meat was brought to him by a blackbird and a she-wolf nursed him with her milk . . . The Hiung-nu Shan-eu regarded this as a wonder . . . made him a military leader, restored to him the people of his father and made him governor of the western ordu (city or fortified camp)."

From the account of Chang K'ien we find that the word 'Ordu' is used by the Hiung-nu in the sense of their capital, which was a fortified camp, or country. The origin of the word is not definitely known. But it is quite probable that it may have been used by the Hiung-nu and afterwards by the Turks and the Mongols of later days whose connection with the Hiung-nu has been regarded as highly probable by many scholars.

The word not only means in a general way the camp or capital of the nomadic peoples, but also a definite region which is frequently found associated with the history of the Hiung-nu.[35] We have already referred to the connection of the Ordos territory with the Hiung-nu. During the last few centuries of the pre-Christian era the Hiung-nu lived in the Ordos region and carried on their raids from there to the northern frontiers of China. Frequently do we hear of the Hiung-nu being driven away from

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Mahabharata, II, 51, pp. 23-24.

Political History of Ancient India, 5th Edition, p. 628.

30. Parker: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 141, 143, 152, 159; 160; 169; 174, 189, etc.

31. *History of Mongols*, Pt. I, p. 401.

32. *Ibid*, Pt. IV, p. 68.

33. *Ibid*, p. 77.

34. "The Story of Changkien"—Hirth, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXVIII (1917), p. 87 ff; (Trans. of Si Gi).

35. Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*; Parker, *History of China*; Gibbon, *Downfall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. II; Hirth, *History of China*, p. 70; Li Ung Bing, *Op. Cit.*, p. 76ff; Eberhard, *History of China*; Grosier, *Some Account of the Country of the Ordos (Ortous)*

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the Ordos region to further north. And once they had been driven to the north, they tried their best to come down again and settle in the Ordos region.

Later History and the Mahabharata-Evidence

In the first century B.C. (C. 51 B.C.) the Hiung-nu were divided into two groups known as the Northerners and Southerners. The power-loving Hiung-nu lived in the north, whereas the other group surrendered their liberty to the Chinese for their own security. These southerners lived on the north-western border of China and prevented their own kinsmen, the northerners from raiding the frontiers of China. This struggle between the two groups of the same stock continued for a century when the southerners were helped by the Chinese.

In the 1st century A.D. (C. 153 A.D.) the Northerners were finally driven out from China and compelled to migrate towards the west. The Chinese Emperors had for some time used the Southerners (Hiung-nu) to help them in driving away the Northern Hiung-nu who constituted a source of trouble to their dominions. And after they were driven away, their help was not required. In the meantime, the Han dynasty in China collapsed and internal struggle became the order of the day. At that a time a southerner Hiung-nu who traced his descent to the line of Maotun, named Lin Yuan claimed the Imperial throne of China. His line ruled China till the middle of the 4th century A.D. The last ruler of his line was Shi Hu (349 A.D.). After his death in 350 A.D. was the reign of his adopted son, Shi Min. Although he was of Hiung-nu origin, from an early period of his life he had been made to throw in his lot with the Chinese. During his father's rule his identification with the Chinese was so complete that his sympathies were distinctly on the side of the Chinese against the Hiung-nu. A new era in the history of the Hiung-nu started with his accession. He collected a large number of troops from the Chinese and ordered all persons of Hiung-nu blood to be killed. In two weeks time two hundred thousand Hiung-nu were slain, the rest managed to escape and tried to establish their authority over north China but without success. It was only in the barren wastes that some Hiung-nu groups were able to maintain their independent existence. In the next century (C. 400 A.D.) two of these groups succeeded in carving out small principalities for themselves.

One of these petty kingdoms is that which came to be known as the kingdom of the Hia and which had the Ordos as its centre, which was unfit for cultivation. As the Ordos country was ill-suited [illegible] agriculture, the Hiung-nu who settled in this [illegible] were able to preserve their old nomadic [illegible] uninfluenced by Chinese civilisation. In 407 A.D. [illegible] the Ordos Hiung-nu found an able protector [illegible] Po Po, who was a direct descendant of one of [illegible] last rulers of the southern Hiung-nu kingdom [illegible] hence a distant cousin of Lin Yuan, whose [illegible] has been discussed. In 418 A.D., he cap[illegible] Chang-an, but left his son in charge of Chang-[illegible] while he himself came back to the Ordos [illegible] where he ruled till his death in 425 A.D.

The empire which was built up by Po Po [illegible] a small nucleus did not last long, soon broke up [illegible] his death by 432 A.D., this empire which was [illegible] as the Hia Empire vanished. There is no fur[illegible] history of the Hiung-nu of the Ordos region after [illegible] date. It would thus appear that they lost their [illegible] pendence and were totally absorbed by the To[illegible]

Thus we find that the Hiung-nu were associ[illegible] with the Ordos region from a very remote time [illegible] the extinction of their rule shortly before the mi[illegible] of the 5th century A.D. The geographical condition [illegible] the place compelled the people to persist in [illegible] nomadic habits.

The word *Odran* as used in the Mahabharata [illegible] quoted above may be connected with the word O[illegible] which was in common use in Chinese history. In [illegible] Mahabharata passage the word may mean those [illegible] lived in camps *i.e.*, nomads who had no settled [illegible] tories of their own, living in movable tents. Or it [illegible] be connected with the Ordos territory where [illegible] Hiung-nu lived.

On the basis of this interpretation the first line [illegible] the verse may be translated as follows:

> "The Sakas, the Chinese and likewise the [illegible] barians (*varvaras*) who live in tents (*ordos*) and [illegible] many regions (*nanavisinah*)."

This description will apply to the nomads who [illegible] mentioned in Chinese History, as in the above passa[illegible] they are referred to along with the Chinese. The [illegible] to which the passage refers, must be the one [illegible] the Sakas were no longer regarded as nomads, as [illegible] have been separated from the barbarians (*varva*[illegible]) and grouped with the Chinese. The use of the [illegible] *Odran* in the Mahabharata in the same sense [illegible] which it is known to have been in use in Chi[illegible] history is remarkable since it shows a rather [illegible] familiarity of the Indians with the camp-life of [illegible] nomads of China and Central Asia. The passage [illegible] also be taken as referring to the Ordos territory [illegible] the Hiung-nu lived, and not merely to the camps [illegible] the Hiung-nu nomads.

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ROLE OF PARTY SYSTEM IN INDIA

By Prof. A. K. BASU CHOWDHURY, M.A., LL.B.

impossible to point out any definite period when democracy was first born. But certainly has a long tradition in ancient India. Today, cracy is at its fullest swing. Man lives and in democracy and there are even instances in when man first sacrificed his life for it. Every is experimenting on democracy, and the which were long under foreign domination making heroic efforts to establish democratic tions. The day Britishers quitted India, the had pledged to rebuild the country on a ratic pattern. Subsequently the Republican tution reaffirmed this faith when it proclaimed established "Sovereign Democratic Republic." we speak of democracy it *ipso facto* means the ence of party or parties. The importance of system in democracy is the importance of soul man body. Just as the absence of soul from makes it useless, similarly, a democracy without functioning of the party system is rendered Though parties existed in the past yet the tion and importance of political parties as ing agent of the Governmental affair has been phenomenon.

is true that without party system democracy rates into totalitarianism. But there are instances party system offering "political initiative, and co-ordinate political activity" and, thus, the dynamics of political mechanism to the rian states of Hitler and Mussolini. The thing to be taken into consideration is that the between the party and the government varies country to country. In Nazi Germany, the directed and controlled the Government. party members of the Grand Council of the held their position as ex-officio officers of the ment. Hence, it is wrong to say that there party system in totalitarian states.

Generally, the writers classified party system into classes; viz., mono-party, bi-party and multiple-In England and in U.S.A., to take prominent there exist bi-party system, whereas in and in India we have multiple party system. However is the typical example of mono-party In England at present there are three parties, Labour, Conservative and Liberal. But, in the liberal party is insignificant so far as the decision of political matters of England is concerned. It has no strength in itself but supports either of the two parties. The writers are greatly divided among themselves with regard to their merits and demerits. It is important here because in the context of this we will view the prospect of the party system in India.

It is a fact that if one has virtues it has also vices. Naturally, it will be our duty to sort out which is the best out of them. The late Professor Laski was the chief advocate of the bi-party system while his contemporary Ramsay Muir opposes the idea vehemently. Mr. Ferry opines emphatically in favour of the multiple-party system. According to Laski it is easier to elect representatives because voters are not lost in the whirlpool of emotions of leaders of different political creeds and political programmes. The voter is definite for whom he is going to vote, as there is only one alternative before him. Secondly, it is very easy to fix the responsibility of the party in power, while in other systems responsibility of many is responsibility of none. Another great advantage of this system is easy execution of policy.

> "There is on the one hand," says MacIver, "a concentration of authority since the party in office is not dependent upon any other, and there is on the other hand, a concentration of responsibility to an easy means of enforcing it—by return of the opposite party."

Similarly, government is also easily formed because one party comes in majority which makes the government, and the other being in minority constitutes opposition. In case of resignation the leader of the opposition takes the former place without any difficulty of choosing members which the leader of the multiple group system has to face. Closely allied to these advantages, it provides both efficiency and responsibility, since under this system governmental party generally have solid support. This is, however, not possible in a Coalition government. It also strengthens the gvernment by giving stability and durability. This feature can easily be tested by drawing the inference of comparison of statistics of the fall of cabinets in England and in France.

But the rose is not without thorns. The bi-party system has also been assailed on many grounds. Ramsay Muir's first charge is that it restricts the choice of candidates and therefore, it does not function

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as a good barometer of the public opinion. Secondly, specially in England, it has paved the way for the cabinet dictatorship which is not a healthy sign in the present democratic set-up. But actually what we find is that these charges are unrealistic.

So far as the multiple-party system is concerned, it is supported on the ground that public opinion cannot be divided into two water-tight compartments. There is less chance of abusing the power invested in the executive, because it would give rise to the insecurity of the Cabinet and which might topple down at any moment. Thus Professor Munro is of opinion that

> "Ministerial responsibility and the two-party system when yoked together makes for a firm, strong and quick acting government, but the combination may readily be used to make a government too strong, too quick acting and lacking in that spirit of compromise which is the essence of a true rtpresentative government."

The multiple-party system has an evil effect on the working of the legislature. The legislature instead of framing the laws, healthy of national development, becomes "an arena of politics where there is everything except deliberations." This is the place where leg-pulling is freely played in order to gain power. Another difficulty is that of the formation of a ministry and this is almost a headache for the Prime Minister, since there is no one party which commands absolute majority. But it is still hard to keep up the team together.

Now, we are in a position when we can safely choose bi-party system as more convenient and better way through which the representative government can function. Though the French people also realize the difficulties caused by it and there had some plan also after the World War II to organize political mechanism properly, yet because French people are diehard traditionalists, they could not be able to get rid of it.

Until recently India was under the British domination. In spite of the fact that there were a number of political parties, there was hardly any distinction in their aims and programmes. All of them had one goal and that was to free India. Naturally, the Indian National Congress—the oldest and the widest of all, took the lead and commanded a greater respect than any other party. In point of fact that was the moment when differences in opinion or action were not required at all. Unity was the keynote of Indian National Movement. But now since our country is free and the honourable members of the Constituent Assembly assured the people to establish healthy democracy, can the mono-party system be pleaded? Does the conception of unity hold good even now at the expense of the healthy growth of party system. Unity does not mean annihilation of freedom of expression. At present the congress is the ruling party, but there is a complete absence of effective opposition in our legislatures. And, therefore, we see the spectacle of one party state in India with all its concomitant evils. The cart of parliamentary democracy needs two wheels to move swiftly, the one is governmental wheel, the other is opposition. Under the multiple-party system parliamentary government, if it does not completely break down, works very badly. But it cannot work at all in one-party system which is bound to become totalitarian sooner or later. Hence, it would be a travesty of democracy if it comes to mean the regimentation of thought and the suppression of the different opinion, on the plea that national unity must be maintained. To use such rustic jargons as "the country is in danger," "National Solidarity," etc., only to maintain the power of the party is doing more harm than good to the country. With the disappearance of the alien rule the need for artificial unity no longer exists. If the dissidents are able to form opposition outside the congress, so much the better for the congress and for the cause of democracy.

The blank space between the congress and the opposition is so vast that it has often vexed the minds of persons who believed in the principles of democracy, because such conditions are never considered as healthy. Without a powerful alternative party inside the legislature or outside the people's judgment is apt to be controlled and dependent on the whims of the ruling party which is nothing but a plaything of a single individual. It is clearly visible that the congress has failed to comply with the wishes of the mass and its members have ceased to be alert or active because there is no one to pull its ear at every step and to set it right. On the other hand the members find no man to do every job for them and thus there is a transformation of the congress party from the people's forum to an exalted person's forum and which the real democracy wants to avert at all costs.

As the situation now stands in our country the issue is quite clear. The index of the first general election indicates that in future congress will have to face multiple-party opposition. It is also, therefore, certain that the opposition can hardly be compact, stable and well-organised. Naturally the legislature will no longer be a forum of criticism and focus of public opinion, but will become a duelling ground for the members for the satisfaction of the lust for power. Although some might charge me for holding such a pessimistic view about the prospects of Indian democracy, yet as a student of political science I do not hesitate to hold such an adverse opinion of the Indian party system. Such defects are inherent in a multiple-party system which we have already seen and which France is experiencing bitterly every day. If India wants a true type of parliamentary

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ment, it must have only two parties, no and no less. The reason for this is quite

This however, leads us to multifarious problems. Let us take such problems one by one. Firstly, the of the growth of multiple-party system. It is two-fold reasons: partly psychological but political. The typical Indian character is but emotional and our leaders are pedago- We are swept away by feeling and not governed by reason. Naturally, after independence was a race for power, specially the big guns of congress party who were deprived of the spoils to put a stumbling block on the way of the body. They formed a distinct body. the rift in the ranks and files of the party the crevices began to increase when there was a between the Congress President and the Prime

Another factor which gave all encouragement to disruption of the congress party was the absence compromising spirit. The congress could not accommodate the views and ideas of every member, talk of putting them into practice. Its consequence was the cession of members from congress fold and preaching from different plat- their own programmes more attractive to the The result was that in the last general elec- there were as many as fourteen different politi- which have been given *ad hoc* recognition India parties. There are other minor parties confined to different states only. Some of have selfish motives and others have patriotic rebuilding the country. This fact is amply by the manifestoes issued by various Practically all of them have incorporated aims and objects with a little difference here with reference to their means of achieve- Why? Simply because those who look after own interest cannot remain under the leader- other men and, therefore, constitute their through which they seek opportunity to power.

of the most common feature of Indian parties is unequivocal denouncement of the National Congress. Their progeny as well as enemy, both frown upon the parent body, vilify most offensive language and thus cast all upon it for the economic degeneration and retrogression of the country. Since the attain- independence the party leaders say, "The few become richer and the poor had become The congress was "now ridden by black- and profiteers," that the continuance of congress in office would mean a "perpetuation of nakedness, black-marketing and corruption." leaders of the non-congress political parties not only sneered at the congress during the election speeches but also openly declared their incompetency in the party manifestoes.

> "Five years of Congress rule—four of them after the attainment of freedom—have brought our country and our people to the verge of disaster. The production of food, cloth and every necessity of life has declined. Famine rages in Bihar with a crore of people facing slow death. The vast mass of peasants, the bulk of our people continue to groan under the burden of rents, debts and taxes . . . . . In order to uphold this regime of colonial slavery and starvation this joint loot of our people by the British and their allies and friends, the Nehru Government has established a reactionary regime as ferocious and ruthless as any that India had seen even in the days of direct British rule. It has not only resurrected all the lawless laws of the British it has enacted new and worse repressive laws, gagged the press and placed the life and liberty of the people at the tender mercy of the police . . . . . (Thus) the experience of the last four years under Congress rule have completely disillusioned the masses and have suffered from lingering hopes in their minds . . . It is now clear to them that power has come not in the hands of the common men and their representatives, but in the hands of men who act as the agents of the capitalists, landlords, black-marketeers, profiteers and the worst type of vested interests."

Such is the tone of all parties opposing the congress.

On the other hand, Congress also condemned the different parties. So much so that Prime Minister Nehru charged Vir Savarkar of Hindu Mahasabha of being to an extent responsible for the murder of Mahatma Gandhi. Although it was not a statesmanlike statement because Savarkar was unequivocally declared not guilty by the highest tribunal of the country. Sri Nehru referring to Communist activities said that their tactics in India had been "utterly disruptionists and injurious." Actually the thing which we have to consider is that these are not healthy signs of democracy. Though the proverbial phrase goes that democracy consists of fools but does the word "fool" connote "vulgarity"? It is the highest point of absurdity when one finds that the national parties of a country are querrelling like beggars' barts exchanging vulgar words among themselves. Democracy never teaches to poison the minds of the people but to enlighten them.

Foreign Policy

Now, let us briefly discuss the main points of the different parties by which they pledge to make the country progressive. Under this topic let us start with the foreign policy. On matters of foreign policy all the parties agree for the maintenance of world peace, mutual understanding and co-existence. The country will have no imperialistic designs and

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will resist it directly or indirectly on the part of others. Some of the parties have doubted the neutrality of the Nehru Government and accused it for helping Anglo-American imperialism. All the major parties unequivocally demanded Kashmir as an integral part of India. The opposition parties held the present government responsible for bungling the matter and creating the present situation of Kashmir. They are all dissatisfied with the step of the Government by taking the matter to U.N.O. unnecessarily and thus paving the way for the machinations of the Imperialists who have created a most dangerous situation of tension between India and Pakistan. Another cause of dissatisfaction for the non-congress party is the acceptance of the congress government to remain as a part and parcel of the British Commonwealth. Hence, their demand is the complete severance both from U.N.O. on Kashmir issue and from the British Commonwealth which is nothing but humiliation and economic subservience to Great Britain.

Home Policy

With regard to the distribution of land, the opposition parties are not satisfied with the methods of the congress party, since it provided for the compensation to zamindars after the abolition of zamindari. According to the financial proposition of abolition it is ruinous. In the name of zamindari abolition it has hatched plans to pay the feudal parasites, the sworn enemies of our people and traditional agents of British Imperialists, the stupendous sum of four crores of rupees as compensation and has created another class of zamindars known as bhumidars who are becoming more dangerous. In their aims and objects, thus, the opposition parties are all unanimous when they lay down in their respective manifestoes that the land shall belong to the tillers of the soil. Side by side they also promised to give all encouragement to cottage industries and in modernising the agricultural industry on the western pattern.

Rehabilitation of the Uprooted

The Refugee problem is essentially the consequence of the partition of the country. It was the most unstatesmanlike proposal of the congress to accept the division of the country, thereby endangering the life of the millions of people. It is these people who have paid the highest price for freedom but the return which they received is insecurity of life in Pakistan and unemployment and unstability in India. The question of such displaced persons naturally affected our economy adversely. Though the opposition parties criticised the Government for unsuccessfully handling the refugee problem, their manifestoes also do not lay any more concrete programme for their rehabilitation than what congress has done. Merely giving top priority to such a [illegible] problem does not itself solve the question.

Education

The importance of education is realised by the parties. They also realised that the real progress of the country is essentially based on a true type of education. In order to impart true education many things have to be done. Firstly, imparting compulsory primary education freely to all children up to tht age of 15 years. Secondly, education should not be such as to equip his mental faculty only without making him fit for facing the practical problems of life. "Practical education through fruitful co-operation, work and activity and the development of the artistic sense will enhance the intellectual capacity of the pupil and make it not theoretical and formal." Co-operative work is the best training for moral education. It will be related to the practical needs of the life of the country. It is no exaggeration if each party believes that without proper education no democracy can thrive. Illiteracy, therefore, must be wiped out as soon as possible.

Industrial Policy

There is another sphere where we find almost similar aims and objects of almost all the major political parties, *i.e.*, with regard to industrial policy and in favour of decentralisation. They believe that all key industries, such as, electricity, railway, coal, steel, transport and defence industries should be nationalised. As for remaining industries, state ownership is not a good economic proposition. Some are of the opinion that "unlimited state capitalism may lead to totalitarianism." The parties, therefore, also believe in the encouragement of private sector in the interest of consumers and producers alike. They will also strive for securing equitable distribution of profit between workers and enterprisers without being detrimental to consumers' interests. Cottage industries will have to be encouraged independently or supplementary to large-scale industries.

Another thing which merits our attention is the role of the Independent members. They fared considerably well in the last election, being the largest winners of seats after the congress in the Lok Sabha. Naturally one may tend to ask what was the reason of their success. Undoubtedly it was personal success. The general masses were so much annoyed and disappointed both with the ruling party as well as the opposition that they thought rightly, too, that their salvation lies only in men of integrity and honesty. Many persons who genuinely wanted to serve the country withdrew themselves from the congress and did not join any party but remained aloof from all party quibbles and fought independently. That is why

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...ngress party—the strongest of all parties—secured ...r 44.85 per cent of total votes which is less than ...e total votes polled for other parties combined. ...t the independents polled more votes singly than ...ny other party. From this it is clearly visible that ...ple have no faith in party system but in ...ividuals. That is so because people have suffered ...ch and gained nothing.

Taking all these things into consideration democracy ...ms to be abortive. Hence the prospect of party ...stem is also not very bright. Leadership here ...ems not to lead the followers but to hold them as ...mmenary forces which can be used anywhere and ...ywhere and for whatever purposes by the topmen. ...s a game of "searching golden opportunity" which ...a rule should not be missed.

On the other hand, the majority party is ...ming and ruling the country. The opposition ...whatever it may be—is completely curbed down. ...d there been not so many parties, the opposition would have been far more puissant than what it is today. There have been cases when not only the followers but their headmen are leaving one party and joining another for the satisfaction of their venal mind. Such perfidious character, indeed, presents an excruciating picture for future generation. If democracy is to be a means, then there is no end of it. But it is an end in itself, let not means be vicious and impure. If the country is to be properly served, let not there be cheap leadership devoid of all decency and morality. Let not "gain" be the guiding force, but "service above self" be the motive. Prejudice is harmful but co-operation is the way to success. The country is for all and above all. But the strongest possible opposition is the efficient "barometer" of public opinion. If democracy is to thrive and if party-system is to exist, let not our leaders forget that without such guiding principles of the true representative institution the future of Indian democracy is dark.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

I am quoting verbatim the following extract from ...article, "Public Enterprises in India," written by ...Prakash Chandra Tripathi, M.Com., LL.B. and ...ished in *The Modern Review* for May, 1956, on ...373:

"... The National Newsprint and Paper Mills Limited, which is mainly a Madhya Pradesh Government and Government of India's venture, has started producing newsprint of an acceptable quality. The mill has been producing about 400 tons of newsprint per month. The newsprint manufactured by the Mill consists of 65 per cent mechanical pulp obtained from Sabai collected from the nearby forests of Madhya Pradesh. For its chemical pulp, it will be using bamboo sulphate. The Mill's present production meets about 30 per cent of the country's annual requirements of newsprint and by the end of this year it would be able to meet 45 per cent of the total present requirements of India."

The purpose is to point out some mis-statement of facts.

No mechanical pulp is made from Sabai grass. Such pulp is manufactured from some varieties of wood only. Monthly production of 400 tons, *i.e.*, annual production of 4,800 tons, cannot meet 30 per cent of the country's requirement which is above 52,000 tons annually at present. So present production in Nepa Mill can meet only 5 per cent of country's demand. The present capacity of the Mill is only 30,000 tons annually. So even when the Mill goes into full production, it can only supply 30/32 per cent of the country's requirements provided the consumption does not increase by that time. Obviously, to meet higher percentage of the demand the Mill will have to be extended. The chemical pulp manufactured from bamboo by the sulphate process cannot be called "bamboo sulphate." Technically this is a wrong term.

So you will find some serious mis-statement of facts in this portion of the article. For the enlightenment of the readers of your esteemed journal, I hope, you will announce necessary corrections in the next issue of your magazine.

K. C. SEN

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EGYPTIAN ART AND CULTURE

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By Dr. Miss INDIRA SARKAR, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Paris)

Egyptian art and culture developed in the valley of the Nile and in the valley of the Euphrates about 6000 years ago. The scene of old oriental history lies in the middle of the desert, which traverses the whole of North Africa, beginning from the coast of the Atlantic Ocean and spreading deep into the heart of Asia. These two big valleys intersect the desert. In Asia we have the Euphrates and the Tigris and in Africa the valley of the Nile. The influences which arose from these two highly developed but very different forms of culture are clearly noticeable. Both of them contributed to the foundation of a civilisation in the Middle East and in Southern Europe.

The valley of the Nile, the homeland of Egyptian art and culture is a small oasis, one thousand kilometers long and only a few kilometers wide. The position of the valley is very exceptional, because it is isolated. There are wide stretches of desert on both sides. In the north, we have the coastline of the delta, which is without a harbour. In the south there is the rocky boundary of the cataract of the Nile. This river is the main source of wealth of the land. The climate of Egypt is almost without rain. The only reason for the fertility of the soil is due to the inundation of the country by the floods of the Nile, which occur due to the melting of the snows and the spring-rains. Rich with mud the water of the stream irrigates the whole of Egypt. When the water declines below the level of the fields, then the canals have to be fed in an artificial manner.

The generous and pretentious soil of Egypt demands a high grade of skill. The great fertility of such a cultivated land nourishes a large population. In the Roman period, there were seven million people, now there are twenty-eight million. The density of population of Egypt is far greater than that of Europe This is, in short, the scene in which the people of the Nile valley developed themselves. The culture of this nation had already bloomed at a time when the Europeans were just beginning to create a culture of their own. Nowhere in the world can we find such a large number of remnants of such a high civilisation, as on the shores of the Nile. Every one is greatly impressed by the richness and wealth of Egyptian culture. Nowhere in the world have such powerful stone-monuments been erected. The peculiar climate of Egypt, *viz.*, dry atmosphere and complete lack of rain, have helped to preserve such a wealth of noble works of art. Many of these monuments have preserved their full glory right into the classical period of European culture. For many centuries, Southern Europe came under the strong influence of Egyptian culture.

The Egyptians occupy one of the first ranks in history. From very few other nations do we know anything more ancient than from this one. We know what took place in this country 5,000 years ago and we know the language and the literature of that period. Only India seems to supply us with more ancient monuments. In most of the other lands our information begins many centuries later. This applies especially to European countries in general. At the time when the Homeric heroes were fighting for Troy then the old Egyptians had already completed their development and found themselves in full decay.

In other countries too there must have been very old cultures. Let us recall the newly discovered highly developed Etruscan art and culture. But most of them have disappeared without leaving any traces behind them. But from ancient Egypt, a great wealth of monuments have been preserved, which almost seems inexhaustible. One of the most typical examples of preservation is to be found in the wheat-grains, that have been excavated from old tombs. Even 5,000 years later, these grains have preserved their germinating capacity. We should remember that the Egyptians were greatly influenced by religion. They were very careful about the durability and the rich equipment of their tombs. While most of the nations belonging to the same level of culture were satisfied with simple tombs, the Egyptians created powerful monuments for their dead. The rich jewelry found in the graves, gives us a good insight into their life. This enables us to study many millenniums of Egyptian culture. This insight into the darkest antiquity, shows us that the Egyptians of 5,000 years ago were in no way different to the people of the present day. The same eternal laws that had reigned in those days are still governing the world today. The spiritual progress of mankind has not undergone any change since those ancient days. The change has taken place only in the scientific and material phase.

From the time of King Snofru up to the conquest of Alexander the Great, we find an uninterruped chain of monuments and writings in Egypt. From here we can learn the conditions of the country, as well as the religion, language and culture of the people of those days. It is quite clear that in the later period, Egypt had active trade with her neighbouring countries. Egyptian influence spread even to Greece.

We have three principal sources at our disposal for obtaining information about the culture of ancient Egypt. The first one we get from the existing monuments. Papyrus rolls, old libraries and archives offer us the second source of information. The third we get from numerous objects of daily life, which were buried along with the dead.

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It is interesting to note that it was Napoleon, who brought Egypt into the limelight. It was intellectual curiosity which compelled Napoleon to send scientists to Egypt. These people carried out their work brilliantly. Even today we owe most of our information about Egypt to the book entitled *Description d'Egypte* (Description of Egypt). With one stroke, the mysteries of hieroglyphs were solved. Francois Champollion was the man to solve the great riddle of hieroglyphs. He shattered the common conception that hieroglyphs were symbols of complete ideas. The Egyptian script is not a symbolical but a phonetic one, like all those in Europe. It is a denotation of sounds and not of ideas. Champollion gave an object to each hieroglyph. By the time he died in 1832 he had succeeded in deciphering the very complicated script-system of hieroglyphs. He deciphered the texts of complete inscriptions and papyrus rolls. He laid the foundation of a grammar for this language and this introduced a whole nation into world history. His work has remained unsurpassable for a long time.

Hieroglyphs are mostly to be found in the various Egyptian tombs. At Luxor there are many colossal temples with huge pillars, that are most bewildering in their huge circumference and height. The human builder of these temples and high pillars had succeeded to give full shape to the concept of Egyptian religion. How small and miserable does man appear before such a temple! These huge monuments in their proportions *vis a vis* human beings. They do not possess the harmony of a beautiful architectural building like the Greek temples. The latter have their proportions. They never give one the feeling of hugeness. In the temple of Abydos, we find inner walls richly decorated with hieroglyphs and paintings. These representations on the walls enable us to study the life of ancient Egypt right into the smallest detail. In the National Museum at Leyden we find the oldest hieroglyphic documents on papyrus-rolls, carefully preserved.

Wall-paintings decorate the interior of tombs. Some of these wall-paintings are very beautiful. In the tombs of Theben one of the pictures represents elegant people having tea in a garden. We can see how nicely Egyptians knew how to dress themselves. Another painting represents the daughter of a hunter returning home with lotus-flowers that she had plucked. The conquest of the enemy by King Thutmosis is seen in another wall painting. The enemies are kneeling before his outstretched arm. In his fist he is holding a lock of his conquered subjects. This painting is found in Carnak. The tomb of Ti in Sakkara is very famous. Here we find a nice wall-painting. It represents two shepherds who are crossing a river with their cattle. The first shepherd to the right is carrying a calf on his shoulders, which does not know how to swim. The calf has raised its tail and is turning to its mother in a troubled manner. The contrast between the serenity of the young animals and the dumb dialogue between mother and calf is near to life and full of sentiment. The inscription below heightens the poetry of the picture. It runs as follows: "Your child is being looked after, mother!" Here we have one of the best pictures of Egyptian art, which dates back to about 2,600 B.C. The wall-paintings are so numerous that they would fill up art galleries in all capital cities of Europe. The pictures are very beautiful and exhibit a high standard of form. Yet it is pathetic that the name of the painters will never be known to us. It will always remain a mystery, for no picture has ever been signed.

One of the oldest paintings is an extract from a famous fresco entitled "The Geese of Medun." It is a painting on Stucco which covered the tiled-walls in the grave of Itet in Medun and it is the oldest painting that we possess in Egyptian and Occidental culture. The geese are true to life and beautifully painted in white, brown and red colours. We all know that wall-paintings dating back to the period between the last two glacial epochs may be older to this Egyptian painting. From the style of painting of birds and animals we learn, that Egyptian art had formulated its rules and forms at a very early stage. We find symmetry of composition, authority in the lines and presentation in profile executed in most of the magnificent paintings.

The great epoch of Egyptian painting dates back to 1500-1100 B.C. During the rule of Thutmosis the Third, we find that the Theben artists produced a series of first-class works of art. The pallet of the painter is very simple. He makes use of water-colours. He finds pigments in nature. He crushes them, dilutes them and adds a bit of resin in order to make them stick to the stone-wall. The ochre colours are dominant like red, brown, yellow. They are diluted whenever necessary. As a rule they resemble human flesh colour. The next colour of importance is chalk-white, especially used to portray clothes. According to the number of layers of the chalk-white colour do we get the impression of transparency or untransparency. White mixed with the red ochre portrays the tender pink of the colour of the skin of Egyptian ladies. Blue and green are also used frequently. Green is the colour of the foliage of the trees, papyrus thickets, plants and flowers. The colours are represented in closed large patches and are selected according to the caprice of the painter, which is not always very decorative. The Egyptian painter does care to imitate nature. The colour composition which he prefers and which he uses to a great extent is more suggestive than real. The Egyptian artist had freed himself from naturalism at a very early stage and had turned

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towards abstract art, which we are encountering again, in the new tendencies of modern painting.

In another tomb we find a beautiful wall-painting representing a king at a hunt in a papyrus thicket. It shows the complete scale of colours which the Egyptian painter uses. The background is grey-blue in tone and the dark blue of the hieroglyphs match very nicely to the painting. The red ochre of the bodies, the spotless white of the clothes, the black of the hair, the green of the papyrus thickets, the blue of the water complete the colour-scale. Behind the king we find his sister, who was higher in rank to his wife, sitting at the feet of the king. The maid-servants are always represented in Egyptian art in simple clothes. In the right corner of the wall, there are a flock of ducks, frightened by the hunters. Two ducks guard the nest. They do not take notice of the hunter. They have more important work to do, *viz., protect* their eggs. The Egyptians are great artists in immortalising human sentiments in their wall-paintings.

Every picture is decorated with hieroglyphs. The inscriptions are a real joy to the eye, whether they be written in a vertical or horizontal way. It does not matter if the writing is wrong. The most important thing is that the script has to be beautifully written, with care and patience.

The Egyptians are masters in representing sentimental forms of expression in the faces of their figures. One wall-painting represents women in mourning. These women are expressing their grief in schematic lines and gesticulating with their arms. There is a small twist in the underlip and tears in the eyes of the women. One woman throws herself on the ground, another raises her hand to heaven, a third strikes her forehead and a fourth holds her head in both her hands. All these movements are painted with simplicity of contour and colour. The clothes are brown and the hair black. The hairs hanging down the backs of the women and the tears rolling down their cheeks give the picture the necessary atmosphere of sadness. Burial processions are also represented true to life. In the grave of Ramose there is a wonderful painting. Here we see the dead body being carried in procession. A chest of gifts is given to the dead man for the journey to eternity. This is buried in the grave with him. The heads of mourning women are portrayed in three rows, one above the other giving the impression of a crowd. Some boys in the background are carrying the household articles of the dead man. Every detail in the picture is clear and well-defined.

Very often we find paintings representing a young couple. The wife usually holds her arm around the shoulder of her husband in a light and tender manner. The position of women in Egypt was very much held in honour. She was a companion to her husband and not his slave and was highly respected. She took interest in his life, accompanied him in his fishing expeditions, hunting-trips and inspected the farms with him. An old Egyptian book of wisdom states "A man who builds a house and loves his wife is a wise man." The Egyptians knew what was important in the life of an individual and they tried to live up to their principles.

Some wall-paintings in the graves represent festivals and entertainment. Musicians are always invited to feasts to entertain the audience with music and singing. The guests are eating and drinking. The musicians and dancers are performing before them. At every function, the guests are welcomed into the house and garlanded with flowers and besmeared with sweet smelling ointments. Lotus-flowers are often offered to the guests. The black hair of the ladies is usually adorned with lotus-flowers.

Bas-reliefs and reliefs-en-creux are also found in the walls of Egyptian tombs. In the grave of Ramose we find the finest and the most delicate reliefs. In order to see these reliefs, after the lapse of so many years, we have to use an electronic flash-light. The slim limbs of tender-formed bodies are shown in fine lines. The garments are decorated with embroidery and fine pleats. The elegant expression in the faces of the men and women show that they must have belonged to an aristocratic society. The eyes and the eye-brows are painted black. The hair-style of the ladies is varied. The people had more time to spend on hair decorations. Flowers and wreaths of leaves are also used for hair ornamentation. Sometimes the hair of the ladies are falling down in loose locks, interwoven with golden threads.

One of the richest and finest monuments of art to be found in the whole world is the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amun. The coffins are of pure gold and exceptionally beautiful. They are two meters long and four to six c.m. high, inlaid with precious stones. The sarcophagus is made of pure gold. The head of the king is decorated with a viper and a hawk, both holy to the Egyptians. In his hand he is holding a sceptre fan. There is a huge golden chain around his neck.

When we see Egyptians' paintings and reliefs and study the interior of the graves, then we are deeply moved. The reason is that these works of art are products of human beings. These people had their own griefs and hopes like us. They were fond of pleasure and also deeply religious too. They dreamed of being reborn again in order to live life and partake of earthly pleasures. They could not decide to renounce them. They were human beings like us who were thirsting for the Divine.

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SOME MODERN SANSKRIT BOOKS

By Prof. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

may not generally be known that even in the present a large number of works are produced in the language every year. They cover various including different branches of Sanskrit literature. We have translations as well as original compositions. There are even a number of periodicals published in different parts of India. It must, however, have to be confessed that these enterprises of and almost selfless lovers of Sanskrit have to bitter neglect from all quarters—students of Sanskrit literature as well as the ordinary people. There is scarcely any one who takes a serious notice of these things. Thus no systematic account—nay no list—of them is available. It is not known how justice to this item will be made in the bibliography of the literary output of the country under-by the Sahitya Akademi.

Numbers of modern Sanskrit works have been in these pages from time to time representing a small cross-section of a huge mass. Among a not noticed here but published during the last of a century or so mention may be made of following few: *Manameyarahasyaslokavartika* (Madras, 1925) and *Darsanodaya* (Mysore, 1933) of Sastracharya seek to discuss and summarise the of different philosophical systems of India; commentary on the Rigveda entitled *Siddhanjana* by Kapaly Sastry interprets the Rigveda in accordance with the views of Sri Aurobinda; Life of Mahatma Gandhi in three volumes entitled *Bharata-*, *Parijatapaharana* and *Parijatasaurabha* of 25, 21 cantos respectively by Swami Sri Bhagavad-; selections from the Vedas with the titles *Samhitopanisatchataka*, *Suklayajurveda* and *Rigveda* by Swami Maheswaranandagiri Maha-Maheswara. These selections are accompanied by interpretations by the Swamiji called *Adhyatma-* which draw special attention to the ideals of the Vedas and the basic moral and principles referred to therein. Rather interesting though of little use, is the translation into Sanskrit of the Constitution of the Indian Union.

Besides these there are quite a good number of works, *e.g.*, poems, dramas and the like. One latest works of this type is the *Kathamuktavali*[2] Pandita Kshama Row who was reputed as the of a good many poems pertaining to different 'Her Sanskrit works,' it is stated, 'include seven plays, four biographies of saints in verse, a Gandhiji in three volumes, thirty-five short her father's biography, essays, letters and notes.' *Kathamuktavali* which is a posthumous collection is a collection of 15 short stories of the Short story is unknown in traditional Sanskrit literature. And few modern writers have ventured to introduce it in Sanskrit, so that Pandita Row is almost a pioneer in the line and a successful pioneer I should say. The stories generally provide good reading.

Mahalinga Shastri is another poet of modern times. He hails from South India and traces his descent from the well-known Appaya Dikshita and Tyagaraja Makhim, who though not as much known was a more or less famous writer. He is the author of a good many poems of which a fair number have been published in book-form. His *Kinkinimala*[3], 'a collection of shorter poems' was published as early as the year 1934. We have here among other poems a few which are translations of fine pieces from English literature. His original poems deal with various topics including a few rather heterdox ones like the cock and the owl. The *Dravidaryasubhasitasaptati*[4] (1952) gives Sanskrit renderings of Aurvai's poems *Nalvazhi* and *Vakkundam* in Tamil. Several new metres not known to Sanskrit prosody have been used in the work. The *Byajoktiratnavali*[5] (1953) is a collection of 125 verses written on different subjects which appear to have bearing on various incidents of life, though no reference thereto is made in the English translations of the verses that accompany the text. *Bhramarasandesha*[6] (1954) written in imitation of Kalidasa's Meghaduta or Meghasandesha describes in 110 verses how Indra on one occasion sent a message to Sachi, his consort, through a bee of Indra's garden in heaven that had followed him to the earth. *Vanalata*[6] (1955) is a romantic poem in five cantos describing the story of a Yaksha and his wife who were separated by the curse of Kuvera which transformed the wife into a creeper. He is also reported to have composed two more poetical works named the *Shambhusaparyopadesha* and the *Deshikendrastavanjali* as well as two dramas, the *Kaundinyaprahasana* and the *Kalipradurbhava*. On the whole, the author is a good writer and his poems are beautiful and interesting. But the learned poet is painfully aware of the fact—already hinted by me—that 'original literary efforts in Sanskrit of a contemporary writer when sought to be brought to light can scarcely ever attract the attention of even professed lovers and votaries of Sanskrit who do not, however, fail to acclaim her immortal and almighty on the platforms.' And this perhaps, is the sad experience of all modern writers of Sanskrit.

N. M. Tripathi Ltd., Princess Street, Bombay-2. Price

2. Printed at the Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras. Price Rs. 2.
3. Sahityachandrasala, Tiruvalangadu, Tanjore District. Price Re. 1.
4. *Ibid*. Price Rs. 2.
5. *Ibid*. Price Re. 1-8.
6. *Ibid*. Price [illegible]

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

STUDIES IN EPICS AND PURANAS OF INDIA: *By A. D. Pusalker. Bharatya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1955. Pp. lxviii + 224. Price Re. 1-12, Cloth-bound Rs. 3.*

This is a collection of papers contributed by the author in past years to various journals and collective works, which have been revised for the purpose of the present publication. Introducing his work the author observes with characteristic modesty that it is intended to serve as an introduction to Epic and Pauranic studies. It consists of six chapters with a long Introduction added here for the first time. The Introduction dealing successively with the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, and the Puranas, discusses a number of fundamental points regarding the age and composition of these works with frequent references to the orthodox views as well as the opinions of modern scholars on the subject. Chapter I traces the history of cosmogonic ideas in India from the Rig-Veda down to the Puranas so as to assess the indebtedness of the latter to the past and their own contribution in the same field. In Chapter II, the author gives his reasons for rejecting Pargiter's well-known theory to the effect that the Puranas in contrast with the Vedas contain Kshatriya historical tradition and that they were originally written in Prakrit. In Chapter III, the author discussing the conflicting claims of the Vayu and the Siva Puranas decides in favour of including the former in the list of Mahapuranas. Chapter IV seeks to show that Kuru Sravana, a king mentioned in Rig-Veda X.32.9; 33.4, appears in the Mahabharata and the Puranas as Kuru, son of Samvarana. In Chapter V, the author discusses the Krishna problem under five heads, firstly, whether Krishna was a human being or a divinity at the beginning, secondly, whether there was one Krishna or there were several Krishnas, thirdly, the life of Krishna collected from all sources, fourthly, the period of his career and, fifthly, a discussion of the various theories regarding the Krishna problem. The sixth and the longest chapter which deals exhaustively with the progress of Epic and Pauranic studies in India and abroad brings up-to-date the author's previous publication on the subject in the work, *Progress of Indic Studies* (1917-42), published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

The above brief analysis will help to give the reader an idea of the rich and varied intellectual fare provided by this work. The author throughout gives ample evidence of his deep erudition based on first-hand study of the original material as well as the researches of English, French, German, American and Indian scholars. His methods of clear analysis and lucid exposition are of a high standard. Though we may differ from him on points of detail (such as the date for the Mahabharata war) his judgments as a rule are marked by sobriety and good sense. His high intellectual honesty (which unfortunately he does not share with some well-known Indian scholars of our time) makes him scrupulously acknowledge his indebtedness to his teachers as well as other scholars. The merits of the work are enhanced by a good Index. Altogether the *Studies in Epics and Puranas of India* will be indispensable for all future workers in the field.

The book is singularly free from printing or other mistakes, but Gorrossio on page xxxviii requires correction. On page 198, G. C. Bose is a slip for G. S. Bose.

U. N. GHOSHAL

METAPHYSICAL JOURNAL: *By Gabriel Marcel. Published by the Rockliff Publishing Corporation Ltd., London. Price 30s. net.*

The book under review is a well-written exposition of the way of thinking known as 'existentialism' all over the world. Gabriel Marcel is one of those modern French philosophers who found a place in the mind of the English-reading public. His philosophical views were given a tremendous ovation in a certain section of the press and the public. 'Being cannot be objectivised,' 'value is polymorphous' and all such dicta had a careful reassessment at the hands of Marcel. He is opposed to Sartre as regards the concept of value. In places he agrees with Heidegger's views on language. We must remember that Marcel's analytic method required the exactitude and precision of language we found in Moore's *Principia Ethica*. It is very gratifying to note that Marcel and his translator Bernard Wall both rose equal to the occasion. The finer shades of meaning as we find in the different types of human experience were well-suggested by the proper use of appropriate words and terms. Moreover Marcel's style negated all possibilities of monotony and boredom. It is wonderfully refreshing. It stimulates thinking. Marcel does not believe in the acceptance of dogmas unexamined. He subjects all concepts and notions to severe logical test and scrutiny. He is a believer in heuristic principles and innate worth. He is a believer in 'existentialism.'

Marcel does not like to be branded 'existentialist.' It has been rightly pointed out by the author that existentialism is a slippery concept and we would do well to brand his philosophy 'neo-Socratism.' This is the author's own choice. His reputation as a Christian existentialist did not forbid him to denounce the 'existentialism.' Existentialism, it is true, gave rise to much misunderstanding. That is why he preferred to be called a 'Neo-Socratist.' This name amply brings out the author's 'attitude of interrogation' so evident throughout the book under review.

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Metaphysical Journal virtually sums up the philo-
sophical position of Marcel, expounded in his earlier
writings. The reader would find it profitable to read
the Appendix on existence and objectivity. It will
set up many of the muddled ideas of the reader
straight. The author, in this appendix, avowedly under-
takes to disentangle many of the fundamental themes
of the *Journal*. The reader would be reassured of the
strong conviction of the author in 'existence' and that
this is the bed-rock of Marcel's philosophy. Here
he brooks no doubt and asserts: "If the negation of
existence is a decree or fiat, for my part I choose the
contrary decree and have no hesitation in declaring
that for me existence is beyond all doubt" (p. 322).
My faith is not dogmatic and it has been sought to
be rationalised. The rationale of this faith may be
found in the book under review.

We wholeheartedly recommend this book to the
students of philosophy here in India. It will stimulate
and inspire original thinking either in the reasoned
acceptance or rejection of the main philosophical doc-
trines of the *Journal*.

The Rockliff Publishing Corporation Ltd. deserves
a word of praise for introducing this brilliant book to
the English-knowing people of the world. The print-
ing and get-up of the book are satisfactory.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

1. PATNA UNIVERSITY JOURNAL. Vol. 7, No. 2 Vol. 8, 1954; 3. Vol. 9, 1955; 4. Vol. 10, *Editor-in-Chief, K. Ahmad, Principal, Patna College. Published by the Assistant Registrar, Patna University, Patna-5. Price Rs. 2 each.*

The volumes under review represent the co-
operative effort and zeal of the Patna University
teachers to extend the bounds of knowledge in the
respective fields assigned to their charge.

The first volume, complete in 150 pages
including the twenty-five-page note on the MSS,
Sanskrit and Persian, acquired for the University
Library, is enriched with learned contributions, such
as the Recent Price-recession in India, the Problem
of Form in Fiction, Aryabhatta, and Democracy.
In the last paper, Dr. Philip enters into a discussion
of the theories of Hobhouse, Lindsay and Colling-
wood, the suitability of this form of government for
reconciling the personality of the Individual and a
criticism of Laski's view that Russian society is more
democratic than that of the British, though the
government is not.

Volume 8, complete in 112 pages (including
twenty-page note on the MSS, acquired for the
University Library), contains eleven papers of which
relate to Indian history; the fifth deals with
Foreign-Policy-making in the U.S.A.; the sixth dis-
cusses the Sociological Theories of Emile Durkheim
other papers, *e.g.*, (7) Psychological Study of
Prophes, (8) the Industrial Regions of Bihar,
Indian Defences in Self-Judgment, (10) Classification
of Tribes of the Patna District, (11) Relation between
the Union and States in India, bear out the activity
of the respective departments.

Among the historical papers, one throws new light
on a notable figure of the Sepoy Mutiny, Kumar
Singh of Jagadishpur, Shahabad district; the other
entitled *Ideological Basis of Research on Ancient*
Indian Polity, makes a plea for an objective treatment
of the Ancient history of India. The writer points out
that nationalist ideology inspired research on the
ancient civilization of the land, and that eminent men
like Bhagwanlal Indraji, R. G. Bhandarkar, Rajendra-
lal Mitra and B. G. Tilak, took up their pen to refute
Maxmuller's contention expressed in the words, "To
the Greek, existence is full of life and beauty, to the
Hindu it is a dream and delusion." He adds weight
to his argument by pointing out how a prolific litera-
ture on 'Ancient Indian Polity,' such as, (1) *Public
Administration in Ancient India* by P. N. Banerji,
1916, (2) *Corporate Life in Ancient India* by R. C.
Majumdar, 1918, (3) *Local Government in Ancient
India* by R. K. Mukherji, 1920, (4) *Aspects of Ancient
Indian Polity* by N. N. Law, 1921, (5) *Hindu Political
Theories* by U. N. Ghoshal, 1923, (6) *Same Aspects
of Ancient Hindu Polity* by D. R. Bhandarkar, 1925,
(7) *Hindu Polity* by K. P. Jaysawal, 1925, (8) *Hindu
Administrative Institutions* by V. R. Dikshitar, 1927,
(9) *Development of Hindu Political Theories of
Kautilya* by N. C. Banerji, 1927, (10) *Hindu Administra-
tive Institutions in South India* by S. K. Aiyanger,
1931, (11) *Political Institutions and Theories of the
Hindus* by B. K. Sarkar (written about 1922, pub-
lished in 1939) and treatises like (12) *International
Law and Custom in Ancient India* by P. N. Banerji,
1920, (13) *International Law in Ancient India* by S.
V. Visvanath, synchronised with the starting of the
Home Rule Movement in 1916. According to him,
they were written with a purpose intended to bring
grist to the nationalist mill (p. 89). In conclusion, he
makes a plea for "scientific methodology of research"
and ends his paper by asking the students of Ancient
Indian history to judge how far K. A. Nilkantha
Sastri's view (started in the Oriental Conference at
Lucknow, 1951) of "Apastamba and Manu" having
provided for a Welfare State was correct! How far
such an approach opened up further lines of research"
(p. 90).

Volume 9 is devoted exclusively to Science. All
the articles are highly specialized. Research in
Chemistry is represented by such papers as (*i*) Geo-
metrical Isomerism in quadricovalent complexes of Bi-
valent copper and silver, (*ii*) the Chemistry of Brazilin
and Hoematoxylin, (*iii*) Internal pressure of liquid
Inert Gases and their latent Heats and Entropies of
evaporation, (*iv*) the Reactions between Ferric Chlo-
ride and Salts of some organic acids. Interest in
medical science and the treatment of disease and the
study on statistics is reflected in a number of papers,
while Physics, Zoology, Mathematics and Geology
have each a contribution to their credit in this volume
of 113 pages.

Volume 10 claims attention on account of the
inclusion of papers in six languages, Sanskrit and
Hindi in the Devanagari script, Arabic, Persian and
Urdu in Arabic script, while two papers in Bengali.
(*i*) *Durganujar Mahatmya Ebong Bangalir Jibane
Tahar Prabhab* by Anima Sen Gupta of the Magadha
Women's College, (*ii*) *Bangala Sahitye Krishnabhakti
Vishayini Rachana-shakha* by Aruna Haldar of the
Patna Women's College, act as a sort of hyphen
between the papers in the Devanagari script in the
beginning and those in the Arabic script at the end.

The University of Patna has not yet passed the
adolescent stage, but the contributions of the learned
team of teachers hold out great hopes for the future.

N. B. ROY

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LECTURES IN AMERICA AND OTHER PAPERS: *By P. C. Mozoomdar. Navavidhan Publication Committee, 95, Keshub Chunder Sen Street, Calcutta-9. Pp. xiv + 319. Price Rs. 4.*

We should, at the outset, congratulate the Committee on the publication of so handy a volume at such a moderate price. Protap Chunder Mozoomder was hailed in the West as a "Prophet of the glowing East." He was fortunate enough to gain considerable first-hand knowledge and experience of the progressive countries in the East and the West, during his four tours in 1874, 1883, 1893 and 1900. But his mind was ever concentred in India, his Motherland, and he utilized his kowledge and experience to the full in enriching his country and countrymen. A close associate of Keshub Chunder Sen and a prominent member of the Brahmo Samaj, Protap Chunder took an active part in most of the reform movements of his day. Besides his activities in the Brahmo Samaj, he always thought and worked for the good of his people. The modern University Institute, Calcutta, owed its origin and development to Protap Chunder to a large extent.

The present volume, as its caption indicates, contains Mr. Mozoomdar's lectures delivered in America in different capacities, as a delegate to the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, and as a lecturer to the Lowell Institute, Boston, as well as letters of sympathy written to him by notable persons, from home and abroad, and a summary of the Report of world's first Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893. This Parliament of Religions has a special fascination for the Indians as it was here that the Indian Monk Swami Vivekananda made his first public appearance and delivered an eloquent speech which won him repeated applause from the select audience in the Parliament. Much has been said and written of this memorable incident. But the part played by Protap Chunder Mozoomder in introducing the Swami to the authorities of the Parliament, and in the actual proceedings of the Parliament in its plenary and select committee sessions is little known to us. The compiler has done us a service by summarising the Report from which we are enabled not only to make a correct estimate of the works of the Parliament but also the important part played by Mr. Mozoomder. His lectures in the Parliament and at the Lowell Institute show his profundity of knowledge in ancient Indian thought, culture, religion and social system. A true patriot that he was, he dwelt at length on the fundamentals of our religion, thought and culture and proved beyond doubt the West's indebtedness to Asia in these respects. We find Protap Chunder in his best in these pages. In Protap Chunder was blended an ardent patriot, a profound scholar and a master-artist. The book will be useful to the students of Indology as well.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

PRICE CONTROLS IN INDIA SINCE 1947: *By Dr. Ram Gopal Agrawal, M.A., D.Phil. Published from 28, Feroz Shah Road, New Delhi. Pp. 192. Price Rs. 7-8.*

Price control had its origin in the Second World War because of the necessity of the State and also for the protection of consumers' interest in an atmosphere of rising prices because of scarcity of goods and also as effects of monetary inflation. The subject is a burning one and its importance has not yet ceased in the new planned economy which India is pursuing since attainment of freedom. The author has divided his book in several chapters, viz., Price Cotrol—Theoretical Background, Objectives and Techniques of Price Control, Evolution of Price Control in India, Price Control and the Producer, Price Control and the Distributor, Price Control and the Consumer, Price Control Administrations, Price Control and Fiscal and Monetary Policy, Price Control and Trade and Tariff Policy and the Future of Price Control. Notes on Index number of wholesale prices and constitutional provisions relating to Control have been given in the Appendices.

From the division of the subjects dealt with it will be seen that the author has spared no pains in discussing this important subject from different points of view to get at a correct picture. Controls affect all classes of people in different ways and in a socialistic economy which India has for its ideal, its importance cannot be overemphasised. Thus the book will be of more than passing interest to students of Indian economics. Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, Minister for Commerce and Industry, has written a foreword of the book which has been approved as a thesis for the D.Phil. Degree of the Allahabad University.

A. B. DUTTA

THE WAY TO PEACE, POWER AND LONG LIFE: *By Swami Narayanananda. Published by Messrs. N. K. Prasad and Co., Rishikesh, U.P. Pp. 190. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The author of this enlarged and revised book in its second edition is an educated Hindu monk and an enthusiastic votary of the ideal of continence. In this small volume, he presents impressively his considered views on the necessity of continence, the meaning and means of Brahmacharya as the foundation of life. His statements are supported by authoritative opinions of great men like Sri Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhi. They are furthermore enriched by substantial quotations from our ancient scriptures. The language of the book is simple and the arguments put forward are convincing. It is only through the strict observance of continence that the individual can accomplish peace and longevity as well as maintain an unbroken health. In these days of materialistic epidemics when the lamentable lack of incontinence breeds ill-health and immorality is a common feature, this book appears to note a timely warning and suggest a simple solution to the incontinent majority of our society.

The booklet should be studied widely and its instructions put into practice in daily life by those who want to enjoy a peaceful and healthy life.

SHIBANI PRASAD MAITRA

HE WHO RIDES A TIGER: *By Bhabani Bhattacharya. Jaico Publishing House, Bombay. 1955. Pp. 243. Price Rs. 2.*

Bhabani Bhattacharya is one of those very few Indian writers who have made their mark in the international literary scene in recent times. His novels, glowing in their colourful Indian setting, have been translated into almost all the important languages of the world and have won for him countless admirers in distant lands.

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the present novel, Mr. Bhattacharya gives of his unmistakable gift of story-telling as of a deeply sensitive mind. The novel revolves a strange assortment of people whom fate d to try out, evolve and assiduously practise time, a daring social experiment. The ex- itself was largely fraudulent in nature and the pet theme of the sullen rage and that the socially backward some times to feel towards his better-placed neighbours. theme, exploited by many, undoubtedly helps to flow smoothly, and crystallize and sustain der's interest. Eventually, the burden of the which grows in volume like a snowball, be- such as its perpetrators can bear no more and the end, the mask falls off after a measure heart-searching there follows quickly a of emotional disentanglements.

hani Bhattacharya has infused his narrative curious power and sense of bitterness—power from the vortex of the abysmal calamity fell Bengal in the early 1940's when a famine rallelled magnitude stalked that land and thousands in its grisly trail. Mr. Bhatta- has captured something of the bestialities, the alities, and of the utter negation of morals human values enveloping a whole nation in the clutches of a pitiless disaster. His ation is irreproachable and it is largely this more than any other, that stamps this novel distinction and authority all its own.

RAMESH GHOSHAL

PRING IN WINTER: *By Harindranath adhyaya. Atmaram and Sons, Kashmere Delhi-6. Price Rs. 7-8.*

a poet Harindranath needs no introduction. one of those few Indian writers whose English do not betray the effort of a foreigner. Grace- musical they flow with ease and communicate the sentiments of the poet. The book under contains 208 simple and charming love-lyrics. and not cleverness is their strongest point.

"How sweet it is
To watch, you know,
The parent sparrows
Come and go
In their small beaks
Bearing a load
Which goes to build
A cosy abode."

like these strike a nice homely note. The of the book is excellent.

AMMOHUN ROY AND MODERN INDIA: *Ramanda Chatterjee. Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6. Price eight annas.*

monograph, originally written as an intro- to the second edition of the English works of Rammohun Roy, first appeared in the form of booklet in 1918. This is a partially revised of the same. Rammohun is undoubtedly one greatest makers of modern India. In this bro- learned author has described the manifold of his personality—as a social reformer, as an as a writer, as a political thinker and as economist.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

BENGALI

BASANTA BAHAR: *By Gopal Bhaumik. Grantha Jagat, 7-J, Panditiya Road, Calcutta-29. Price Re. 1-8.*

The poems are expressly romantic. They represent the spirit of Spring—the charm and intoxication of youth. Here and there one might blush at the exhibition on an unconventional attitude or dislike an unpoetic expression, but most of these light, deftly composed poems are expected to delight the readers in their moments of leisure. Even in our modern city life, the poet has found occasions for many a dream.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

JHANKAR: *Edited by Raghupati Sahay "Firaq". Hindusthani Culture Society, Allahabad. Pp. 198. Price Rs. 3.*

Here are seventy-two facets of Urdu poetry written during the last decade or more in Devanagari script. These facets, however, reveal an over-all revolutionary urge and objective in the economic, social and political life of the people. Poets like 'Josh', 'Wajd', 'Sahir', 'Makhmur', 'Kanwal', 'Swami', 'Firaq' and their comrades desire to pull down, with the thunder of their vision and voice, walls which have divided mankind into classes, as if each of the classes were exclusive in order and in interest. Most of the poems naturally keep close to the ground, for the poets seem to believe that before the kingdom of Heaven can be brought on earth, the earth has first to be cleared of the debris and the dunghills with which it is littered. *Jhankar* fills one with divine discontent with things as they are. But is not a vision of Heaven also necessary to cheer up the crusader?

G. M.

GUJARATI

SHRIMAD RAJCHANDRA ARDHA SHATABDI SMARAK GRANTHA: *Published by Shrimad Rajchandra Mumukshu Mandal, Agas* (via *Anand*). *Printed at the Shivaji Printing Press, Surat. 1951. Cloth-bound. Profusely illustrated. Pp. 167. Unpriced.*

Shrimad Rajchandra, the *guru* and guide of Mahatma Gandhi, though he lived the life of a householder, was a saint. He died early in life, but he has left so much religious literature behind him and had secured so many followers by his propaganda, that his memory is being kept alive by various Mandals, Memorial Halls, and Books, so that it is difficult to forget him. This magnificent volume in memory of his death called Half a Century Memorial gives every particular of his own life, that of his relatives, friends and admirers and thus perpetuates his commendable life-work.

MANISHA: *By Minoo Desai and Raman Shah. Printed at the Pratap Printing, Bombay. 1951. Cloth-bound. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 116. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is the collection of sonnets written by about 70 writers, all of them modern and all of them first class. One of the publishers, Minoo Desai, though a Parsi by birth, is a well-known writer of cultural Gujarati verse, and one of his compositions is included in the collection. The best that is in the sonnet literature of modern Gujarati is to be found here. Its Introductions trace the history of this branch of literature, which is produced in imitation of its form in English, and explanatory notes at the end make it very useful for students of the subject.

K. M. J.

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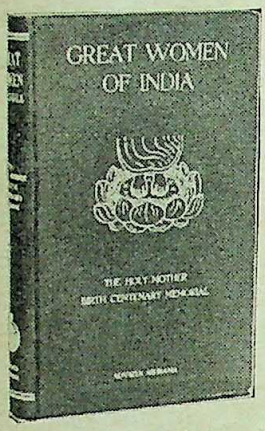
GREAT WOMEN OF INDIA



Issued to commemorate the first Birth Centenary of Sri Sarada Devi—the Holy Mother, the illustrious spiritual consort of Sri Ramakrishna

Editors

SWAMI MADHAVANANDA

DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR

Introduction by

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

"The position of women in any society is a true index of its cultural and spiritual level."

"THIS VOLUME, which commemorates the Birth Centenary of a Great Woman of our time, is an attempt, the first of its kind, to survey the position and prospect of women in Indian society during the last five thousand years, and to present a kaleidoscopic picture of their dreams and visions, hopes and aspirations, through an illustrative study of the lives and achievements of the more outstanding among them.... Quite a fascinating picture unfolds itself in the pages of this book. It is a long procession, through the ages, of Indian women who attained greatness in various spheres of life and culture—political and aesthetic, moral and spiritual," says Dr. Radhakrishnan in his Introduction.

THE VOLUME is divided into two main sections. The first gives a general survey of the ideals and position of Indian womanhood in different spheres of life, both in the past and in the present, together with a chapter on the evolution of Mother worship in India. The second section is a study of the lives of great women in India—not only those who actually lived and died, but also many others who are known only from literary sources such as the Vedas, Epics, Puranas, and classical Sanskrit literature.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Assam and her Culture

Sudhansu Mohan Banerjee writes in *The ...in of the Ramakrishna Institute of Culture*: ...fore we discuss Assam and her culture, it is ...to state certain fundamental implications of any ...or civilization, which are often forgotten. No ...ion, in its widest sense, is autochthonous, nor ...flourish within a cloistered shelter. Any parti...ype of human behaviour is the complex product ...impact, an inter-play, of different forces. History, ...late Henry Ford declared, might be 'bunk,' but ...the expression of a collective mind, the creation ...emergence of new concepts, of new ideas and ... The phenomenon of the group influencing ...is not a mere historical accident, but a natural ...a sociological necessity. Ancient Egyptians ...been influenced by proto-Sumerians, but they, ...turn, influenced Babylon and Assyria and the East. The Cretans influenced the Greek, and ...influenced Rome and Persia; and Greece, again, ...enced by the Mycenaeans. Roman law, codes, ...are at the root of the modern western civili...though Byzantine Greece was also sufficiently ...by the East.

...when we talk of Assamese culture, Marathi ...Bengali literature, Tamil art, or Telugu ...we have to recognize that a narrow terri...patriotism is out of court, and that we are in a ...where we have to give as well as to take. This ...eral proposition has to be restated, because in ...ness to prove a particular thesis, we lose ...a basic principle. But, at the same time, it is ...that every civilization creates a style of its ...has its distinctive features. As Dr. Radha...has pointed out, civilization is based on a ...its codes and conventions, its ways of life and ...of mind are poised on a dream. When the ...prevails, civilization advances; when the dream ...civilization goes down. "If we are attempting ...the limits of any given civilization," as ...Toynbee says, "either spatial or temporal, we ...a matter of fact, that the aesthetic taste is the ...as well as the subtlest. It speaks in clearer ...than either politics or economics." Further, a ...of history and culture is not merely a *resume* of ...of monarchs and generals, but a study in ...tion of literature, language, art, ethnology, ...gion, and its reaction on the social structure ...the body politic.

...a vast majority of Indians, Assam is just a ...of jungles and tea gardens, black magic and ...craft, violent earthquakes and raging rivers. Her ...and fauna, her tribals and their customs, mighty ...and wild elephants, dancing Lusheis and hunt...ages excite the curiosity of the outside world. A ...Crison, or a Gordon would write about her: ...anthropologists rush to regain a paradise lost; and geologists go thither to track the trail of a wealth sheltered in the womb of mother earth. But the fact remains that Assam and her pattern of life and her attempt to evolve a composite culture are not known beyond the historian's den or the scientist's ken. Few realize that, apart from Assam's political and strategic value, a great human integration is slowly taking place there.

The Racial Background

Assam is a land of contrasts, where diverse races, castes, and creeds have met at different levels of its civilization in different ages. Each of them has contributed its own share to the common national heritage behind which lurk the race-memories of past traditions. Even nature here adds to the amazing diversity. Yet there is an inner unifying force which is at work in an assimilative process. The vehicles through which a group-mind primarily integrates are language, literature, manners and customs, religious beliefs, and ethical values. In Assam, this process of racial and cultural synthesis first began in the Brahmaputra valley, the rich alluvial tracts of which attracted newcomers from the north and north-east, *i.e.*, from Tibet, China, and Burma, who gradually pushed the older inhabitants into the hills. The first to arrive in Assam, after the wave of Negritos had passed leaving behind some traces of their race, were the Austric-speaking proto-Australoids, the Khasis and Jaintias being their modern representatives. The matrilineal structure of their society, the Bihu and Nongkrim dances, the terraced cultivation called Zhum, and the stone megaliths are still the remnants of the archaic origin. They have also handed down an embryonic oral literature, mainly songs and poems, preserving memories of race-movement of a primitive pastoral society. The Dravidians and the Kiratas or Mongoloids, such as the Bodos, came subsequently. They have left their impress on the social body of Assam.

Then came the Aryans, whose influence has shaped the Assamese culture. Kamarupa and Pragjyotisa were known in the days of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Kamarupa is mentioned in Raghu's *digvijaya*. We hear in the *Mahabharata* the names of Naraka and Bhagadatta, Bana, Usha, Aniruddha, Ulupi' Babhruvahan, Hidimba, and Ghatotkacha, all of whom hailed from this region. With the coming of the Aryans, Assam passed into the main current of Indian history. There is a story in the *Satapatha Brahmana* of the carrying of the sacrificial fire from Sarasvati towards the east. The name Pragjyotisha was probably derived from *Pragjyotis*, *i.e.*, the dawn. Their earliest eastern settlement was the region of Videha or Mithila. There are reasons to believe that there was direct contact between Mithila and Kamarupa. Kamarupa thus became an outpost of Aryan infiltration in the east and, perhaps, culturally developed even before Pundra (North Bengal) and Magadha (South Bihar), though the Nandas and the Mauryas were lords of the Prachyas and the

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Gangaradhas. The *Aitareya Brahmana* mentions even Pundras as *dasyus*, and Baudhayana treats them as *sankirnayoni* (of mixed birth) and therefore outside the pale of Vedic culture. In *Kalika Purana*, it is said that Naraka was brought up in Videha, conquered Pragjyotisha, and killed King Gholaka. Assam's subsequent history is the story of her gradual Aryanization, particularly of Kamarupa, *i.e.*, the present Brahmaputra valley, from the borders of Sadiya right up to a portion of North Bengal.

The Age of Bhaskaravarman

Some say that the Bodos, *i.e.*, the Mongoloids of Tibeto-Burman origin, were the founders of Kamarupa. According to Padmanatha Vidyavinod, the inscriptions of Bhaskaravarman (seventh century A.D.) show that, from about the fifth or sixth century A.D., there were many Brahmanas and Kayasthas in Kamarupa. In a single village of Kamarupa, there were two hundred Brahmanas, Hiuen-Tsang saw hundreds of *deva* temples in the country. He remarked that the language spoken in Kamarupa, though dissimilar in many points, bore some similarity with that spoken in Mithila. Bhaskaravarman, who was the contemporary of Harsa and Sasanka, was a great lover of learning. In the Nidhanpur copperplate inscriptions, Bhaskaravarman is stated to be the revealer of Aryan religion by dispelling the accumulated darkness of *kaliyuga*, by the judicious use of his revenues.

The nature of the Kamarupa culture of that age may be best judged by Bhaskaravarman's gifts to Harsavardhana, which consisted of a Halali silk coat, a well-tanned soft skin, an umbrella decorated with jewels, a book written on polished bark, fragrant *aguru* wood, musk, a mat with fine and coloured cane laths, fine molasses in an earthen jar, a pair of Bamini ducks in a gold embroidered cage, a quantity of finely spun yarn and Muga silk, jack-fruit, and cocoanut.

After the Varmans, the Mlecchas and the Palas (different from the Palas of Bengal) ruled. Tantricism and Saivism gained ground, as also the Sahajiya Natha cult. Matsyendranatha and Abhinavagupta became respected names. A number of images of Ganesha, Durga, and Siva, engraved on rocks, have been found. Several specimens of architecture, supposed to have been executed in the days of Bhaskaravarman, and also perhaps earlier, in the sixth century, show, according to R. D. Benerjee, that the outlines of the plinth bear the same motifs and figures as those found in the northern provinces. Some of their ornamentations are similar to those of the temples of Orissa. There is also the *chaitya* window pattern.

The Religious Background

Both in legend and history, Siva-worship appears to have been the most popular form of religion in early times in Assam. Fifteen places were sacred to Siva as against five to Devi and five to Vishnu. According to the Buranjis (historical chronicles of the Ahoms) Siva-worship was first introduced by Jalpesvara, a hermit of Jalpaiguri. Bana was a Siva-worshipper. It is held by many that Siva was, at first, a non-Aryan god associated with phallic worship. Keith believes that Vedic Rudra was really a syncretic deity and that Tamil Siva indicated a red man. The sage Upamatyu propagated the worship of the joint symbol of the divine male and female creative principles of the universe. As Gopinath Rao points out, the male and female principles are inseparable and are even found together in cosmic evolution, and the real import of the concept of Ardhanarisvara is the worship of the dual principle of Siva and Sakti in the shape of *linga* and *yoni*. The worship of the *yoni* aspect of the Mother Goddess or Sakti, seen in Kamarupa, was probably prevalent among the Australoids, and the famous Kamakhya temple enshrines perhaps an old Austric deity in a new setting. This goddess was later identified with Tripura Bala or Tripura Sundari of the later Tantras.

There was also, side by side, a growth of the Vasistha cult. Buddhism had, by this time, through Kalachakrayana, Vajrayana, Mantrayana, and Sahajiyana degenerated into a Tantric ritualism. Lama Taranatha speaks of many Buddhists taking shelter in Khasi, Jaintia, and Kuki kingdoms. A debased form of Mother cult and memories of animism, devil-worship and snake cults added to the catalogue of beliefs.

The Ahoms and Their Language

It was at this time that a great event occurred in Assam, which influenced powerfully its future course of history and shaped its culture. We refer to the advent of the Ahoms, who gave their name to Assam. Akin to Shans and Thais, they were an immigrant race-group who invaded Assam seven centuries ago and settled there. The name Assam is a phonetic variant. Robinson and Gait took it to mean unrivalled or unequalled or peerless. The people perhaps used to regard the Ahoms as such. But the conquerors soon became the conquered. They were completely Aryanized. The kings became Hindu kings and claimed descent from Indra. They added the title *'svargadeva'* to their name. A study of the Buranjis—about which Grierson writes "The Assamese are justly proud of their national literature. In no department have they been more successful than in a branch of study in which India, as a rule, is curiously deficient"—reveals the story of a great cultural impact and a mighty absorption. The language that developed, as a result of this impact, was predominantly Aryan in origin, with a strong leaven of a non-Aryan Ahomia element.

Modern Assamese is the direct descendant of the old Prachya-Magadhi Apabhramsa, and is closely akin to Bengali. Even today, the spoken language of North Bengal and West Assam seems to form one dialect group. It is also necessary to remember that Assamese is the language of only a small part of the present Asasm, as defined today. More precisely the present Assamese is the language of Kamarupa, which in ancient times comprised a portion of North Bengal, the Brahamaputra valley, and a few other districts of Assam. The Assamese language, under independent kings and in the context of an entirely self-contained social

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a separate speech, according to Dr. Suniti Chatterji, though the sister dialect in North accepted the vassalage of the literary speech of

The script adopted for the Assamese is also the *bhadra-lipi*. Some of the verses of *Dakervachan*, *Sunya Parana*, and *Mayanamatirgan* as also works of the earlier poets like Rudra Kandali, Sarasvati, Mankara, Durgavara, and Pitambara two distinct trends, namely, choral songs, such *bar-pati* and *mantras*, and translations and stories from the epics and the Puranas. connection, it is worth remembering Madhava who, basking in the patronage of Varahiraja Sri kya and Kamta kings, retold, in simple verna- the story of the *Ramayana* to an appreciative

Sankara Deva's Contribution

advent of Sankara Deva and Madhava Deva a new age. The former placed before Assam ne of Ekasarana, a democratic monotheistic not divorced from old Indian moorings, but with mise of a new life and spirit, with a literature own. It can be safely asserted that Assam's Vaishnava literature, little known in the rest is in no way inferior to that which developed parts of the country. Sankara Deva's tion to Assam's cultural life is so overwhelming may be said that his was the creative genius of He was a saviour not with the sword, but spirit. He was a saint, pholosopher, poet, prophet, -intoxicated man, with ideas far ahead of his Sankara Deva reintroduced the old dramatic such as *ankia-nat*, *yatra*, *jhumur*, and folk and songs such as *dhulia*, acrobatics, and mask-

re is one point, however, which should not be a history of the cultural impact of this period, remarkable growth of a common medium which among the Vanishnava devotees all over North a vehicle of ecstatic expression. It is a mixed Bengali, Assamese, Maithili, Hindi, Rajasthani, dialects, and is known as Brajabuli. gh Sankara Deva is claimed to be the originator mese prose, his *ankia-nats*, on which this claim are nothing but a combination of songs and in a dramatic form. Actually, Assamese prose from the *mantra* texts and *charit-putis*. Bhatta the first great prose-writer. Later on, the and diplomatic correspondence gave rise to prose. Assam is lucky in that it has an immense literature in the shape of records called These Buranjis are important sources of but they are full of local colour and have been done by Dr. S. K. Bhuiyan, whose of the Buranjis is a national asset.

India in Miniature

is not possible within the orbit of this short to do justice to all the cultural trends that in Assam during the last five hundred years, critical study of its culture points to one basic it is a story of integration and assimilation. its inward trend, its vitality, and its challenge. in the outward context of yesterday, even cal unity was not considered a reality, the of history has been to coalesce, to unite. Today, than a necessity.

Assam covers sixty thousand square miles, of which twenty thousand comprise the plains and forty thousand the hills. Two-thirds of her people, however, live in the plains and one-third in the hills. One sees here contrasts in extremes—contrasts in cultural outlook, in thought, habits, and ways of life. One finds different ethnic types and cultural backgrounds, a mixture of extremes from old Austric to the most modern, brought about, successively, through Tibeto-Mongolian, Dravido-Aryan, Islamic, and western infiltration. Here are the Nagas, the Lusheis, the Mizos, the Khasis, the Garos, the Mikirs, the Hindus, the Mohammedans, and the Christians, all contributing their quota to the present-day life and culture of this ancient picturesque land.

The historian should build up the living picture of the people's movements, the conflict and assimilation of ideas and ideals, of customs and prejudices, and of beliefs and rituals. Here, the attempt should be to take history away from racial or territorial grooves and conceive it as something related to an integrated human movement. In India, Assam is the best place for such a study. It is India in miniature, a cross-section of Indian civilization, a fine piece of its cultural mosaic. The problem today, as it has been for centuries in Assam as well as in India as a whole, is the problem of integration—cultural, social, political, and administrative. Assam's history is a pointer and a guide in this respect.

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Education in England

Prof. Austin A. D'Souza, writes in *The Indian Review*:

"Upon the Edacation of this country the future of this country depends." These words of Disraeli form the inspiring opening sentence of the preamble of the 1944 Education Act which re-organized the educational system of England, and was hailed as the corner-stone in the edifice of social reconstruction by which the British Government aimed to transform post-war Britain. The Act was actually passed under the war-time Coalition Government but it received the unqualified support of all parties in the House, and of all those interested in the future of English education outside it. By an accident or chance it fell to a Conservative President of the Board of Education, Mr. "Rab" Butler, to pilot the Act through Parliament; but he was ably supported by his Labour Parliamentary Secretary, Mr. Chuter Ede, and it was to a Labour Minister of Education, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, who first had to shoulder the task of putting the Act into operation.

The passing of the comprehensive, revolutionary and forward-looking Education Act at a time when England was engaged in a life-and-death struggle for survival was no mere act of bravado, or wishful planning. It was the sober, if somewhat belated, recognition of a fact that had been slowly but surely impressing itself on public consciousness, ever since the passing of the first major Education Act in 1870, which made education free, compulsory, and universal in England.

This fact may be simply stated. A true democracy demands an educated electorate; education in a democratic society is not a luxury, or an ornament, but an absalute necessity for its continued progress and prosperity, and for the happiness and well-being of its individual citizens, and of the community as a whole. True education is not the imposition of standard pattern of knowledge, habits and beliefs on every one alike, but the drawing out and development of their individual differences and potentalities. Hence for a man to be truly educated he must be given an education as far as possible suited to his age, ability and aptitudes. Every citizen in a democracy has a right to such an education irrespective of his social class or his ability to pay for it; and it is the duty of a modern State to provide suitable and varied opportunities for the proper education and training of all its citizens.

"Equality of educational opportunity," this must be the educational ideal of all true social democracies. There should be no place in a truly democratic scheme of education for privilege, whether based on social status or on the power of the purse. Equality of opportunity, it must be clearly understood, does not mean identity of opportunity, or that all children should be given exactly the same amount, and the same type of education. Children, by virtue of innate individual differences, and differences of home environment and early training, differ in their abilities and aptitudes; their education, to be fruitful, must be so planned as to take these vital individual differences into account. Equality of educational opportunity merely means that no child shall be debarred, for any reason whatsoever, from getting the type and quality of education suited to her or his individual talents, make-up, and personality; and that the education he receives should be such as to develop fully all his capacities so that his personality can blossom forth in all its fullness, and he can make the best contribution to the progress and welfare of the community in the State in which he lives, to which he is capable.

Such a notion of what education in a democracy connotes is, at least in theory, generally accepted today in Britain. But it has taken over seventy five years of popular education to bring about what amounts to a revolution in English life and thought for Disraeli's "Two Nations" were, till recently, so firmly established in the traditional, social and educational structure of England that the idea of "privilege," of different kinds of education for the elite and for the masses, was almost taken for granted.

Professor Joad, speaking of the pre-war educational system in England, compared it to a ladder. On the top rung, breathing the pure air of Heaven were the children of the rich ruling-class elite who passed, as a matter of course, from expensive Preparatory Schools to the still more expensive and exclusive Public Schools; from the Public Schools the majority went on the still more expensive, but perhaps, slightly less exclusive "older" Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. A large percentage of whose eagerly sought-after places were reserved for Public School entrants, whether they had the brains to profit by them or not; and finally, out into the world at large where they had monopolized the higher posts in the Professions, and in the Civil and Foreign Services of the country, wielding an influence over the conduct of public affairs out of all proportion to their relatively small numbers. The system of the "Education of the Elite" was virtually a "closed shop," and only a few extraordinary clever or rich children from the "lower orders" ever succeeded in gate-crashing into it.

The second rung of ladder was occupied by children from the middle classes who had won, by public competition coveted places in the comparatively few first-rate State or privately-run Secondary Grammar Schools. These children, after matriculating generally passed on to the newer provincial universities; and after graduation became teachers, doctors, or lawyers, or occupied the lower grade in the Civil Services.

Finally on the lowest rungs of ladder jostled together the mass of English children, belonging mostly to the working classes. These attended the elementary schools from the age of 5 to 13 or 14, when they went to apprentice themselves to the various trades or professions.

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were thus "three nations" among the children of the country. They attended different schools, by rigid social and educational barriers, with contact or interchange between them, and grew comparative ignorance of, and isolation from, another. Had the type of education given to these three groups been suited to their various and aptitudes, things would not have been But, unfortunately, because the educationalators were mostly Public School men, they the Secondary Grammar and Elementary Schools ineffective copies of the Public Schools, sup- a purely "literary" type of education, with results. And what was worse was the inflexi- of the system, and its injustice for the type of a child received, which determined his future, was decided very largely by the acci- of birth or by the bank balance of his parents. thousands of poor but extremely able children doomed to frustration in the Elementary while their rich "cousins," often completely in the ability of the intelligence to profit were enjoying the excellent and expensive provided in the Public Schools.

World Wars and the consequent social up- in English life and thought made the people not only of the injustice of this system of pri- but of its danger to the continued welfare and of the country. They made the English realize that the youth of the country was its precious passession, the richest of its potential for in the hands of her youth lay the des- Britain. The flower of her youth had laid their lives in defence of their country, creating the country's available man-power which it impossible to fill. Statesmen, thinkers, and were not slow to realize that, unless made the fullest possible use of the remainder limited youth potential, she was doomed to be tion. This explains why at the darkest period tory Britain turnd with hope to her youth, about putting her educational house in order to every boy and girl in the country his or right to an education suited to their age, and aptitudes.

1944 Education Act, like everything British, marketing a significant step forward, was not a break with the past. It was rather the up, and putting into an ordered whole, of ideas, beliefs, and practices which had in England ever since the Great War had found their best expression in the his- Hadow and Spens Reports which set forth the for future educational reforms. Education, by the Act, is a continuous process of deve- from the cradle to the grave. Though this represents a continuous thread of develop- may be divided into three major stages—the stage from 5—11, secondary stage from 11—17, and the stage of further education stretching time the child left school till the day of his At each of these stages, the Act imposed on Education Authorities, which organise and the schools in their area, the duty of supply- all children wide and varied opportunities for tion suited to their age, abilities asd apti- The old "Elementary Schools" with their dis- associations of meanness and cheapness, and it was hoped in future to give to schools parity of status, equipment, staffing, etc. Education, according to the Act, was not some thing given only at School or at College, its completion marked by the obtaining of a certificate or diploma; it was co-terminous with life and, besides formal schooling, included all those influences such as Clubs, Recreation Centre, the Cinema, Radio and Press, Libraries and Youth centres which often exert a far greater influence on the opinions, beliefs, and character of the child than the short period he spends at School, learning Latin and Algebra.

This continuous process of education was divided into three broad stages—Primary, Secondary and Further. Though the framers of the Act hoped ultimately to provide enough of the new, vital, and very desirable "Nursery Schools" for children from 2—5, and they recognized such schools would normally start their education at 5, the compulsory school-going age. For the first two years they would be in Infant Schools or Classes employing, as far as possible, the Play-way and Activity methods, then they would enter the Junior School. Here Infant Schools methods and the "learning by doing" approach would be continued, but formal lessons would also begin, and the children taught the Elements of the 3's. At 11 there would be a "clean-cut," and children would pass from the Primary School to the Secondary School.

The most novel feature of the Act was its definition of Secondary education not as a new type of education meant only for a few clever children, as it was formerly, but as an essential stage in the education of all children. Hence the Act is chiefly famous for its ideal of "Secondary Education for All." This would not mean that all children would get the same type of Secondary Education—the literary and bookish education of the old Secondary Grammar Schools—they would "with due regard to the wishes of their parents be given a Secondary education suited to their age, ability and aptitude." The framers of the Act distinguished three broad type of Secondary Education—Secondary Grammar (Education meant for the literary and abstract type of child); Secondary Technical (Education meant for those with a practical intelligence) and Secondary Modern Education, or "general education with a realistic bias" for the rest. These three types of Secondary education were to have parity of status as far as teachers, equipment and buildings go and could be given in separate schools, or in one Multilateral School with three "sides" to it. Secondary Grammar Schools would lead naturally to the Universities, and from there to the learned Pro-

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fessions and the Civil Services. The Secondary Technical Schools would lead to polytechnics, and other specialized higher technological institutions, and from them into the upper grades of Industry and Commerce. The Secondary Modern Schools will lead to those apprenticeships which are in England the normal mode of entry to the lower grades of trade, industry, and commerce.

Further Education will cover the period after leaving School and will cater mainly for those whose education ended at the age of 15, which means 75 per cent of the School-going population. It will consist of compulsory part-time continued education of a general and vocational nature till 18, followed by voluntary adult education. Both these divisions of Further Education will take the form of a wide and rich variety of opportunities for formal and informal education of all types; it will include not only cultural and vocational education to suit all tastes, temperaments, and talents, but physical education, education of citizenship, and education for leisure; and it will be given not only in "County Colleges," specially, planned to help the young workers to "learn while earning," and formal Adult Education centres but through Scouting and Guiding Associations, Juvenile Clubs, Games Associations, Women's Institutes, Village Institutes, in fact through every available channel, including the Press, Cinema, and Radio.

Such in outline was the comprehensive scheme designed by Britain's educational reformers to provide equality of educational opportunity for all the citizens of Britain, irrespective of their age, abilities, aptitudes, social status, or Bank balance. Once the scheme is in full operation, no child in England will be debarred from obtaining the finest and most complete education to which his talents and abilities entitle him. And with a fully educated people, England can well be optimistic of the future, for as the Chinese Proverb has it:

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"If you wish to plan for ten years, plant trees.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Tilak: "Maker of Modern India"

Theodore L. Shay writes in the *American Courier*, July 18, 1956:

On July 23, 1856, one of India's greatest sons, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, was born in the Ratnagiri District of Maharashtra. This year his nation is celebrating the centenary of his birth. This celebration is a fitting tribute to a man whose life, work and sacrifice were all devoted to India and have become a part of the people's heritage. But it is not enough to merely revere the memory of this leader of the independence movement. It is not enough to think of him as only a historical figure. If Tilak deserves the accolade of greatness, then the lessons of his struggle should have continuing relevance, his thought and teaching should have an applicability in the world of 1956 as well as 1896 or 1906. Put in another way, a great man leaves a legacy of action and inspiration that transcends his purely temporal importance. This is eminently true of Lokamanya Tilak, the only Lokamanya of India.

The legacy of the Lokamanya has been summed up in one word—Swaraj. His life was dedicated to that great goal. He endured hardships and privations exceeding most of the leaders of India of his day, but he endured them willingly in the hope that they would advance the cause of India's freedom. He did not live to see the independence of India achieved. This was Gandhiji's privilege. But Tilak did demark the goal of India's struggle, and it was he who named it Swaraj.

In the early days of the conscious awakening of India's political life, it was Tilak who brought the masses of the necessity and the promise of Swaraj to the people; it was Tilak who first devised the technique of struggle, *i.e.*, boycott, swadeshi, national education, popular, united non-violent political action, that would bring about the realization of the goal; it was Tilak who remade the Indian National Congress into the vanguard of the movement for Swaraj; and it was Tilak who provided the broad outlines of the political philosophy of both the independence movement and, finally, the free nation which would be born with Swaraj.

Vision Made Reality

The Congress and the nation, under the leadership of Gandhiji, made his vision of Swaraj a reality. It is granted that Gandhiji resynthesized his techniques of struggle, broadened the scope of the nation's endeavour and implanted his own character on the independence movement. But the foundation upon which he was to build had been laid by Lokamanya Tilak. This is why Gandhiji recognized him as the "Maker of Modern India."

Tilak's legacy of Swaraj has at times been misinterpreted as merely Indian nationalism, an Asian variation of the same nationalism that swept through Europe and Asia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This is a mistaken interpretation, because Swaraj for India meant more than just the expression of a nationalistic desire for self-determination. Swaraj rested upon the foundation of a political philosophy that was distinctly Indian in its inspiration. It was based on the philosophy of life of the Indian civilization, and Tilak was the bridge between that classical philosophy and the realities of the modern political scene.

Certainly, Tilak and his fellow Nationalists were not political philosophers in the academic sense. Yet, out of the realities of their political battles, they developed a body of thought to guide the movement which they led, and this was of sufficient importance that it must be called an Indian political philosophy. These men became convinced that self-rule for India was not just expediently desirable but rather that it had a moral justification in the value system of their own Indian civilization. They taught that Swaraj was necessary, not because nationalism was to be desired and imitated on the basis of the European example, but rather because Swaraj was an imperative, a moral imperative, of India's total philosophy of life. Upon this determination Tilak and the Nationalists developed the board outlines of an Indian political philosophy for free India.

Perhaps the first concern of any political philosophy is the consideration of the purpose of the state, the source and justification of its powers, and the relation of the individual and society to the state. These issues were comprehensively dealt with in the classical-political literature of India. The state exists "only to protect and promote the *Dharma*, justice and freedom, the ultimate moral or spiritual purposefulness of the universe.

Source Of Power

The source of authority or power is twofold: the ethical necessity of performing its function and the consent of people to the way in which this function is executed. But the power of the state was also limited by the co-existence and interdependence of the individual, the family, the group or village and the society, which were considered the primary unity of the political community. And it was further limited by and ultimately justified by the rule of *Dharma*, *Dharmarajya*. It was *Dharmarajya* that co-ordinated the whole of the political community into a co-operative commonwealth, and it was the rule of *Dharma* that could not be challenged or abridged by the state. In other words, the state existed as an agent of the people to assist them in fulfilling the moral purposefulness of life, and to provide the stability, peace and progress necessary to that fulfilment.

This is briefly the basis of the political philosophy which Tilak and his fellow Nationalists developed and endeavoured to apply in the twentieth century. Because, in Tilak's words, "it is for the *Dharma* and by the *Dharma* that we work." Swaraj became a moral imperative. Only the self-ruling political community could perform the functions that are morally necessary in terms of this philosophy. No alien state, no alien political philosophy, however beneficent, could ever protect and promote the *Dharma* of India.

This did not preclude India's learning from other

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cultures. But it made inevitable Tilak's rejection of both Western-liberal and Marxian-Communist political philosophy for India. To Tilak's mind, India has a rich store-house of political wisdom in her own civilization. It was this wealth that India must rely upon, both for guidance in the independence struggle and for inspiration after Swaraj was achieved.

In the final result, there may be similarities and parallels between the Indian and the Western liberal philosophy of politics (the concept of the state existing under Natural Law and limited by the Natural Rights of its citizens, the cardinal principles of the American Declaration of Independence, is amazingly similar to the concept of *Dharma*), but India must follow her own way. Nor, Tilak would argue, is this purely selfish. A free India, developing along her own independent lines working for stability, peace and progress in her own way, would be a great positive force for good in the world. Though Tilak spent his life working for the first objective, Swaraj, he often reminded his people that "Swaraj is the foundation and not the heights of our future prosperity."

Tilak was a practical man and a political realist. He knew that Free India would be called upon to face many challenges, but he had faith that his country could meet and successfully overcome her difficulties. Like Gandhiji, he developed a constructive programme, advocated social and educational reform, and urged that an economic programme for raising the standard of living of the people was the first prerequisite. He differed with Gandhiji on the issue of modern technology and industrialization, but on virtually all other points there is common agreement as to the necessary objectives to be realized. He continually stressed the unity of India, and the need for united, co-operative effort on the part of all her people. This, he believed, was a part of the essential *Dharma* of India.

He was a tireless worker for the independence of his country, and, therefore, had little cause to devote his time to questions of foreign policy. He did believe, however, that India could "become a *guru* to the world," a source of strength, material and moral, an example of higher purposefulness in he world. Tilak always maintained the moral position as the position of strength. As he opposed imperialism from his basis, he would also oppose aggression and totalitarianism, whether Fascist or Communist, as basically immoral.

Perhaps Tilak's view of the role of Free India in the world can best be summed up by himself. In 1919, he wrote to President Woodrow Wilson and the other world leaders then assembled at Versailles: "From the point of view of the peace of Asia and the world, it is absolutely necessary that India be self-governed and made a bulwark of liberty in the East." It was thus that India would become that source of strength, material and moral, in which Tilak believed. This was a part of his vision of Free India, and this was a part of his legacy to his nation.

Greenery in Soviet Towns

By the end of the sixth five-year period not less than 30 per cent of Leningrad's area will be under greenery. A 60-kilometre wide belt of woods and parks is being created around the town, and inside the city are to be laid out 20 more gardens with decorative and fruit trees, some 60 public gardens, 23 boulevards and four parks. Over half of the green tracts will be in the new housing construction areas.

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In Tbilisi, fruit orchards are being planned on factory grounds. Workers employed in the factories and other people who are gardening devotees will help the professional gardeners care for the plantations during their spare hours.

The buildings of the woollen mills in the city stand on the Kura River are buried in dense greenery, the whole of the vacant grounds looking like a regular park. The mills also have their own conservatory, flowers and decorative shrubs from it adorn the mills and workers' homes. In the orchard, apple, peach, pear and apricot trees are grown. Among other factories extending their orchards are the tea-packing factory, weaving mill and spinning and knitting mills. In all, the area of Tbilisi's factory grounds on which trees grow now reaches 3,000 hectares.

Baku, which lies in a semi-desert climatic zone, has become a garden-city in Soviet yards. Its greenery now exceeds 800 hectares.

This spring 300,000 trees and a million and a half flowers are to be planted in the city.

In Alma-Ata, capital of the Kazakh Republic, spring tree-planting, which has become a tradition, is coming to a close. More than 7,000 seedlings have been planted, among them lime, oak, elm and maple. A new green hedge of blossoming shrubbery, jasmine and lilac, ten kilometres long in all, has appeared on the principal streets.

Flower-beds will take up 40,000 square metres.

Spring planting of trees and shrubs is under way in Volzhsky, the young city of builders of the Stalingrad hydro-development. The city has grown markedly during the winter. At present young poplar, maple and acacia trees are being planted in its streets. Before summer comes, 60,000 trees and shrubs and a lot of flowers will have been planted in Volzhsky.—*News and Views from The Soviet Union.*

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Ethnography and the Cinema

Enrico Fulchignoni, Department of Mass Communication, writes in the *Unesco Courier*, May 1956:

The cinema has broadened man's horizon considerably. At a time when the era of territorial discovery was drawing to a close, the progress made in the cinema revolutionnized the very concept of 'space' and made it possible for the average man to acquaint himself with regions which were formerly inaccessible.

Exploration has never been regarded as a purely personal undertaking; the explorer has always been guided by the interests of a community. It was therefore very important that he should be able, on his return from an expedition, to communicate the results of his investigations. Yet a verbal or written account of his travels frequently proved to be inadequate; no form of words—except perhaps some stale, nackneyed fomula—existed for an explanation of the new facts discovered, the new sights seen. Only a picture could enable people to grasp things with which they were unfamiliar, and satisfy their increasing thirst for detail.

Thus the explorer did his best to bring back pictures. At first, these were original drawings, reproduced in the form of engravings or lithographs. Such drawings, which were sometimes of real artistic merit, steadily gained in scientific value owing to constant improvement in reproduction techniques. However, photography slowly but surely replaced this type of documentation. The last stage was the cinema, which has the double advantage of making observation more detailed and presenting the public with an eye witness account of the efforts and achievements of the traveller or explorer.

The Picture Replaces the Written Word

At the present time, travel films comprise, on the one hand, scientific production and, on the other, documentaries intended for the layman. This distinction, however, especially in the case of films made in the course of one expedition, is less sharp than might be imagined; it is the use to which the films are put, later on, that divides them into categories. Sometimes they are mere 'moving' snapshots', filmed as the occasion arises; at other times, the film is a serious contribution to the study of a given ethnographical problem. The producer may be a scientist who has gone into the field in search of new material, organ explorer of the classical type—although, as the unexplored areas of the globe become fewer and fewer, the exlporer tends more and more towards the scientific approach. The ethnographical film—by virtue of its realism, dynamism, continuity, ubiquity, diversity and selectiveness—contributes to the development of the human sciences and permits of enormous progress, inconceivable 50 years ago, in study and research. Yet such a film is no mere record, destined simply to perpetuate observations or authenticate discoveries; it has, in addition, considerable educational value.

The vast strides taken by the picture—and especially by the moving picture—have brought into being a directly visual type of culture. Although the man-in-the-street may not nowadays have read more than a dozen books between the time he left school and the time he reaches 40, he has certainly seen more than 300 films, even if he visits a cinema only once a month. And if he knows—as Epstein has remarked—anything about the existence of Father de Foucauld, the customs of the Eskimoes or the marriage ceremonies of nomadic Berber tribes, he has acquired this knowledge, not by reading abstract words arranged in accordance with logical syntax, but through the cinema, through a series of simply juxtaposed pictures which, while bringing into intuition into play, give him a more exact and synthetic image of reality.

After reading a book or listening to a lecture on Father de Foucauld, one remembers for a while a name, a date, an itinerary or a quotation; but a film on the same subject supplies an unforgettable picture of a hermit's dwelling lost in the wastes of sand, a gaunt, inspired face and a feverish, saintly expression. It would be easy to adduce further examples showing to what extent, within the framework of the average man's general culture, the picture tends to replace the written or spoken word—thanks mainly to the cinema. In this context, the word 'culture' means, of course, not the erudition which small specialized groups acquire as a result of long study but the stock of heterogeneous knowledge which our mind assimilates almost unconsciously through the exercise of the simplest faculties, and which gives each epoch its special character.

An International Collection of Ethnographical Films

Unesco has not failed to take an interest in these matters. It is generally agreed that the film is a working document of great value to ethnographers and ethnologists. The International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences accordingly set up an Ethnographical Film Committee, with the task of assembling the fullest possible documentation on films produced so far. The Committee began by examining French films: during the period 1952-54 106 of these films were shown and analysed. The results of this inquiry are contained in the catalogue published in the series *Reports and Papers on Mass Communication*, Clearing House, Department of Mass Communication, Unesco. The verdict delivered on each film is based strictly on its ethnographical value, all other criteria being excluded. Films are regarded as being of ethnographical interest when they are made in a spirit of complete objectivity and constitute documents which could be used by experts in the same way as information collected in the field in the course of an investigation. Although many of the films catalogued were not made with any scientific aim in view, many of them, despite their fragmentary nature, are of clear documentary value. The second catalogue, to be published shortly, will include ethnographical films made by British, American, Swiss and other specialists.

Thus, aided by Unesco, the Committee is continuing its work of establishing an international catalogue intended to serve not only research and education, but also mass communication; for newspapers and television programmes devote an ever-increasing amount of attention to the customs, beliefs and daily lives of unknown or little-known peoples. At the beginning of cinema history, Lumiere, Gaumont and Pathe cameramen had already realized the interest of 'picture-hunting' in the most 'mysterious' parts of the globe; and exoticism in the cinema dates back to those pioneers. They, however, were more interested in what was picturesque and sensational than in strict scientific truth. Nowadays, the producers of ethnological films are not usually led astray by the more brilliant aspects of people and things which they know to be frequently false; they therefore do all they can, by means of the picture, to promote understanding and understanding and brotherhood.

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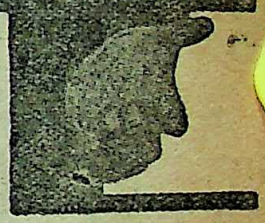

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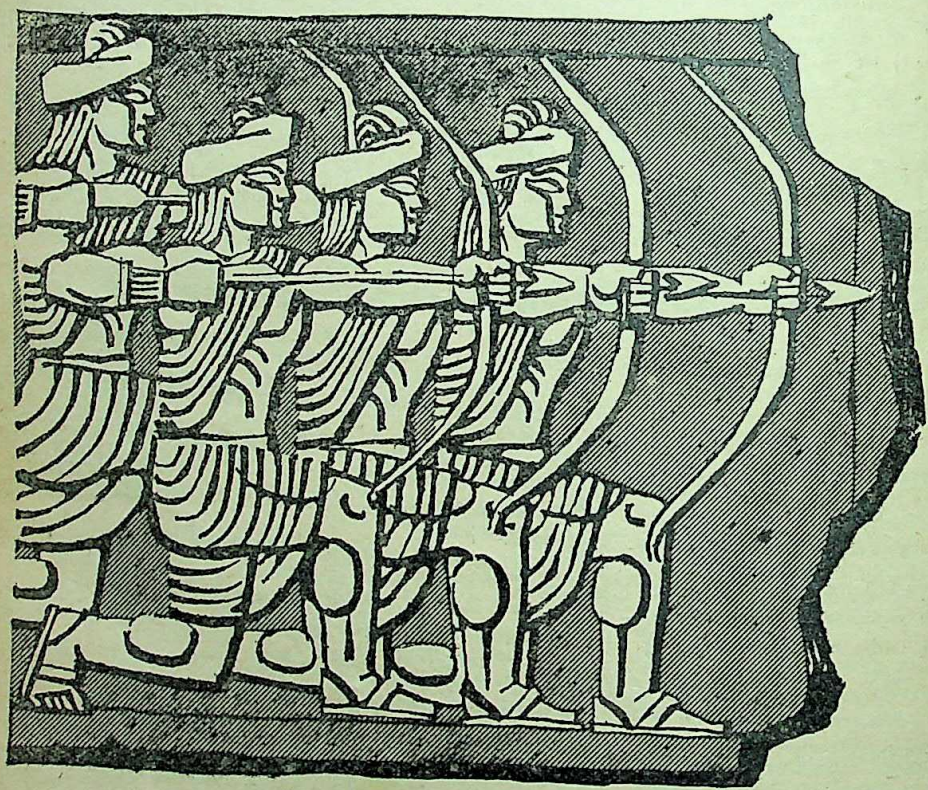

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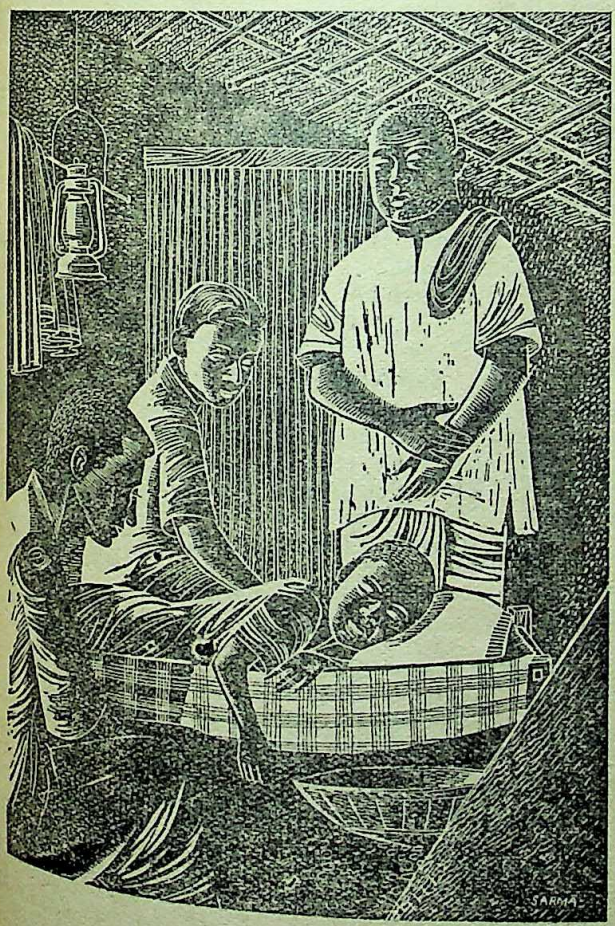

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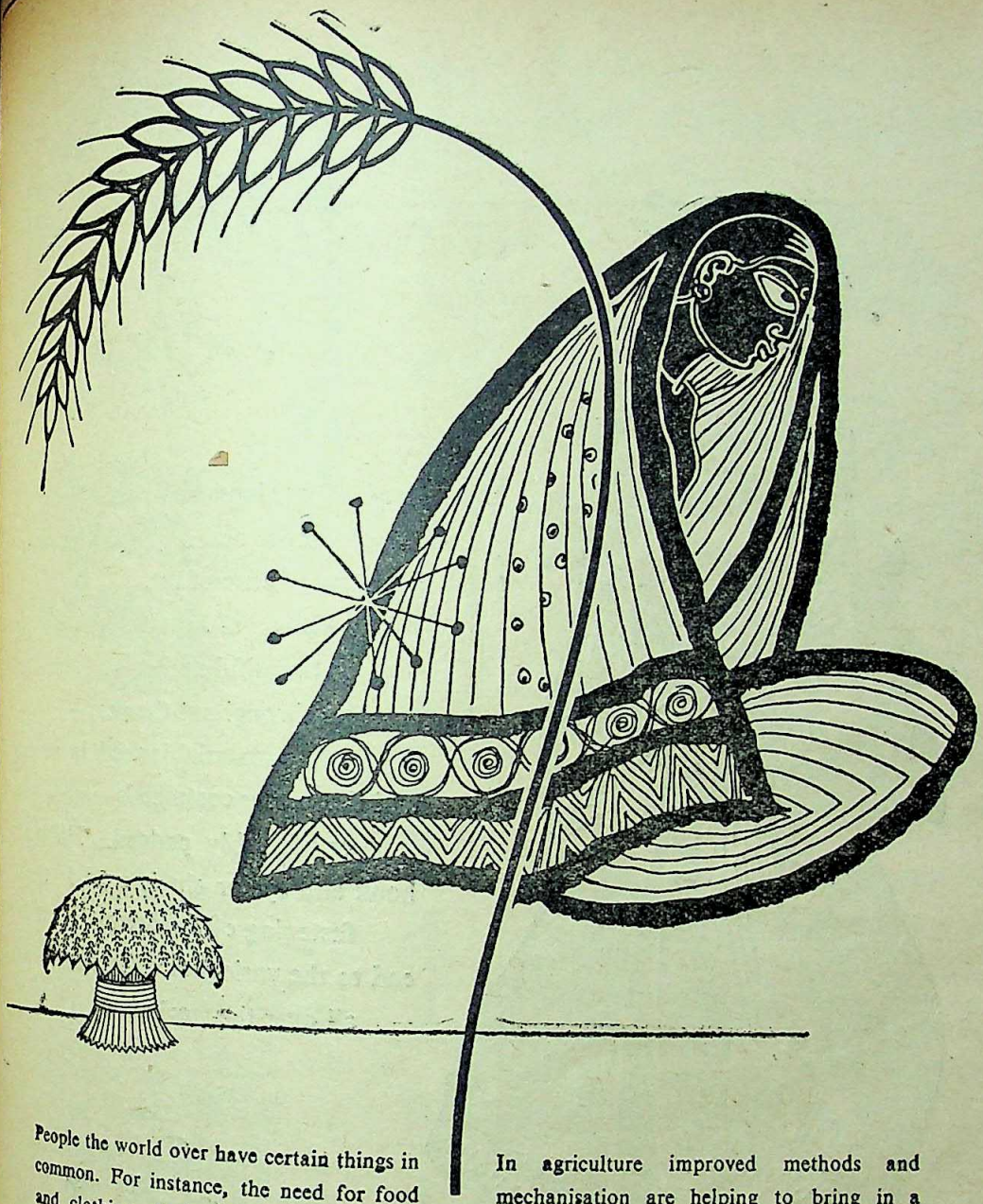

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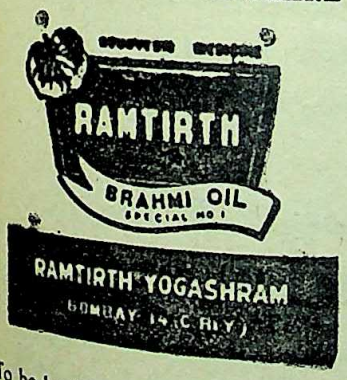

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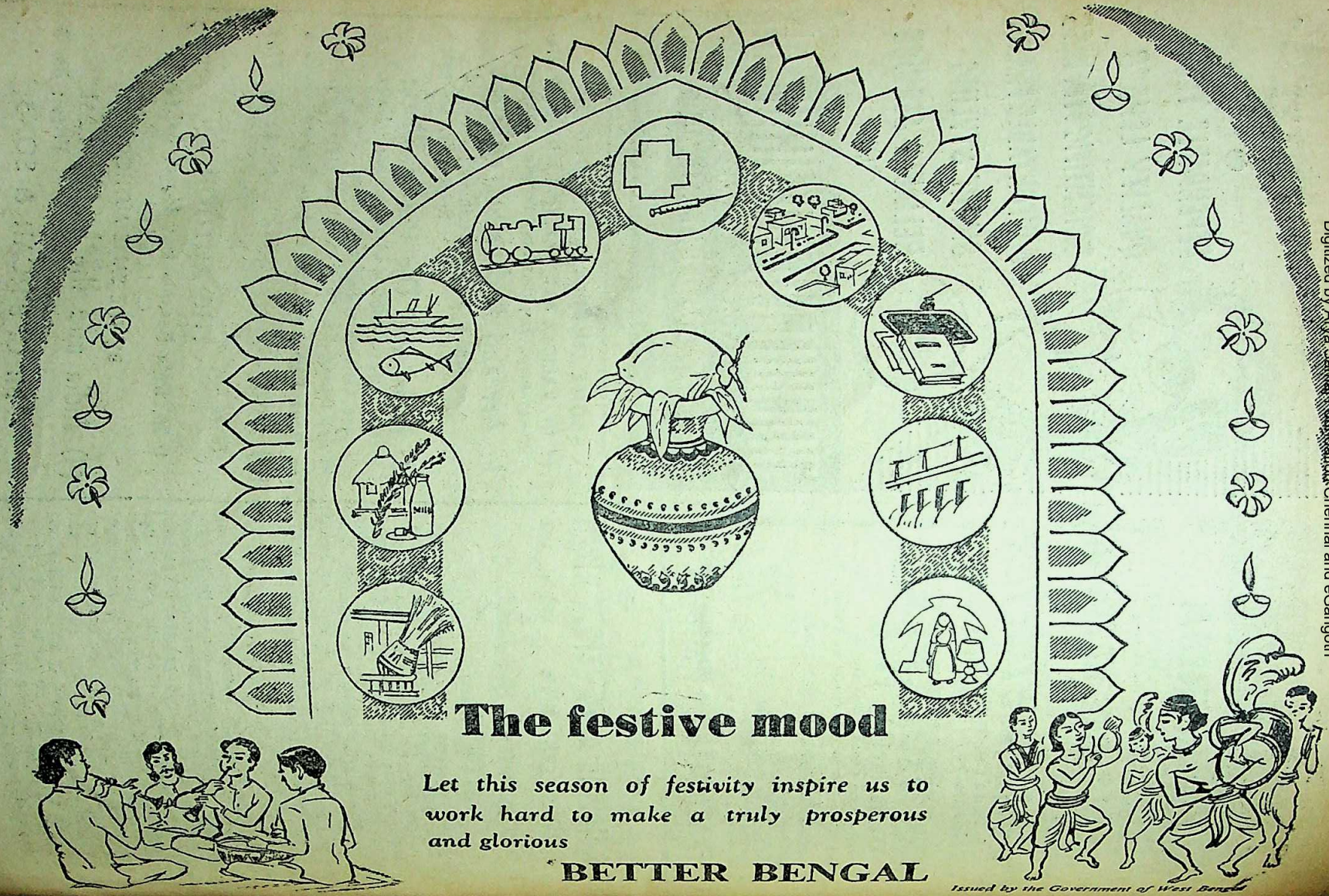

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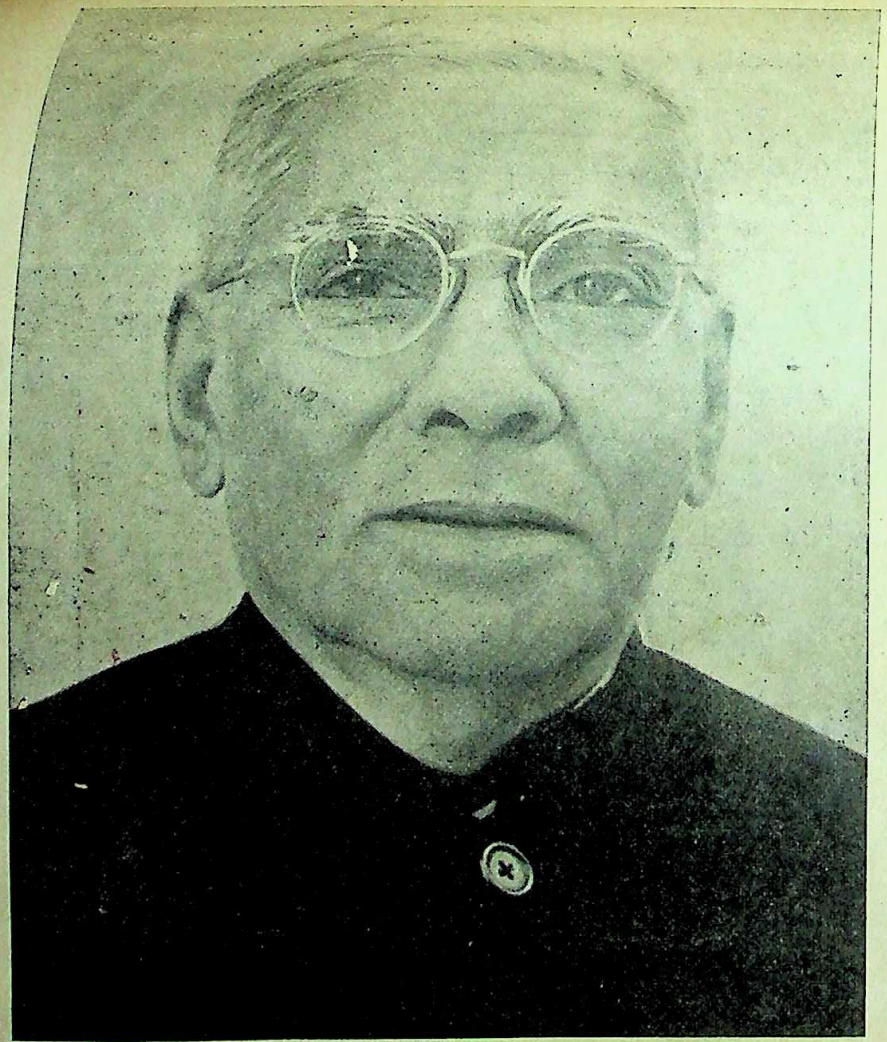

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Governor of West Bengal, who passed away at Calcutta on August 7, 1956

Dr. Radhakrishnan being conducted round the library of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences at Prague

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ARRIVAL OF THE MOTHER
By Mahitosh Biswas

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THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER 1956

C, No. 4 WHOLE No. 598

NOTES

rd Order

e Central Government seems to have ch exercised by the outbreak of hooli- over the publication of a book on s leaders. It seems to have woken up to that, due to some lacunae in law, it mpossible to bring the recalcitrant to to control the outbreak of mob- e. It is further discovered that due to derful arrangements of the External Ministry, the illegal influx and overstay sirable aliens cannot be dealt with.

t the Central Government seems to iled to understand that in the curious eration of legalistic junk which we call stitution, there is no provision what- to safeguard either the country against fifth-columnists and foreign enemies, tionals against the disruptive action of ial elements.

e situation has been further aggravated highly legalistic attitude of both the ration and the executive on the one the judiciary on the other. Excessive has been put on the rights of indivi- d collective groups, like labour unions, any reference whatsoever to their al or collective obligations to society. result we find the paradox of the law the wrong-doer and the corrupt at ep, without affording any protection to est individual or to society at large.

e direct outcome of this curious state irs has been a total perversion of all l considerations. It is no exaggeration to state, categorically, that today to be honest is a sin and a mark of mental depravity. For only the law-breaker, the law-evader and corrupt flourish, whereas the honest are ground down from all sides.

Labour unions do not give a hoot, either for the law or for the rights of society. They care only for themselves, without any consideration of the sufferings they may cause to millions. And they never suffer a defeat seemingly.

The corrupt official flourishes, thanks to the ignorance, inefficiency, and sometimes crass incompetence, of the ministers and high officials in charge. The income-tax evader goes about, flaunting his wealth, with impunity, whereas the honest tax-payer has to meet increasing demands of taxes, direct and indirect, till his vitality is at an end, or till his moral outlook gets perverted—and thereby adjusted to the working of the Welfare State.

The First Five-Year Plan is over. Has any honest individual—excepting the few that might be amongst the myriads of the Congress clacquers—gained any relief?

We have been writing in these columns about the rapid degeneration of our peoples due to the total perversion of moral values and the consequent cynical outlook on life. The root cause is the rampant corruption and degradation of the Congressmen. A country cannot be set on the path to real progress by mere agglomeration of iron, steel and cement. This is what Pandit Nehru fails to understand.

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Administrative Reform

Dr. Paul Appleby's Report on administrative reform has evoked much interest from those who support it and those who are against it. Anyway, it makes stimulating suggestions which are bound to be controversial. Dr. Appleby is a noted American authority on administration and he was invited by the Government of India some time ago to study the problems of Indian administration and suggest means for improvement thereon. Dr. Appleby's report should be viewed against the acknowledgedly glaring pitfall of democracy—the red-tapism. As against the swift moving hierarchy of a Totalitarian administration, Democracy is very slow to move, particularly in the face of national emergency. President Hoover's indecision in 1933 in the face of ever-widening national economic crisis is the classic example of democracy's inaction and slowness. Since the 30s, democracy has been passing through a decadence and it is only after the Second World War that there is coming a resurgence in the wake of planned economies.

The nineteenth century pattern of democracy and a modern Welfare State are fast becoming incompatible, particularly with reference to the administrative machinery. A democracy is hedged with many procedures and tethered within the grooves of checks and controls. Until nearly fifty years ago, the State had all rights, and practically no duty. Now the State is coming in progressively in a wider scale into the diverse aspects of the life of the people. Naturally, the State's administrative machinery requires to be overhauled in the context of changing events.

Dr. Appleby's report puts primary emphasis on accelerating the pace of the administration. He is after breaking down the barriers of democratic administration that create hurdles in the progress. He finds that a particular decision of the Government has to pass through various checking authorities before it can be put into action. It is reviewed "by too many persons in too many organs of the Government in too detailed, too repetitive and too negative terms." He points out that "by a curious proliferation of the conceptions of parliamentary responsibility and cabinet responsibility and by reliance on excessive procedures of cross reference, there has been built an extraordinary evasion of individual responsibility and a system whereby everybody is responsible for everything before anything is done." He asserts that every process of review is incredibly petty and frustrating. Under the present procedure of scrutinising a plan by the Finance Ministry, Dr. Appleby rightly observes that a well-thought out plan may be scotched by a stroke of pen by an assistant in the Finance Ministry who may not have the proper mental equipment to appreciate the implications of the plan. Over such a defect Dr. Appleby remarks that it is "particularly tragic, when it is based only on trivialities and downright ignorance."

Although most of the Ministers are not in favour of Appleby's suggestions, Pandit Nehru seems to have correct evaluation of the suggestions made by the eminent authority during the debate of the Report in the Indian Parliament. On 12th September, in the Rajya Sabha, Pandit Nehru rather defended the report when he said that a high Soviet leader had told him that India was making the same mistake as Russia had originally made in being too careful. Soviet officials were now being given much wider discretion so that they could get things done, the leader told the Prime Minister of India. Pandit Nehru is in favour of setting up an organization to make a regular audit of achievements. This, he explained, would keep a check on how much was being achieved rather than the amount of money being spent. Pandit Nehru thought that since such an organization would have to evaluate scientific and technological achievements, it would have to be entrusted to specialists rather than the Comptroller and Auditor-General.

As a measure of lessening delay between decision and execution, Dr. Appleby suggests to limit the functions of the Comptroller and Auditor-General. The execution of any plan has to cross two hurdles, firstly, the Finance Ministry and secondly, the Comptroller and Auditor-General. The scrutiny by the Comptroller and Auditor-General causes unnecessary delay in the execution of the plan and he is greatly responsible for inaction of the administrative departments. In the opinion of Dr. Appleby, the function of the Comptroller and Auditor-General is not really a very

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portant one. Auditors are not administra- and as such they know little or nothing the needs and problems of administra- He says that auditing is a necessary but highly pedestrian function with a narrow perspective and very limited usefulness. Dr. Appleby remarks that a Deputy Secretary is more acquainted with the problem in his ministry than what the entire staff of the Comptroller and Auditor-General can discern in auditing. He maintains that many of the objections of the Comptroller and Auditor-General are mere "substitutions of hind-sight for the kind of judgment possible and neces- and proper at the time of action and too merely raise questions that are really matters of difference of judgment." The members of the Parliament have been indicted by Dr. Appleby for their exaggerated reliance on the report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General and that "increases the timidity of civil servants at all levels, making them afraid to take responsibility for decisions, making decisions to be made by a slow and cumbersome process of reference and counter-reference in which everybody finally shares responsibility in the making of every decision, but not much is got done, and what gets done is too late."

Obviously what Dr. Appleby says has a degree of truth and it is the universal lack of democracy. But we should also take into consideration of the other side of the coin. In reply to Dr. Appleby's observa- Mr. A. K. Chanda, the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, states that "Dr. Appleby seems allergic to audit which he des- as a highly pedestrian function with a narrow perspective and very limited useful- This attitude of mind has obviously influenced his observations on the Indian audit organisation. I should have thought that any person invited to report on a problem must carefully examine in detail, undertaking a study of all relevant material. Dr. Appleby however, formulated his proposals with- an examination and study of the structure, without procedural, technical and other rules and regulations of the Audit department. He did not consider it even necessary to have any discussion with those in charge of the orga- tion. His report has thus become a reflec- tion of his prejudices rather than an objective appreciation based on a careful study."

With regard to Dr. Appleby's observations that "the function of the Comptroller and Auditor-General in India is in a large measure an inheritance from colonial rule," Mr. Chanda said: "I do not know the historical basis for such an observation. I do not know of any colonial system which had or has an analogous post, independent of the executive with freedom to criticize administrative lapses. The conception of such a post runs counter to that of a colonial or autocratic system." Mr. Chanda further said that any student of constitutional history would be aware that this post was an essential one in a democratic form of Government as its functions were so defined as to secure public accountability of the administration. In the USA, the Comptroller-General's audit covered banking and insurance institutions and other corporations in which the Government had any financial interest, even when it was not a majority. The US Comptroller-General has also been given powers to issue surcharges against corporations and individual officers to effect recovery of expenditure which in his opinion is illegal. The powers of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of the United Kingdom, as defined in the Exchequer and Audit Act, are not also different from the present powers of his counterpart in India, except that they are more comprehensively defined.

In our view there is scope for securing a golden mean between these two extreme views. Admittedly, the Auditor-General's auditing is a useful machinery in controlling illegal public expenditures and it provides the Parliament with a weapon to control the vagaries of administrative expenditures not authorised by it. But it is also imperative that some liberty should be given to the administrative staff in the matter of executing important and urgent decisions. In this respect, shackles of auditing calls for liberalisation so as to impart greater initiative and dash to the executive. What is, therefore, desirable in the circumstances is that executive officers may be empowered to undertake expenditures in urgent and important cases without the prior sanction of the Comptroller and Auditor-General; but there must be auditing of the expenditure so under-

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taken and the officer will be held responsible for illegal expenditures, and as in the USA, the officer concerned shall be liable to surcharges for reimbursement of Government funds illegally expended.

In recent years the volume of public expenditure has immensely increased and there should be some change in the way of sanctioning expenditures. In the First Five-Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 57 crores was spent in the public sector; during the Second Five-Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 569 crores would be spent in the public sector and this is a ten-fold increase over the First Five-Year Plan. The administrative staff needs must be given some initiative in executing plans, but they will be held responsible for illegal expenditure. To wait in the queue for all and sundry expenditures before the Auditor-General is to convert the exalted officer into a supra-executive which is not contemplated in our Constitution. But his authority of auditing must be *ex post facto* and thereby control of public expenditure in this country will be achieved and the Parliament will also retain its power to control.

One thing should, however, be stressed in this connection. The Parliament should not be peevish nor should it create a scene over a stray case of default or failure to perform a duty. An entire department should not be castigated for the fault of an individual member of the staff, nor an entire scheme need be denounced if some part thereof prove to be defective. This is not intended, however, to limit the sovereignty of the Parliament over the entire range of our administration. But for the sake of public interest, the Parliament should impose upon itself some voluntary restrictions on its power of scrutiny and supervision of public administration. The responsibilities of the executive in a Welfare State tend to be pyramided on a hierarchical basis and overall performance is to be looked after, ignoring stray pitfalls as administrative aberrations.

Dr. Appleby's other suggestions for administrative reforms include greater autonomy for State-owned enterprises, development of *intra*-Ministerial financial competence in the programme agencies and transfer of the accounting functions to the Ministries, subject to the general direction of the Finance Ministry. Under the present practice, spending departments must obtain prior sanction of the Finance Ministry for every individual item of expenditure, although such an item might be within the total sum approved to the Finance Ministry by the Parliament. Dr. Appleby says: "If the Ministry of Finance previously has decided broadly how much of the Government's limited funds can be made available for a particular programme, it should have little further specific role in the specific allotments of funds to various parts of that programme. Such allotments are related to the question of how to achieve the programmatic object within the financial limitations already established. In this the programmatic agency has superior judgment. Only when the agency is given the discretion in the deployment of those already predetermined funds can it be held accountable for results. Financial control will be ample in the basic determination of the amount by limiting the agency more rigidly than now to the first determination. If the agency decides on something not planned for in its original budget is more important to the programme than some thing that was provided for, let it shift funds earlier provided to the new activity. Much more will be saved by forcing agencies to re-examine their own priorities in this than is saved under the present method. Programmatic responsibility will be heightened and action will be expedited."

It will be recalled that sometime ago the present Comptroller and Auditor-General of India made similar suggestions against which the former Finance Minister, Mr. Deshmukh, raised objections and even threatened resignation. Sometime ago it was reported in the Press that the authorities were moving in the direction as was suggested by the Auditor-General. The Government is now setting up a financial adviser in each Ministry who will represent the Finance Ministry.

Finally, before we conclude, we must say that modern administrative problems are enormous in their magnitude and a few piecemeal patchwork in administrative machinery will not cure the malady. It is not merely the question of machinery, it is also the question of personnel, from the Minister down to the peon. Efficient personnel is all the more important. Democracy is a government by the people and the recent performance of many

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the Ministers will vouchsafe that. What is required is better selection of personnel in all administrative strata and the Parliaments.

Economies of the Suez Politics

Now that the Suez problem has become an international issue, it is proper to have a resume of the economic importance of the Canal. The Canal was officially opened on 17th November, 1869. It connects the Mediterranean with the Red Sea and is the largest man-made canal. It is 101 miles in length as against 50 miles of the Panama Canal which is the second largest artificial waterway. In 1869, the Canal was 72 feet wide and 26 feet deep; in recent years much improvements have been done in order to ensure passage of large vessels and for that purpose excavation work was done in 1953. Now the Canal is 510 feet wide and 46 feet deep. The following table will indicate the position of the Suez *vis-a-vis* the Cape in trade between India and Europe:

	Sea Routes			
	Miles via Suez	Miles round Cape	Round trip (days) Suez	Round trip (days) Cape
London to—				
Persian Gulf	6,400	11,300	37	65
Mombasa	6,014	8,675	30	43
Bombay	6,260	10,720	31	54
Calcutta	7,933	11,450	40	57
Colombo	6,702	10,350	34	52
Singapore	8,240	11,575	41	58
Penang, Malaya	7,950	11,285	40	56
Sydney	11,630	12,450	58	62
Wellington, N.Z.	12,650	13,250	63	66
Hong Kong	9,680	13,015	48	65
Netherlands to—				
Indonesia	8,502	11,150	43	56

The Suez route saves much time, as for example, the distance between London and Bombay *via* the Suez is 4,460 miles less than that of the route between the Cape of Good Hope. In 1955, nearly 116 million net tons of cargo moved across the Canal and on an average it comes to about 120 million metric tons a year. About 50 ships pass through the Canal every day. In recent years the volume of cargo sailing through the Canal has been on the increase and today the cargo is four times larger over that in 1938 and twice as much as in 1948.

The Suez Canal is the artery of trade between Asia and Europe, particularly that of Britain. A large volume of strategic materials passes through the Canal, including raw materials, fuels, manufactured goods, oil and oil products, the last two forming the largest proportion of cargoes. In 1955, the share of oil and oil products passing through the Canal was 65 per cent of the total volume of cargoes, the remainder of the cargoes consisted of raw materials and finished goods. Ores, metals, cereals, oil-seeds and oils, fibres, and rubber move from Asia and the East to West and from the West to East come manufactured goods, plant, machinery, food-grains, cement, fertilisers and certain raw materials in which the East is deficient. Of the total trade done through the Canal in 1955, about 11 per cent of the total was the export and import trade of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma; 14 per cent to and from Malaya, Indonesia and the Far East; and 7 per cent to and from East Africa. The share of the American trade through the Suez is not very appreciable, being only one-eighth. But Europe, as the Western origin or destination, accounts for 85 per cent of the Suez Canal traffic.

Among the individual countries, Britain's trade is the heaviest through the Suez. Raw materials, oil and finished goods for Britain are brought through the Suez. Nearly one quarter of Britain's imports and exports are with the countries to which the Suez Canal is the speediest and the most economic route. In 1955, 67 million tons of oil moved across the Canal and of this Britain's share was 21 million tons. Through the Suez Canal, Britain imports rubber from Malaya; wheat, meat and wool from Australia; cotton, chrome, etc., from East Africa; tea, jute goods, cotton and cotton goods, manganese, hides and skins from India; raw jute from Pakistan, and oils from Ceylon. The nationalization of the Canal has, therefore, vitally affected Britain's foreign trade and with regard to her import of strategic raw materials, particularly oil, she stands to suffer.

The movement of the Middle East oil and oil products and the Suez Canal are the part and parcel of the same strategic importance. About 66⅔ per cent of the proved oil resources of the world is located in the Middle East and it will not be an easy job to replace the Middle East as a source of oil. The alternative route of oil transport will be too costly for European countries. A proposal is being mooted to build another canal linking Gulf of Aqaba to the

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Mediterranean via Israel. But that will involve a large capital expenditure. In 1955, 145 million tons of Middle East oil were exported. Of this volume, 67 million tons passed through the Canal to the West and 40 million tons through the pipe lines from Iraq and Arabia to the Mediterranean. Of the remainder, 22 million tons moved to the East of Suez, 10 million tons to East and South Africa and 5 million tons to Australia. Western Europe consumes nearly 120 million tons of crude oil per annum. Three-fourths of this volume are imported from the Middle East and about half of it passes through the Canal. In 1955, 21 million tons of crude oil, representing 75 per cent of Britain's requirements, were imported through the Suez. Oil constitutes 17 per cent of the total energy requirements of Europe and the corresponding figure for Britain alone being 15.

The Suez Canal, apart from its strategic importance, is also economically vital to Egypt. The region across which the Canal now passes was virtually an arid desert, with a fringe of swamp at the Mediterranean end. Today the Canal region has brought prosperity to Egypt, with cultivated land, modern well-planned towns and good road and rail communications. The Canal is a source of employment to thousands of Egyptians, some of whom get a very lucrative income. Both to Egypt and to the Middle East countries, the Canal is economically and strategically a vital route. Without the passage of the Middle East oil across the Canal, it would be economically unprofitable. The traffic of the Middle East oil is essential for the upkeep of the Canal and for that the goodwill and support of the Western nations are also needed. Unless the Western nations continue to import the Middle East oil, the Canal would lose much of its present revenue earnings. "Egypt has the Canal, but no ships to use it, no capital and technical know-how to develop it. Similarly, the Arab countries have oil, but not the wherewithal to drill, refine and ship it. The European countries have ships, skill and capital but not the oil which they badly need and the shortest route to Asia and the East with which their economy is closely tied." As regards India's interest in the Canal, it may be stated that 67 per cent of India's exports and 72 per cent of the imports pass through the Canal.

Suez Developments

The first London conference on the issues arising out of the nationalisation of the Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez by the Egyptian Government on July 26, 1956, had concluded with an open division among the twenty-two participating nations. The majority (18 nations) backed the Western proposal put forward by John Foster Dulles of the USA for the international management of the Canal, knowing fully well that such a proposal would not be acceptable to Egypt. In contrast the Indian proposal (supported by Ceylon, Indonesia and the USSR), Egypt's willingness to discuss on the basis of which was made known soon, however, failed to make any impression on the threatening obstinacy of the Anglo-French politicians. According to the majority decision, a five-nation committee (composed of Australia, Ethiopia, Iran, Sweden and the USA) under the chairmanship of Robert Gordon Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia, was deputed to present the Western point of view to President Nasser of Egypt whose willingness to meet the committee was made known on August 27.

The Menzies Mission arrived in Cairo (which was finally selected as the venue of the talks as President Nasser did not accept the other suggestion of a meeting at Geneva) on September 2. It held extended conference with President Nasser from September 3 until the 9th. The failure of the Menzies Mission, a foregone conclusion in view of the expressed Egyptian disapproval of the Dulles plan even as a basis for any discussion, was finally announced on September 10 when the Mission left Cairo.

The meeting between the Menzies Mission and President Nasser opened with the presentation of a memorandum by the former to the latter. After the Egyptian rejection of the Dulles plan the Menzies Mission drew the attention of Egypt to the Spanish proposal recommending international participation on the present Egyptian body administering the Canal (as contrasted with the Western proposal for Egypt to be represented in an International Board to administer the Canal).

President Nasser in his letter to Mr. Menzies said: "We find ourselves in agreement

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with the eighteen countries when they state that the solution (of the Suez Canal question) rests:

"(a) Respect the sovereign right of Egypt;

"(b) Safeguard the freedom of passage through the Suez Canal in accordance with the Suez Canal convention of October 29, 1888;

"(c) Respect Egypt's right of ownership;

"(d) Ensure the efficient and dependable operation, maintenance and development of the Canal.

"When, however, we come to consider the ways and means proposed by the committee to attack these objectives," President Nasser said, "we find that they are self-defeating and that they lead to opposite result than those aimed at."

The "definite system" of guaranteeing freedom of navigation through the Canal, as proposed by the Menzies Committee on the basis of the 18-nation resolution, President Nasser said, "is bound to be considered and treated by the people of Egypt as the hostile infringing upon their rights and their sovereignty—all of which precludes real co-operation."

Referring to the question of freedom of navigation through the Canal, President Nasser said, "Was it not, indeed, the Government of Egypt who safeguarded, and still safeguards, that freedom of passage? Would this freedom be, or could its actual practice be, safeguarded by the proposed Suez Canal Board?"

President Nasser further said: "Strangely enough, those who pose as protagonists of 'isolating' the Suez Canal from politics have been the authors of many acts which diametrically contradict this announced purpose."

"What is the 'internationalisation' of the Suez Canal, the convening of the London conference on the Suez Canal within the most particularly selected invitees, the delegating of a five-member committee, the threats, the deployment of the armed forces and the economic measures—what are all these, if not politics?"

The "real insulation of the Canal from politics," President Nasser said, "would be best guaranteed by a solemn and internationally binding commitment in the form of a reaffirmation or a renewal of the 1888 convention, either of which, as we have already declared is acceptable to us."

Turning to the question of international confidence in the future of the Canal, President Nasser pointed out that "confidence is a two-way proposition and that, while the confidence of other nations is important, that of the Egyptian people is at least of equal importance in this respect."

President Nasser reiterated Egyptian willingness to do everything possible to keep the Canal open to the ships of all nations at all times and to provide adequate finances to ensure the efficient upkeep and development of the Canal. To do so was also in the self-interest of Egypt; and she was also ready to "enter into a binding arrangement concerning the establishment of just and equitable tolls and charges."

Summing up the Egyptian stand President Nasser said that his Government's policy "remains to be:

"(a) The freedom of passage through the Suez Canal and its secure use without discrimination;

"(b) The development of the Suez Canal to meet the future requirements of navigation;

"(c) The establishment of just and equitable tolls and charges; and

"(d) Technical efficiency of the Suez Canal."

For a satisfactory solution for questions relating to the above-mentioned points the Egyptian Government proposed on September 10 in a memorandum to the UN Secy.-General, for the formation of a negotiating body representative of the different views held among the Suez Canal users. The Egyptian Government further urged for discussions to settle the composition, the venue and the date of the meeting of such a body. To that body might also be entrusted the task of reviewing the Constantinople convention of 1888, the memorandum said.

The failure of the Menzies Mission came as a surprise to none. Reporting from London, Thomas P. Ronan wrote in the *New York Times* of September 10 that the abortive conclusion of Cairo talks "came as no surprise to British officials." Yet this was made an occasion of a

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renewed sabre-rattling against Egypt. The proposal put forward by Egypt on September 10 was totally disregarded. In a joint statement issued in London on September 11, Premiers Guy Mollet of France and Sir Anthony Eden of Britain said that the failure of the Cairo talks had engendered a "very grave situation," and that "full agreement" had been reached between them about the future measures to be taken. Simultaneously the former Suez Canal Company at Paris Headquarters announced its direction to its non-Egyptian employees to stop work from the 14-15 September. Reporting on the decisions arrived at in the talks between the two European Premiers, Kennet Love wrote in the *New York Times*: "The two countries would take all action short of war, with emphasis on economic measures, to break unfettered control of the Canal by President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt. This long-term goal was regarded as more important than keeping the Canal operating efficiently in the immediate future."

"Military forces would be kept ready to act in the event of an Egyptian provocation.

"Entanglement in the United Nations would be avoided, if possible, but respectful gestures would be made toward the world organization."

Substantial confirmation of the report came the day after (September 12) in the British Premier's announcements in the Parliament, which was called back from summer recess to debate the Suez developments. Sir Anthony said that the Western Big Three—USA, UK and France—had decided on setting up provisionally a Suez Canal "Users' Association" (SCUA) which would undertake responsibility for traffic through the Suez Canal. The broad outline of the proposed Association given by Sir Anthony indicated that besides the three Western Powers other users of the Canal would be invited to join it. "The Users' Association will employ pilots, will undertake responsibility for co-ordination of traffic through the Canal and in general will act as a voluntary association for the exercise of the rights of the Suez Canal users," he said. The Egyptian Government, who would receive appropriate payment from the association in respect of the facilities provided by them, would be asked to co-operate with the association. "But I must make it clear," Sir Anthony said, "that if the Egyptian Government should seek to interfere with the operation of the association or refuse to extend to it the essential minimum of co-operation then that Government will once more be in breach of the convention of 1888."

Sir Anthony added: "I must remind the House that what I am saying is the result of exchanges of views between three Governments." He said the three Governments would take such further steps "as seem to be required either through the United Nations or by other means for the assertion of their sights." A reference to the United Nations was not outside the range of possibility and the President of the Security Council had already been informed of the situation jointly by UK and France, he added. The Prime Minister said that Britain had no intention of relaxing her military precautions. "If military precautions were justified a month ago, they are justified today."

The British Government's announcement caused widespread surprise and doubt even amongst its own supporters. It was rightly looked upon as completely unrealistic or only a provocation against Egypt for military intervention.

The origin of the Canal Users' plan was traced to the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles. Yet Mr. Dulles himself was reportedly "irritated over the way Prime Minister Eden presented the plan in London," writes Homer Bigart, Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*. In a Press conference in Washington on September 13, Secretary of State Dulles said that the formation of the Users' Association had been decided upon on three things: (1) The users had rights under the 1888 Treaty; (2) Those rights could not legally be nullified by unilateral Egyptian action; and (3) Co-operation among users was normal in times when they are jointly in jeopardy. Mr. Dulles said that though the USA would join the Association, in the event of Egyptian opposition USA would not try to "shoot its way through the Canal" and would rather detour its shipping around Africa, the Cape of Good Hope. It was neither her purpose "to try to bring about a concerted boycotting of the Canal."

Speaking in the Lok Sabha on September 12, Prime Minister Nehru said that Sir Anthony's speech in Parliament "seems, to say

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least, surprising and the consequences that now from it may well be grave."

"One thing is clear," Shri Nehru said, "the proposed (formation of the Users' Asso-) is not the result of agreement, co- ation or consent but is to be taken uni- rally and thus is in the nature of an imposed . The Government of India deeply regrets development which is very unusual and will render peaceful settlement more lt of realization. It is not calculated to e to the users peaceful and secure use of Canal." He appealed to the USA and the to take the path of peaceful settlement of problem through negotiation—a way for negotiated settlement has been provided in Egyptian Government's reply to the Men- Mission, he added.

A second London conference, attended by representatives of the eighteen States who supported Western Dulles Plan during the t London conference, was called on mber 19 to consider the establishment of visional Suez Canal Users' Association. onference lasting three days concluded on mber 21. During the conference wide nces of opinion within the participating s about various measures came to the At the end of the conference the eighteen s agreed to put to their Governments a for setting up a Users' Association. Much e edge of the original proposal was lost the conference decided that payment of to the Users' Association would not be ulsory for the users of the Canal.

Meanwhile on September 23, the British the French Governments lodged a formal int with the Security Council against ian action. Egypt also lodged a protest t Britain and France on September 24. Security Council decided to discuss both mplaints which would be taken up by the il on October 5 for regular discussion. the Suez issue which threatened immediate now seems to be destined to be solved gh discussion and negotiation.

The Suez Canal Users' Association formally e into being on October 1, 1956, with un- ved participation of fifteen countries.

ld Conference on Atomic Energy

Representatives of eighty-one nations—the est number of nations ever to attend an international meeting—were currently discussing the draft statute of the proposed international "atoms for peace" agency. Participants in the conference included all the seventy-six members of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The draft statute for the proposed International Atomic Energy Agency, drawn up with the participation of twelve countries including India, USA, UK, USSR, France, Canada and Australia, said that the agency "shall seek to accelerate and enlarge contribution of atomic energy to the peace, health and prosperity of the world." To that end the agency would be authorized to provide "materials, services, equipment and facilities to meet the need for research on, and development and practical application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, including the production of electric power, with due consideration for the needs of the underdeveloped areas . . ."

The scrappy reports appearing in Indian newspapers on the proceedings of the conference, being held in Washington since September 20, seem to suggest a wide difference of outlook among the different Powers over the scope of the proposed agency. The Indian point of view was presented by Dr. Homi J. Bhaba, who said that the various safeguards proposed to be included in the statute would divide the world into atomic "haves" and "have-nots."

Criticising the draft statute, Dr. Bhaba said that it gave the agency power to interfere in the economic life of States which came to it for aid, "though a control over the fissionable material required their future electric power generation. It, therefore, constitutes a threat to their independence which will be greater in proportion to the extent that this atomic power generation is developed through agency aid."

Dr. Bhaba pointed out that the safeguards would not affect the countries already ahead in the development of atomic energy and atomic weapons. The safeguards would hit hardest the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. "The present safeguards will give the agency maximum powers of interference in such areas," he said.

Further, many technically advanced States might find it convenient to take aid from the agency fulfilling all the conditions to start atomic projects with a view to utilise the experience thus gained in running parallel pro-

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grammes of their own which would be outside the agency's suvervision.

In an editorial article on September 26, the *Hitavada* deplores the exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the international conference on atomic energy—especially as non-members of the UN also were invited to join. The fact that the efforts of two of the sponsoring powers—India and the USSR—were ineffective in securing China's representation in the conference, indicated the "dominating position of the Western Powers," the *Hitavada* notes.

The *Hitavada* writes: "India has had an uphill task in seeing that the statute does not give the Big Powers a preponderant position in the Board of Governors. Had the original plan been adopted the Afro-Asian representation on the Board would have been negligible. Under the new arrangement the Afro-Asians will get 6 or 7 seats out of a total of 23. This is an improvement on the representation originally proposed, but even this is not satisfactory considering the fact that the Agency is being set up to benefit the under-developed countries which are mostly to be found in Africa and Asia. By denying adequate representation o the densely populated Afro-Asian countries, the more advanced countries of the West have arranged to keep the control of the agency in their hands. It is to be hoped that during the current discussions an attempt will be made to further modify the draft statute so that the under-developed countries will be adequately represented on the Governing Body."

The newspaper emphasizes the need for ensuring the sovereign equality of nations in the proposed Agency's Charter and to see that no Big Power could gain predominance in the Agency. It says:

"We can understand the need for reasonable safeguards in the matter of atomic development, but if these safeguards are unduly severe and far-reaching they will hamper rather than assist the under-developed countries in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The Atomic Energy Agency is being set up to benefit the less developed countries; hence any assistance which these countries receive from the Agency in the shape of materials and services, should be on liberal terms and not hedged in with irksome safeguards and conditions."

Gold Coast to be Independent

The Gold Coast would be granted independence within the Commonwealth on March 1957, the British Colonial Office announced London on September 18. This proposal of the British Government now awaits statutory ratification by the Parliament which may not long delayed. The new member of the Commonwealth will be known as Ghana.

At the suggestion of the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lenox Boyd, who had said May last that the British Government would be willing to consider a proposal for granting independence to the Gold Coast if such motion were approved by freshly elected legislature "by a reasonable majority," elections were held there in July in which the ruling Convention People's Party, led by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, which favoured immediate independence, gained 72 of the 104 seats in the country's single-chamber legislature. The newly elected legislature approved of a motion calling for immediate independence on August 3 by votes to none, all Opposition members boycotting that session as a protest against the Government's decision to introduce the motion for independence before the future constitution of the country had been decided upon.

The British Government has, as is evidenced by its latest announcement, however, accepted that the majority for the independence motion was "reasonable" and has promised early action.

According to British Government pronouncements, the trust territory of Togoland adjoining the Gold Coast would also be transferred to the new State Ghana if the United Nations' General Assembly endorsed the resolution passed by the UN Trusteeship Council in July, 1956, noting that the will of the majority of the inhabitants of the Togoland was for union with an independent Gold Coast and recommending that steps be taken for the trusteeship agreement to be terminated on the attainment of independence by the Gold Coast.

In a message of congratulation to the Prime Minister of Gold Coast, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, on the occasion of the forthcoming independence of the country, Shri Jawaharlal

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...ley, Prime Minister of India, said that it "is an event of great significance in the history of Africa, the Commonwealth and the world."

While the British Government deserves praise for taking this bold step in the case of Gold Coast it is impossible in this context to forget that Malaya and Singapore are yet to get a fair treatment from them. It is to be earnestly hoped that the British Government would be able to see reason in their cases also and it is too late.

...ians in American Eyes

Dr. W. S. Woytinsky, one of the leading experts on world economy, recently had undertaken a journey to India in the course of his six-month Asian tour. After his return to the U.S. he has summarised his experiences in India in a series of four articles in the U.S. weekly *The New Leader*.

India, which was passing through a state of political, economic, social and cultural revolution, presented itself as the "most confusing sight in the scene of Asian turmoil" to the Western observer, Dr. Woytinsky notes. In the 17th century the country had been far ahead of the West in wealth and artistic skills. Two centuries later it was now of the poorest countries in the world.

The present-day India struck this leading economist by its great contrast of wealth and poverty. Indeed, Dr. Woytinsky says, "There are, however, few places in the world where poverty of the masses is combined with such ostentatious display of wealth." He was also impressed by the striking contrast in the Indian life between what he describes as "the illiteracy of the masses and a brilliant intelligentsia." He says, "The intelligentsia is the ruling class in modern India. The proportion of scholars and thinkers in the upper layer of bureaucracy is probably higher than among professional politicians in other more developed nations."

Dr. Woytinsky's views about India's position *vis-a-vis* the ideological clash between the West and the Soviet Union are expressed in the following words: ". . . . Indians are far from being neutral in this historical clash of ideas of our time. They have rejected the communist idea of progress through violence and dictatorship and have chosen the road of evolution followed by the free Western nations." He says that the events accompanying the reorganisation of States within India were "the best evidence of the democratic nature of this state"—since no decision was being imposed by force all disputes were being settled in a democratic way, by persuasion.

"Another characteristic feature of modern India was the state of nationalist ferment. 'Indian nationalism, however, is free from blind hatred of foreigners,' Dr. Woytinsky notes. While, according to him, Indian newspapers were not always fair to the United States, and some had even 'specialized in America-baiting as an expression of nationalism,' during his stay in India Dr. Woytinsky 'met no sign of hostility or suspicion of us as Americans'."

The nationalism of Indian intellectuals was reflected in their "unrealistic appraisal of the role of their country in world affairs" and in their sensitivity to the lack of respect for their country on the part of foreigners. "Its clash with Pakistan appears to them far more important than unification of Germany or the conquest of eight East European countries by the USSR after World War II. Indeed, Kashmir is for them not only the central issue of their country's foreign policy, but also one of the main problems of Asian policy. May be India's attitude towards regional military alliances, SEATO, the United States, and the USSR would have been different if its liberation had not been followed by the clash with Pakistan," Dr. Woytinsky writes.

With all deference to his views we must point out that Dr. Woytinsky is seriously mistaken in his appraisal of India's foreign policy and the sentiments behind it. The fact that even the unequivocal support of the USSR to India's stand over Kashmir has not induced India to join the Soviet orbit (Dr. Woytinsky himself notes: "Nehru leads India in *our* direction, and is among the outstanding champions of the free world") should have been deemed by an acute observer of Dr. Woytinsky's standing to provide sufficient clue to a proper and more balanced appraisal of India's position in world politics than the learned economist has provided. No country's foreign policy is devoid of self-interest. So, while it would be naive to deny India's interest in the manner in which the Kashmir question is

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looked upon by the Powers—an interest openly proclaimed by India—it would in no way be correct to conclude that India's expressed concern for world peace has its roots no deeper than in a narrow self-interest. Equally unacceptable are his remarks that Nehru's neutralism was an attempt to play the West and the USSR one against the other "in pursuit of his own nationalist policy." Indeed, the learned economist here contradicts himself as would be evident from his remark quoted earlier in this very paragraph. Again it is difficult to agree with Dr. Woytinsky when he says that words meant for Indian intellectuals "more than the *substance* of the problem." If this be true of the Indian intellectuals it is equally true of the intellectuals of every other country in the world—and to the same extent. Is it not a mere jugglery with words to put SEATO as a "Defence" organisation? Yet many of the Western intellectuals, including Americans, are doing so. There is no point in making this weakness appear as a specific Indian phenomenon.

Religion and Fanaticism

Strange are the ways of Muslims who are of this sub-continent! Otherwise how one is to account for the orgy of hooliganism displayed by a section of the Muslims of India and Pakistan over the reprint of an American book in India?

The facts are as follows: The Bharatiya Vidya Bhaban recently brought out an Indian reprint of a book entitled *Living Biographies of Religious Leaders* written by two Americans and originally published in America fifteen years ago. Though the book has been in circulation throughout the world for fifteen years no Muslim of any description considered it necessary to protest against the contents of the book. However, soon after the publication of the Indian reprint it dawned upon an ingenious Kanpur editor that there was a Hindu (Indian) conspiracy to throttle Islam in India, and his hue and cry was in turn duly adopted by the rabidly communal section of the Indian Muslim leaders now turned Congressmen with the able and discreet support and encouragement of a highly selected batch of co-religionists across the border who were imported into the country in an apparently pre-planned manner well in time to add fuel to the passionate fanaticism of the unfortunate and misguided Muslim masses.

Even then at the very first indication of Muslim indignation the publishers and the editor of the book apologised and withdrew the book from circulation. The book was proscribed in several States. Prime Minister Nehru condemned the book. Even the President of the Hindu Mahasabha condemned the derogatory remarks made against the Prophet (an attitude yet to be reciprocated by the Indian Muslims by the way). One might have thought that there was then no case for any agitation of any kind over the matter. But how could that be? Would so much painstaking planning and expenditure then go in vain? Moreover, the Hindu Nehru was getting (at least in so far as Pakistan's record stood) a very very good audience among the Muslim countries of the Middle East. He was shortly to leave for talks with King Ibn Saud. Could there be any greater opportunity for the traitors and agent-provocateurs to prove their usefulness to their masters?

So, apology or not, Islam must be considered to be in peril in India against whom the support of the whole Muslim world has to be invoked. The result has been appalling indeed and quite reminiscent of the independence era in Bengal when the life, liberty and honour of the Hindus were at the mercy of the Muslim League hooligans. People have been murdered and Hindu temples desecrated on Indian soil where a Hindu Raj is supposed to be conspiring to obliterate the Muslims. All this was done in the name of upholding Islam! As if this was not enough the Muslim students of Aligarh University publicly burnt an effigy of their Chancellor, Shri K. M. Munshi, whose sole "crime" lay in the fact that he happened to be one of the editors of the Vidya Bhabana. His unequivocal regret made several days earlier was not deemed to merit any consideration whatsoever. Some speakers in a Calcutta meeting wanted to have his head as well. Karachi Muslims went one step further and burnt the effigy of Nehru himself.

The strangest spectacle in the whole affair was the curious reluctance of the responsible Indian Muslim leaders in the registration of a protest against the hooliganism of their co-

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...nists. Whatever was said eventually ...much later on when the movement had ...all the mischief and had died down in ...and had crossed the borders. So that it ...left to the Muslim leaders of Pakistan to ...the hooliganism of the Muslims in ...and Pakistan in the name of religion. ...great moral courage shown by Maulana ...Hamid Bhasani, himself a life-long ...of Islam, and the responsible newspapers ...in decrying the orgy of violence and ...indulged in by the Muslims, deserves the ...praise and genuine admiration of ...peace-loving and democratic people, ...ever may be his nationality or religion.

...would have been glad to be able to ...much of the official attitude in Pakistan. ...the promptness with which Dacca ...the riotous Muslims must be com-...it is difficult to see how the Pakistan ...ment could find the publication of a ...of an American book in India an occa-...diplomatic representation. Such a pro-...becomes the least intelligible when consi-...against the fact that the publishers had ...publicly apologised for having brought ...book and had withdrawn the book from ...tion. Moreover, the Government of India ...no time had lent any support to the ...tion of the book. On the contrary, the ...Minister got the first opportunity to ...the book and its publishers. It is not ...good what else the Government of India ...do about it.

...Pakistan Central Government in its ...New Delhi asked the latter to take steps ...ure communal amity in India. As an ...tion such a sentiment is unexceptionable. ...the death of a few Muslims (in the ...able disturbances which were the reaction ...original Muslim outrages on Hindu pro-...and sentiments in India over the trifling ...of a reprint of a book,—which was severely ...med by all sections of public opinion and ...overnment in India—can by any stretch ...gination be utilized to invoke the Nehru-...Agreement of 1950 what one has to ...with regard to the lootings of Hindu shops ...acca and killing of Hindus in Chittagong ...the enforced migration of Hindus from ...stan. The Pakistan Government cannot be ...about its complaint though it has to do it to keep the Opposition League at bay. But it is dangerous to be so playful.

We, on our part, never did, nor do condone the barbarism perpetrated either in the name of Hinduism or in the name of Islam. That has helped us only to the extent of making us a target of attack from the fanatics on either side. Yet it would be criminal naivete if one should fail to muster the courage to put the blame where it lay. In our desire to be conciliatory many of us had in the past had showed an inclination to turn away from facts. That did not get us to our goal of communal amity nor could it forestall the realisation of even such an unrealistic demand as that for the creation of Pakistan (that same slogan is now being sought to be raised in the Muslim League memorandum to the US Embassy in Karachi to press for the creation of yet another 'homeland' for the Indian Muslims). Escapism in any sphere of life is dangerous—it is thousand times more so in politics. The harrowing tales of the millions of refugees are a constant reminder of that fact.

The major share of the recent disturbances lay with the fanaticism of a section of the Indian Muslims. This fact must be recognised before any effective measure could be adopted to prevent the recrudescence of such events. But for some reason or other no political leader of any stature (except the leader of the Hindu Mahasabha) could muster the courage to say so. One obvious reason is the approaching elections when everyone expects to exploit the Muslim to further its power position.

In this connection one cannot but refer to the nefarious role of the Communists of India. True to their anti-national tradition when they had tried to pass off the subversive slogan of Pakistan as the Muslim's demand for self-determination, they are now repeating the treasonable slogan of "Islam in danger" in India. The utterly distorted fashion in which the party's weekly mouthpiece, *New Age*, has featured the incidents in Aligarh clearly demonstrates this.

Lastly, a word is due to Shri Munshi whose "able and conscientious" editorship of a responsible publishing house has landed us in the trouble. His behaviour has been, to use the mildest terms, utterly irresponsible, both in the manner of bringing out the book and in the

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manner of tendering apology for that. On his own confession he had not gone through the book. Yet that did not deter him from writing an introduction to the Indian edition commending the book to the Indian public. Again, he had no hesitation in denouncing the book at the first indication of protest, this time also without taking the trouble to verify the justice of the criticism. Thus both in praise and criticism of the book Shri K. M. Munshi, who has a fair reputation as a historian, has given an example of an irresponsible conduct which it will be difficult to surpass.

Theft in Indian Secretariat

An employee of the External Affairs Ministry of the Government of India and his wife were now facing trial on charges of having stolen the file containing the Indo-Egyptian correspondence over the Suez issue. According to the *Statesman's* Delhi office, the information had allegedly been sold to two foreign countries. The theft was detected on the eve of Shri Krishna Menon's departure for Cairo on September 16.

The employee concerned, Shadi Lal Kapur, made a confession to a New Delhi Magistrate on September 22 in which he had reportedly involved certain officers of the External Affairs Ministry as being part of an international spy ring.

It was further reported that the foreign agent, to whom the contents of the file had been communicated, had left the country; and that along with him had left two other foreign diplomats stationed in India.

In a statement on September 23, a spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry denied the existence of any spy ring in India or the involvement therein of any officers of the Ministry. He categorically said that there was no truth in the report that two or three diplomats had suddenly left India.

The Ministry's promptness in countering speculative rumours is commendable. However, the real story still remains to be told since nobody in his senses would believe that the clerk had removed the Department's top-secret file at the moment of utmost urgency to have a chat over it with his wife and children. No ordinary man could be so much interested over the file. The inescapable conclusion is that foreign agents, hostile to India, were at work in New Delhi, as possibly in all capitals with perhaps, this difference that their efforts were now concentrated on the Indian capital for some reason or other, and the Indian Security Department had miserably failed in its duty to keep on to their track. Crores of rupees were being annually spent on the security forces, yet they could not forestall the enemy agents from pinching India's topmost secret.

The public has a right to know who was responsible for such a bungling.

Trade in Narcotics

A six-day All-India Narcotics Conference was held in Simla from September 24. In his presidential address Shri A. K. Ray, Secretary, Union Ministry of Finance (Revenue), said that following the resolution adopted by the All-India Narcotics Conference in 19[illegible] measures would have to be taken for the eventual elimination of such narcotics as *ganja* and *bhang* in the same manner as had been done in the case of opium.

In this context the Report of the Permanent Central Opium Board on the legal trade in narcotics throughout the world in 1954 is of some interest. According to summary of the report published in the January-March, 19[illegible] issue of the United Nations *Bulletin on Narcotics*:

"In 1952 and 1953, the licit production of opium had exceeded requirements and large stocks were piling up, mainly in the producing countries, so that at the end of 1953 the amount of opium available in those countries and in the morphine-manufacturing countries would have been enough to meet the world's licit requirements for two and a half years." Even a considerable reduction of licit production in 1954 could not reduce the stock of narcotics appreciably so that the stock at the end of 1954 was enough to meet the world requirements for two years without any production.

The *Bulletin* reports: "The Board continues to feel some concern with regard to available supplies of opium, by reason of the fact that Governments are not invariably able to ensure that all opium harvested is surrendered to them and their production figures according represent only the quantities bought from producers by State monopolies. Positive evidence

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the Board's apprehension in this respect well-founded has been provided this year the disclosures in Iran," where out of an age annual production of 700-1200 tons of the State purchases accounted for only tons a year from 1945 to 1954.

Referring to the danger from narcotics the man points out in an editorial article on mber 26 that narcotics control was necessary an international affair. "Investigation own that gangs of international traffickers who shift their operations from country to ry wherever Governments are lax or ient," the newspaper notes.

Among the agencies of the UN, the mission on Narcotic Drugs is one of most successful. But here too, as slavery, a single convention and a International Narcotics Board which take over the work of the Permanent al Opium Control Board and the Drug visory Body have not yet been possible. ally, India's contribution has been satisfying and its policy of control of through governmental monopoly has been ed as a model. Eventually, as Mr. Roy st, *ganja* and *bhang* must go the way of ," the *Statesman* concludes.

ery Disaster at Asansol

About 40 persons were killed on Septem- 1, when a roof of a coal-mine belonging to Burra Dhemo colliery near Asansol caved shing persons working in it. About sixty were at work in the mine when the disaster place. Further details were not available time of writing.

The Burra Dhemo colliery, managed by a ta firm, was not involved in the current in which about 40,000 workers belonging Raniganj coalfields had stopped work since ber 17 demanding higher wages, re- ction of the rationing system, payment us, and distribution of free rice.

The frequency of accidents in Indian coal- in the recent years has given rise to great . In December last year 65 persons lost lives in an accident in the Newton Chikli ery in Madhya Pradesh. In another acci- in the Amlabad colliery, Jharia, in 1955, persons were killed by an explosion. In uary, 1955, nine persons died when a roof caved in in the Model Dharmabad colliery, Jharia.

The Enquiry Committee appointed by the Government to investigate into the causes of accident in the Newton Chikhli colliery found gross dereliction of duty on the part of the management to provide safety measures in the mines. The committee also laid part of the blame on the shoulders of the inspection officers of the Government of India for their connivance with the management's omission and commission. After the publication of the Enquiry Report the Government of India was reported to be considering measures for prosecuting the guilty officials and coal-mine managers. But nothing appears to have been done. The latest mine disaster would seem to suggest that nothing was done to examine the safety measures in the coal-mines.

There is a Bengali saying that an intelligent man learns from other's experience, but a lesser man can learn only from his own experience. The repetition of the same pattern of accidents—in coal-mines, railways, roads, etc.—naturally leads one to the question: Is even the intelligence of the lesser man beyond the authorities in India?

Political Fasts

In an article in the September 12 issue of the weekly *Bhoodan,* Dada Dharmadhikari examines some of the fasts recently undertaken by different political leaders in India. The fasts had been variously commented upon and some, notably Dr. Rammonohar Lohia, had even questioned the use of the method of fast to get any particular grievance redressed in a democracy.

Discussing the compatibility of political fasts with democracy Shri Dharmadhikari writes that no serious objection could be raised against a purely self-purifying fast in which nobody else than the person undertaking the fast was involved. Self-purificatory fasts might also be undertaken in another way. When a person found that he could not convince others about his own point of view he might ascribe that inability to his own lack of moral stature and might resort to fasting to go through a process of self-sacrifice and thus to obtain the necessary moral authority to put through his own views. This second type of purifactory

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fast, "it is well to remember," he writes, "is not open to all. Only those who have sincerely accepted non-violence as a faith and have renounced violence completely may have the right to undertake such a fast if they have a feeling of real affection for the people whom they are anxious to influence and if there is no desire to coerce."

Elucidating further Dada Dharmadhikari writes: "I would like to emphasise that fasting, even when it is in the pure non-violent way, has to be undertaken in very rare and extreme circumstances." Since fasting might be undertaken as a last resort in very rare circumstances it would not be correct to taboo fasting in a democratic India. But the light-hearted political fasts frequently restored to with a view to irritating the opponents or making them look small had absolutely no justification.

All things considered, however, the recent fast of the Communist leader Shri A. K. Gopalan and the Bombay Chief Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, had some special significance. The Communists had not yet had completely given up violence as a means for achieving their end. In such circumstances, the fact that even Shri Gopalan considered it expedient to resort to a fast to make his voice heard "proves that in the conditions under which we are living today the non-violent method is more appropriate and is likely to be more successful than the violent method."

Shri Morarji's fast was unique in that it was the first time when a person in high authority had resorted to fasting. Some had pointed to the incongruity of his fasting and the police violence in Bombay. While there was obviously some relevance and substance in such criticism, writes Shri Dharmadhikari, "it must be confessed that his fast had a special meaning for the leading men who are running the country. They must learn a lesson from it." The political leaders of India, especially those in authority, had a pathetic faith in police methods and violence. They rarely thought staking the personal popularity and goodwill they had. "Shri Morarji Desai has it to his credit that he showed the courage to stake his leadership."

The fasts, among others, of Shri Gopalan and Shri Desai, had a lesson for the leaders of the Government and of the other parties. It was: "Everyone must sincerely abjure violence and agree to tackle all our problems by stri[illegible] peaceful methods. All our parties must re[illegible] nise that the non-violent method, in the pres[illegible] circumstances of the world, is the only practi[illegible] method. It can no more be called idealistic [illegible] utopian," writes Shri Dharmadhikari.

Distressed West Bengal

West Bengal has been tormented by th[illegible] sand and one problems in these days. E[illegible] difficulties common to other parts of In[illegible] assume a particular intensity and chara[illegible] here. For example, while there is the prob[illegible] of the educated unemployed also in the rest [illegible] India in this state it has assumed the acu[illegible] form. The recent sample surveys highlig[illegible] the economic distress of the people of [illegible] State. War, famine, partition and the influx [illegible] the refugees have combined to reduce its [illegible] habitants to the lowest level of existence wh[illegible] they have not much resistance left in them [illegible] cope with any new crisis.

In recent years floods and droughts ha[illegible] become a familiar annual feature to the re[illegible] dents of Southern and Eastern India. This ye[illegible] has been no exception. Parts of U.P., Bih[illegible] Assam, Orissa and West Bengal have be[illegible] seriously hit. Everywhere the suffering of t[illegible] common people beggars description. [illegible] reasons, already noted, the effect of the rec[illegible] rains and flood have been particularly appalli[illegible] in West Bengal. Eight districts have b[illegible] severely hit. Five rivers are in spate. T[illegible] result has been the officially confirmed dest[illegible] tion of more than a lakh of people in the St[illegible] Four days' rain have killed 15 and have injur[illegible] about 60 persons. In some regions crops a[illegible] vegetables have also been adversely affect[illegible] Roads, Railway lines and Telegraphic syst[illegible] have been breached in many places resulting [illegible] difficulty in the proper assessment of the hav[illegible] caused and of sending help to the needy.

Pakistani Influx in India

Misrule and economic muddle in Pakist[illegible] has not only driven the Hindu minority [illegible] Pakistan into desperate straits, but the Mosl[illegible] majority also is flitting across the border, inten[illegible] fying the economic pressure on India. T[illegible] influx in the main consists of labour, skilled a[illegible] unskilled. But a very substantial number [illegible]

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grossly undesirable elements also come over and back to evade the law. New Delhi seems to have at last realised it as the following report in the *Statesman's* political correspondent indicates:

"New Delhi, September 26.—The Government of India, I understand, is giving serious thought to the problem created by an almost unregulatable influx of Pakistani nationals into this country.

"The problem is not a new one, but there have lately been signs of aggravation and the activities of some of these non-nationals have repercussions on the State of law and order and even on national security.

"Formerly this kind of traffic was regulated by the Influx from Pakistan (Control) Act of 1952. This law lapsed on October 15, 1952, and now the passport-cum-visa system, which can easily be sidetracked, obtains. The Passport Act and rules require that Pakistani nationals visiting in addition to passports hold a visa issued to them by Indian diplomatic missions.

"The Indian authorities are in effect powerless to make those who overstay in India go back to their country because such persons can go to courts and obtain injunctions claiming that they were Indian nationals.

"The presence in India of non-nationals is governed by various Acts such as the Foreigners Act, the Registration of Foreigners Act and the Indian Passport Act.

"While the Indian authorities have full control over the entry and movements of foreigners and can even send them back, Commonwealth citizens can enter the country with an endorsement on their passports by their own Governments. They do not have to register and no information about their presence in the country need be given to the Government.

"In the case of Pakistanis there is also the visa requirement. Now the Government of India proposes to arm itself with powers to send back those who have overstayed. This will most likely be done by amendment of the existing law rather than through a separate law."

Anti-Social Activities

The *Statesman's* political correspondent gives the following communique a little while ago. The Government of India should realize that both the Constitution, as it stands, and the administrative machinery as it runs today, would foil any attempt to check such activities by the formulation of new laws alone.

What is needed is a thorough enquiry in both directions. Too much stress has been laid hitherto on the rights of individuals, without taking any count of society as a whole, as affected by anti-social elements, or corrupt and/or grossly inefficient administrators and executives of law:

"New Delhi, September 21.—Attempts by extraneous agencies and unpatriotic elements to stir up unrest in the country and further steps which the Government of India should take to deal with this problem were discussed at a high level conference summoned at his residence by the Union Home Minister, Pandit Pant, this evening.

"Among those who attended it were the Home Secretary, senior police officers and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi.

"Attention was concentrated not so much on any specific aspect but, on the whole series of incidents somewhat variegated and baffling in pattern which have occurred in the past few weeks and which have generally pointed to the existence of activity which seems to be aimed at disrupting national solidarity and therefore at the creation of embarrassment to India's external relations.

"The same context of events also seems to have posed a problem of internal security.

"The limitless freedom of expression which is permitted to all sections of the community, it would appear, has provided fruitful opportunities to anti-social and antti-national elements to whip up trouble and conduct campaigns which can have no other effect than that of weakening the country and injuring its interests.

"Among the specific incidents which have come to notice lately is the organized agitation which was conducted against a book written by Americans more than ten years ago.

"Evidence reaching here indicates that much finance and organized manpower were put behind the agitation which was conducted in such a way as to hurt feelings and lead to a breach of the peace.

"As was, perhaps, calculated by the men

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behind the scenes, the agitation produced reactions which unfortunately have not yet died down and also an opportunity for some of the Opposition parties to exploit the situation in their favour.

"The bomb explosions in Delhi and other incidents of more recent happening have in addition drawn attention to the problem of internal security.

"The whole series of incidents has also revealed a lacuna in the existing law of the land and its inability effectively to keep a check on the presence of unauthorized elements in India.

"The Government of India, I understand, is maintaining close contact with the State Governments and is assisting them in getting on top of the situation.

"All these questions were reviewed exhaustively at today's meeting and measures were devised whose effect should become visible in course of time.

"These measures should also assist in maintenance of accord during the coming weeks which will be marked by a number of religious festivals."

Election Fever

The Congress is attacked with Election Fever. Hence this resolve, made in order to be observed in the breach. What we would like to know, is, why victimise one-third, when nine-tenths consist of rubbish?

"New Delhi, September 24.—The Congress High Command is understood to have decided that at least one-third of the sitting Congress legislators should be replaced with a view to drawing in fresh blood from within the party.

"It is stated that for the general elections every prospective Congress candidate's record of service would be the main factor which would weigh with the High Command while making selections. If a candidate is a sitting member, his work and experiendce in that capacity would also be considered but this qualification, in the opinion of the High Command, should not override special merits of another candidate who does not happen to be a member at present.

"The High Command is stated to have thought it essential that sufficient scope should be given to younger people and decided that they should be given at least one-third of the candidatures."

The Naga Problem

The following bit of news, by the *Statesman* correspondent, indicates an improvement:

"Shillong, September 23.—For the first time since disturbances started in Naga Hills last December a whole village has surrendered arms. Hitherto such surrenders were made by individuals.

"The first village to surrender arms along with a group of rebel Nagas is Zakhama village in southern Angami area. Village elders yesterday produced 20 men along with two Sten guns, eight service rifles, three Japanese rifles and seven muzzleloading guns and surrendered them to the Deputy Commissioner at Kohima.

"It is understood that those rebel Nagas who had surrendered arms in response to General Kochar's proclamation had been pardoned and set at liberty.

"Troops on patrol captured six Service rifles, four Japanese rifles, five muzzleloading guns, two Sten guns and a quantity of ammunition near Hanema village in Kuki area.

"In Kohima yesterday, two Nagas with a Japanese rifle and a muzzleloading gun surrendered to the civil authorities there. An army patrol in Tuensang Frontier Division rounded up five hostiles near Shamnyu village. Two Service rifles, seven muzzleloading guns and some ammunition were captured in the area.

"Nagas of Merema village, five miles north-west of Kohima, with their confidence restored by the presence of troops ,are returning to their homes in increasing numbers. Nearly one-third of the population has been resettled and villagers are going about their normal work.

"Rice, salt, tea and sugar are being distributed in villages. To combat epidemic diseases army doctors equipped with mobile dispensaries are touring the area, attending the sick."

Water Transport

The following grandiose plan was released in the news a short while ago. In view of the muddle and confusion over the Ganga Barrage and the consequent deterioration of river traffic

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the Hugly river and the Ganga, to say ...ing of the ruin of the Calcutta Port, we ... be excused for asking our readers to use ... liberally in taking notice of this plan:

"New Delhi, September 22.—A master ... for developing inland waterways in the ...try in order to provide adequate cheap ...port in a developing economy is under... ...d to have been drawn up by the Central ...ter and Power Commission.

"The plan envisages the linking of Cal... ...a port on the east with Cochin on the ... *via* Cuttack and Madras by a network ...anals connecting some of the major rivers ... Orissa, Andhra and Madras, a continuous ...rway from Western India to Northern ... North-East India *via* Central India, and ...ntinuous waterway from the West Coast ...the East Coast through the hinterlands of ...bay, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra.

"The Commission feels that while suffi... attention has been given to the develop... of railways and road transport in the ...ry, no attention worthy of mention has ...r been paid to the development of inland ...rways whose potentialities are great.

"The Government of India, it is learnt, ... shortly appoint a committee to go into ... question of development of inland water... in the country.

"The total navigable inland waterways at ...nt in the country is estimated at roughly ...0 miles as compared with 36,000 miles of ...ays. River navigation is now confined to ... Ganga and the Brahmaputra, and the Goda... ... and the Krishna in the south to some ...t. The Commission feels that the Goda... ... the Krishna, the Narbada and the Tapti ... navigation potentialities similar to that ...e Ganga.

"The Commission says that from infor... ...n received from the States, it is found ... it is possible to connect the Western and ...ern Coast through multi-purpose works ...the Narbada, Sone, Chambal and Ken, thus ...ecting the Narbada with the Ganga River ...em and the Narbada with the Godavari ...m. These rivers are at present not navi... ...e except at their lower reaches. A number ... dams, weirs, locks and, probably later, ...nals will have to be constructed to make ...e waterways navigable.

"On account of partition, inland navigation in the eastern parts of India has been dislocated. Assam has no direct water link through Indian territory with West Bengal. The latter has also lost her connexion, by waterways with the States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Inter-communication between these States by waterways now means a detour of nearly 450 miles through East Pakistan.

This has caused much hardship and uncertainty to the merchants. Therefore, the Commission suggests that the River Tista can be utilized to provide an all-India waterways connexion between the Brahmaputra and the Ganga River systems, that is between Assam, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh.

"The Commission has also suggested certain improvements to be made in the River Bhagirathi in order to have a continuous waterway throughout the year from Calcutta to the hinterland of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh through Indian territory. These schemes, according to the Commission, will necessarily be very costly and will take a long time to be executed.

"For linking the Ganga River system with the west flowing rivers in order to provide a continuous waterway from the West Coast to the East Coast, the Commission has suggested four schemes for preliminary investigations. These are:

Connecting the Narbada with the Sone (a tributary of the Ganga) *via* the Johilla (a tributary of the Sone);

Connecting the Narbada with the Sone *via* the Biran and the Katni Nadi (tributaries of the Narbada and the Sone, respectively);

Connecting the Narbada with the Chambal (a tributary of the Jamuna) *via* the Karam (a tributary of the Narbada); and

Connecting the Narbada with the Jamuna *via* the Bearma and the Ken.

"For providing a continuous waterway from the West Coast to the East Coast through the hinterlands of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra, the Commission has recommended connecting the Narbada with the Godavari River system.

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"It has also suggested the linking of the Tapti with the Godavari river system *via* the Sardha, a tributary of the Godavari, for an alternative waterway connecting the West Coast with the East Coast.

"It has suggested the linking of the Ganga River with the Mahanadi *via* the Sone and the Rihand (tributaries of the Ganga and the Sone, respectively) and the Hasdo (a tributary of the Mahanadi) for providing a continuous waterway between northern and north-eastern India and Orissa *via* Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh.

"For speeding up traffic in the existing inland waterways, the Commission has suggested the introduction of modern self-propelled tugs and barges. For this considerable enlargement and other improvements will be necessary in all the navigable canals of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Andhra and Madras.

"For linking Calcutta with Cochin on the west coast by a network of canals *via* Cuttack and Madras the commission says that in the past Calcutta was connected with Cuttack by waterway through the Orissa coast canal which had been abandoned since 1928 by the Orissa Government. This could be revived to have a continuous inland waterway from Calcutta to Cuttack along the east coast.

"Similarly Cuttack could be linked with Madras by constructing a new canal from the Mahanadi to the Chilka Lake and again from the Chilka lake to the Godavari River. Already there exist 400 miles of canals from the Godavari down south along the east coast where there is a fair amount of trade. These canals could be linked with the west coast canals and backwaters of Travancore-Cochin *via* the existing Vedranyan Canal (35 miles), situated about 105 miles south of the Buckingham Canal.

"For the development of these waterways detailed survey for collection of up-to-date data will be necessary."

Raniganj Collieries Strike

The following extracts from the *Statesman* of September 19, give an idea of the strike that has been called in the Raniganj coalfields. It shows how little the labour-leaders care for the Labour Tribunals or the administration:

"There was little change in the situation in the Raniganj coal fields on September 18, about 35,000 workers of 22 collieries continuing on strike for the second day. The staffs of the power house, water supply installations and offices carried on work as usual.

"Two more collieries started work on the same day, bringing the total number of collieries working, despite the strike call, to four. Reports have reached Calcutta that willing workers of other collieries have been prevented from going to work.

A spokesman of the coal industry told me on Tuesday that the strike was illegal for three reasons: (1) the Tribunal award of May 25 was binding on all parties for a year unless appealed against within a month. The P.S.P.-controlled Colliery Mazdoor Congress which had called the strike, had not appealed against the award within the stipulated time and must therefore be presumed to have accepted it. (2) Certain other parties to the dispute before the Tribunal, including the Communist-controlled unions, had appealed against various terms of the award and these appeals were now before the appellate Tribunal. As the different managements were a party to these appeals any strike during their pendency was illegal. (3) Conciliation proceedings, which had been started last week by the Government, were still effective.

"The spokesman pointed out that about 80 per cent of the workers had benefited very considerably under the award, the increase in emoluments in many cases exceeding 50 per cent. Others who had not benefited—clerks, chaprassis, engineering staff and mining sardars—had been made certain offers which in effect would give them between Rs. 8 and Rs. 15 a month extra."

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays, "The Modern Review" Office and the "Prabasi" Press will remain closed from 11th October to 24th October, 1956, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI,
Editor.

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THE CHANGING COMMONWEALTH

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By Prof. G. D. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., P.E.S.

e dominating trend of the British empire g the past generation was centrifugal. government as the guiding principle of sh colonial policy was first laid down in Durham Report of 1839 and the conception ominion self-government was derived from British North America Act of 1867. The 'dominion' was first used in a resolution e Colonial Conference of 1907 to designate self-governing units of the British empire h Canada was known as the dominion of da ever since the passing of the British America Act. The Balfour declaration 26 defined dominions as

omous communities within the British empire, in status, in no way subordinate to one r in any respect of their domestic or external though united by a common allegiance to the and freely associated as members of the British mmonwealth of Nations."

The then existing administrative, judicial egislative relations of the dominions with n were not wholly in accord with the position as the Declaration was an pt to define dominion status only in non-terms. The legal framework was, there-provided by the Statute of Westminster 31. No information about the criteria determined the status of a dominion was, er, given, as Section I of the Statute d the dominion only by enumeration, *i.e.*, ominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of alia, the dominion of New Zealand, the of South Africa, the Irish Free State and undland. The preamble to the Statute d the Crown to be the symbol of the sociation of the members of the British mmonwealth of Nations. The substance of endence, both internal and external, was ed to the dominions though the legal ignty of the Parliament remained intact. ant of internal sovereignty to the domi-by Britain implied the removal of the ative and judicial dependence of the on on the Crown. In the executive sphere provision for a responsible executive was specifically made by the Statute, but by tution the Governor-General of a dominion to act as the representative of the Crown holding in all essential respects the same position in relation to the administration of public affairs in a dominion as is held by His Majesty in Britain and he acted not as the representative of His Majesty's Government but of His Majesty.

Analysing the relationship Prof. K. G. Wheare finds three indisputable elements in dominion status.[1] A dominion was a territorial community other than Britain which first owed allegiance to the king in common with Britain, secondly, was equal in status with Britain, and thirdly, was freely associated with it. Allegiance to the common British Crown was the legal tie which acted as a strong bond but the link could be broken or abolished at will by any dominion. The dominion might constitutionally and factually repudiate the Statute and thus become a fully independent State outside the Commonwealth. Ireland ceased to be a member when in April, 1949, it passed the Republic of Ireland Act which repudiated all the three elements postulated by the Balfour Declaration and the Westminster Statute. Ireland did no longer wish to recognise the king as the symbol of its free association with Britain and other dominions; it did not wish to be a kingdom; it did not wish to continue as a member and so it walked out of the Commonwealth.

Coloured Dominions

India and Pakistan attained dominionhood through the Indian Independence Act of 1947 and Ceylon through the Ceylon Independence Act and the Order-in-Council of 1948. The acquisition of dominion status by these countries introduced a new factor in dominion relationship. The multiracial character of the Commonwealth and the diversity of the political and economic interests of its component units not only brought about a change in Commonwealth terminology but also profoundly influenced the underlying legal and constitutional theories.

India continued to be a dominion till it became a republic in 1950 but unlike Ireland India wanted to repudiate only one of the elements implicit in the Statute of 1931. India found the

1. K. C. Wheare: *Dominion Status*, p. 33.

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old monarchical symbolism of dominion status inconsistent with her republican status. She would not continue to owe allegiance to the Crown but wanted to retain her association with the Commonwealth. The declaration of the Prime Ministers' Conference of 1949 while permitting India to remain a full member of the Commonwealth introduced a significant change in the Commonwealth concept.

"The governments of Canada, U.K., Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon whose countries are united as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and owe a common allegiance to the Crown which is also a symbol of their free association, have considered the impending constitutional changes in India.

"The Government of India have informed the other governments of the Commonwealth of the intention of the Indian people that India shall become a sovereign republic. The Government of India have, however, declared and affirmed India's desire to continue her membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and her acceptance of the king as the symbol of the free association of its independent member-nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth.

"The governments of the other countries of the Commonwealth, the basis of whose membership of the Commonwealth is not hereby changed, accept and recognise India's continuing membership in accordance with the terms of the Declaration. They declare that they remain united as free and equal members of the Commonwealth of Nations freely co-operating in the pursuit of peace, liberty and progress."

The Commonwealth now became a Commonwealth of seven kingdoms and one republic with the king as the head of the State in the law of seven kingdoms but with no position in the law of the republic. The Head of the Commonwealth had no legal basis and therefore had no legal powers. The reference in the last paragraph of the Declaration was to the king and not to the Crown.

"So the king had no functions at all. He has a certain status. The Commonwealth, as such, is not a body. It has no organisation through which to function and the king can have no functions."[2]

The Crown was no longer a constitutional link. The Crown-functions became divisible and varied from one country to the other. The Commonwealth tie became purely diplomatic. The declaration, however, preserved the symbolic unity of the Commonwealth. The new arrangement enabled Pakistan in February, 1955, at her request and with the agreement of Commonwealth Prime Ministers to retain, as a republic, full membership of the Commonwealth. Ceylon made a similar request at the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

Change in Terminology

During the past decade the practice has been widely adopted in official and unofficial circles to replace the term British Commonwealth of Nations by Commonwealth of Nations and to replace the term dominion status by realm or member status.

"The House will observe in the Royal Proclamation," said Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons on February 11, 1952, "the importance and significance of the word 'realm.' The many States, nations and races included in the British Commonwealth and empire have found in the word realm the expression of their sense of unity, combined in most cases with a positive allegiance to the Crown or a profound and respectful association with it."[3]

Member status denotes a higher status in so far as the term dominion implied a relation of adolescence to the mother country and signified historically at least some idea of inferiority to the United Kingdom, but, in fact, the new terminology means little more than new names for old things. There is, moreover, no legal and constitutional basis for the distinction. Speaking in the House of Commons, Mr. Attlee observed:

"All constitutional developments in the Commonwealth, the British Commonwealth or the British Empire have been the subject of consultation between His Majesty's governments and there has been no agreement to adopt or to exclude the use of any of these terms. Opinions differ in different parts of the British empire and the Commonwealth on this matter and I think it better to allow people to use the expression they like best."[4]

Multi-racial Commonwealth—New Loyalties

Apart from the change in terminology the Asian element in the Commonwealth has produced a greater variety in constitutional symbolism. The emotional factors which bind the Whites to the mother country are absent in the Asian counterpart of the Commonwealth.

2. Nehru : *Independence and After*, p. 269.

3. Quoted in Wheare : *Dominion Status*, p. 300.

4. Quoted in Palme Dutt : *Britain's Crisis of the Empire*, p. 8.

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dressing the Commonwealth Correspondents' association in July, 1956, Mr. Bandernaike said:

"The Queen of England is indeed a gracious lady. We prefer a republican form of government which we consider more suitable to our country and our conditions. We are too far away, with too few personal contacts, to stimulate that feeling of personal attachment which you have for her."[25]

So the development of a Commonwealth sentiment and a sense of loyalty to the Crown is out of question. As a result, the Commonwealth lost its structural and organic unity. India, Pakistan and Ceylon retained their membership not because of sentimental reasons but after considering the relative advantages and disadvantages.

If the Commonwealth is to survive as a cohesive institutional pattern, new loyalties must develop to replace the old ones that have faded away. The Commonwealth is an experiment in co-operation among States of mixed race and culture having divergent political and economic interests. The common practice of a parliamentary system of government provide a new link. At the Commonwealth Nations Conference held at Lahore in 1954 the Prime Minister of Pakistan spoke of the common practice of responsible self-government the strongest bond of Commonwealth unity. The communique issued by the Prime Minis- Conference in July, 1956, held parliamentary democracy to be the common heritage the people of the Commonwealth. But there countries outside the Commonwealth which practise various forms of democracy. Moreover, the concept of democracy within the Commonwealth widely differs. Democracy, and like-mindedness appear to be but sounding platitudes which cannot provide strong link to bind together States having racial and political differences.

What, then, are the conditions of Commonwealth membership? At the Lahore Conference there was general agreement that they are a desire for membership, recognition of Queen as the Head of the Commonwealth, fully established parliamentary system, sufficient size and resources to support the responsibilities of a sovereign State and the consent of existing members to admission.

[25] National Herald, July 9, 1956.

The outward sign of membership was attendance at the Prime Ministers' Conference not by courtesy but as of right. These conferences have become a factor of unity which holds the Commonwealth together and makes formal and informal consultations possible. The meetings are largely a continuation of the unceasing exchange of views on matters of common concern which is an important element in the relationship between member-countries of the Commonwealth.

Crisis within the Commonwealth

While the cohesive forces tend to weaken, the multi-racial Commonwealth is increasingly becoming vulnerable to political, racial and economic tensions. There has been recently a limitation in the area of common experience as between the old European and the new Asian members of the Commonwealth. Writing in the *Times* in June, 1956, Mr. Menzies admitted that there were now two Commonwealths—the hard core of the old dominions whose association possessed an integral character and the new Asian republics which were only loosely associated for functional purposes and which could not be drawn into any joint conclusion on any matter of international policy. The Commonwealth no longer possesses an operative principle of unity in terms of a common purpose and outlook or a sense of direction. The points of agreement between the old European and the young Asian members of the Commonwealth have recently diminished. They had to face different problems and certain temperamental differences have given rise to divergencies of thought, ends and means. There is a deep distrust in Asia of Western imperialism; the willingness of any imperial power to transfer the responsibility to colonies is very much doubted. On the other hand, formal and rigid relationships like the NATO, SEATO and ANZUS have emerged because of the European concept of security. Pakistan's membership of the SEATO and the Baghdad Pact and her stand over Kashmir has produced intra-Asian tensions. At the same time the so-called neutralism creates further irritations in the West. India and Ceylon stand for the policy of non-alignment while other members of the Commonwealth are deeply committed. Differences in foreign policy are inevitable as each country in the Commonwealth is free to go its own way, but

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they may not go so far as to break away from the Commonwealth. The communique recently issued by the Prime Ministers' Conference emphasised the points of agreement, though somewhat vaguely. The Commonwealth, they said, was committed to the gradual liquidation of the empire. In the pursuit of peace, the Prime Ministers attached great importance to a comprehensive disarmament programme and welcomed the Soviet decision to reduce their armed forces. They agreed on the civil use of atomic energy. At the same time open references to expressions of differences were artfully avoided. The Prime Ministers were 'informed' of the activities of the NATO; they were also 'informed' of the progress of constitutional advance in Malaya and Singapore, and they 'heard' a report from the Prime Minister of New Zealand about his visit to Japan. Reference to the admission of China was, however, avoided.

Racialism

While disagreement on foreign policy may be unavoidable and permissible, racialism provokes such deep-seated passions as may destroy the Commonwealth unity. Apartheid poses difficult problems for India and Pakistan whose nationals have been the victims of South Africa's efforts to maintain the Christian civilisation and establish the supremacy of the White Man. For Britain also racialism raises in an acute form the future of the three Protectorates, largely enclaves within the Union of South Africa. The Union wants to incorporate these territories but the Africans are opposed to it. As the Commonwealth family grows race oppression is likely to be attacked from within the Commonwealth with increasing intensity. The Gold Coast is at the door of independence; Nigeria and Uganda are preparing for it. The future of African States within the Commonwealth depends on the solution of the problem of colour attitude. There is something unreal about a relationship which claims to be a free association of free peoples but at the same time supports a State which bases its policy on the concept of the White supremacy and denies the Queen's subjects on racial grounds the freedoms which are associated with that status elsewhere. Respect for human rights and acceptance of human equality seem to be the conditions of Commonwealth survival.

On the economic plane the Colombo Plan is an attempt to increase production, raise the standard of living and enlarge the volume of trade so as to advance through co-operative effort the economic development in South and South-East Asia. The Prime Ministers' Conference also agreed that each country through sound internal economic policies and steady development of its resources could help to strengthen the Commonwealth and the sterling area and move steadily towards the agreed objectives of the widest practicable system of trade and payments. But the divergencies which have become increasingly manifest within the Commonwealth on political and racial issues are likely to extend to economic attitudes. India is moving towards a socialist pattern of society and ere long other Asian members are likely to move in that direction; as no such tendency is visible in other Commonwealth countries, difference of approach might arise.

Future

The Commonwealth tends to become internally and externally anomalous. Addressing the Commonwealth Association Mr. Menzies doubted the value of an association which might become

"so loose and vague that it might almost pass for a committee of the United Nations. Differences are natural in an association of sovereign equals but if too much disagreement on fundamental questions is allowed, the Commonwealth would only provide a forum for discussion and would come to mean a small United Nations without a charter and without the obligations under a large United Nations."[6]

There has been recently some thinking about the means to establish closer collaboration among the Commonwealth countries in order to make it more effective. The Australian Prime Minister suggested more functional conferences, more specialised meetings on ministerial level and more frequent use of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. The suggestions might improve the means and spirit of contact but cannot by themselves establish stronger bonds. In his articles in the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. K. M. Panikkar proposed the setting up of a Commonwealth Tribunal for settling justiciable intra-Commonwealth disputes. The suggestion is not likely to appeal

6. Speech as reported in the *National Herald*, July 10, 1956.

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member of the Commonwealth as it might to the establishment of a super-body which might bring about by its supervisory activities a diminution in the sovereignty of member-nations. The recent Prime Ministers' communique contained platitudes like world peace, parliamentary democracy, rule of law, economic prosperity, etc., and these alone are proposed to represent the common outlook of the Commonwealth. In fact, Commonwealth talking has been an exercise in political escapism. The evolution of the Commonwealth along traditional lines appears to be blocked. A time of disentanglement has arrived. In the absence of common allegiance and common constitutional pattern and without any legal or moral unity the Commonwealth may survive only as a forum for international co-operation on a small scale. The Commonwealth could, however, act as a third force as a way of life between the two extremes on the Right and the Left. In welcoming the Soviet decision to reduce its armed forces and taking note of the recent changes in the Soviet Union, the Prime Ministers' Conference has already worked for a friendly relation between the rival blocs. The multi-racial community can, however, survive only if the intra-Commonwealth tension is lessened and the moral unity of the Commonwealth is rehabilitated by the preservation of fundamental human rights and values. The Commonwealth family would gain more force and flexibility by the addition of more Asian and African members.

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COMMITTEES IN THE MODERN PARLIAMENTS

By N. L. GUPTA, M.A.

PARLIAMENTS in democracies represent the people and rule on their behalf with responsibility to them. The representatives consist of laymen and amateur politicians. They represent the various parties, programmes and the main trends of public opinion in body politic. The representatives are not experts.

Primarily they are elected to Parliament to make laws. Law-making, today, has become the work of an expert. Every law involves so much of statistics, technical details and expertness that a member cannot be expected to have all such knowledge. The amount of laws to be made by any Parliament is so enormous that no Parliament can do more than decide on general issues leaving aside details. The Committees have provided for these deficiencies, at the same time not taking the control of law-making from the hands of Parliament to outside experts. These Committees discuss bills in detail and examine the technicalities involved before a bill is passed by Parliament. They may call for evidence, records or witnesses. They may hold investigations and hear the interests affected by such bills. The bills are thoroughly discussed, debated and analysed. These may be amended, modified and even changed. These Committees reflect the party strength and discuss bills clause by clause; much of the time of the Parliament is saved because the arguments advanced by the Government and the opposition parties in the Committee are not generally repeated on the floor of the Chambers. These Committees save the time of Parliament and provide it with expertness and technical knowledge. Even some compromises may be arrived at between the Government and the opposition. They meet in private beyond the glare of publicity. The Government may accede to the opposition's point of view and make concessions, of course barring concessions in the principle of the bill. The Government may not agree to such concessions on the floor of the Chamber. In the Chambers of Parliament, the Government and the opposition parties meet like armies and fight a battle of wits more to influence the voters with a view to win the next election.

In certain countries, these Committees not only provide the 'expertness' but also the 'control,' 'unity' and 'direction' in legislative policy. This is true of the U.S.A. and France. The Committees of the House of Representatives in the U.S.A. have been described as 'real legislatures' or 'little legislatures.' The House legislates with their permission. In Britain and in India, Parliaments are controlled by the Cabinet and discuss, examine or pass only such bills as are initiated by the Cabinet Ministers or which receive their approval. Because of the

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majority at its back, the Cabinet is the master of the Parliament and controls the initiation and formulation of legislative policies subject to final adoption by the Parliament. The Cabinet in practice controls time, procedure, and priority of legislation. Due to the absence of Cabinet Leadership in the U.S.A. and due to weak, unstable and short-lived Cabinets in France, the content and substance of legislative policy is provided by Committees. All bills introduced in the House of Commons and Lok Sabha are discussed by the House and Sabha in the first instance. A bill is referred to a Committee only after its principle or main broad outlines have been agreed to by the House. Thus the Committees perform a secondary, though important, role in law making in these Houses. But in the U.S.A. and France, every bill first goes to a Committee and the House discusses it only after it is reported back from the Committee. In the U.S.A. the Committees kill about 4/5th of the bills by not reporting them back to the House. The House can force them to report a bill back under a 'discharge rule' by passing a resolution on two Mondays in a month with absolute majority (218 members). In practice it is a difficult process. Bills are often initiated by a member to satisfy the constituents. No other member is interested in such measures. During 1923 to 1939, eight such 'discharge' resolutions were passed, the House approved 4 such bills and only one could go to the statute book. Hence the bills to be discussed by the House and the contents of the legislative policy are determined by the Committee. The 'Committee on Rules' not only presents the 'rules of procedure' to the House for adoption and may suggest their amendment, but it may also indicate to the House what clauses of a bill shall be amended and what shall not be. It may even intervene when the House is discussing a bill and may stop its discussion. It may introduce a bill of its own on the same subject and demand the House to proceed with its consideration. Thus the Committee in U.S.A. controls the direction of procedure on the floor of the House.

In France, 'Commissions' consider every bill in the first instance; the House considers it only if and after it emerges from the 'Commission.' The Reappateur (Spokesman) of the Commission controls the proceeding of the bill in the House. Amendments introduced by members may be required by the Commission to be referred to it. If a suggested amendment concerns the financial aspect of the bill, it may also be referred to the 'Finance Commission.' The Commission may intervene itself. Even when a bill is finalised by the House, the 'Commission' may get a recommital of the bill to itself for further consideration. The Commissions exercise supervision over finance and administration. They challenge the budget. A 'Commission' has real authority and members may replace positions from the Cabinet to the Commissions. One Commission alone included 1 ex-ministers. In Britain the Committees have no such powers of intervention or decision.

The Indian Parliament has, in the main, followed the practice of the British House of Commons. The Committees play a secondary role in law-making and work within the limits imposed by the House. They can neither kill a bill nor exercise the power of intervention and decision. They act as subsidiary bodies to thrash out technical details and provide expertness and save time of the House.

However, the Lok Sabha has not followed the Committee System of the Western Parliaments very rigidly. It has no 'Standing Committees.' There are 19 such Committees in the U.S.A., 6 in U.K. and 18 in France. A 'Select Committee' is appointed with every bill. The members are appointed by the House. The number of members differs with each Committee. They are appointed proportionately to the party strength in the House. The Chairman is appointed from amongst the members by the Speaker of the House; in case the Deputy Speaker is a member of such a Committee, he acts as its Chairman. The quorum is 1/3 of its members. The time for reporting is fixed by the House; extension may be given on the request of the Committee. The Committees follow the procedure identical to that of the House. In case of doubt, the Speaker's decision is final. The Committees meet in the precincts of the Lok Sabha; they meet even when the House is in session. In such cases, the meeting must be adjourned to enable the members to participate in the division in the House. The Committee deals with a bill in detail, clause by clause; amendments are moved, accepted or rejected, *every clause is voted upon*. The Committee can call for evidence or witnesses —official or non-official. It may call for records. The witnesses are allowed to tender evidence

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counsels. It may appoint a Sub-committee on certain points. The meetings are in private.

In case of important bills, like the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill, Hindu Marriage etc., a 'Joint-Committee' representing both Houses may be appointed. The House, where bill is initiated, may pass a resolution for setting a Joint Select Committee and request other House for nominating its members. If other House agrees, the Joint Committee comes into existence. The number of members with every such Committee. Its membership generally is about 50; the Lok Sabha nominating 2/3 members and Rajya Sabha one-third. It follows the same Procedure as the ordinary 'Select Committee' does. It may appoint Sub-committees on specific points.

To exercise control over finance, the Lok Sabha appoints two Committees: Public Accounts Committee and Estimates Committee. The Public Accounts Committee consists of 15 members, elected by the House in accordance with proportionate representation, on single transferable vote system. The Chairman is appointed by the Speaker. The Lok Sabha has not followed the practice of the House of Commons of appointing a member of opposition as its Chairman. Its term is one year. Its quorum is 5. It may appoint Sub-Committees. It may call for officials, experts and witnesses. The decision of the Speaker on matters of procedure is final, though the Committee may pass a resolution for his consideration and approval. It examines accounts of the departments to see that the money has been spent in accordance with appropriations authorised by the Parliament and no unauthorised expenditure or no diversion has been made by the departments. This Committee examines accounts of previous years. To take an example, the Commitee in 1952-53 examined accounts of 1948-49 and 1949-50. It does not examine accounts of all the departments every year. It examines accounts of one or two departments every year and may examine accounts of one of the Government enterprises or Government enterprises, like the Chittaranjan Locomotive Enterprise, the Bhakra Dam or the Sindri. Its work is of retrospective nature. It looks for a very long time. The 1952-53 Committee held 35 meetings and devoted only 83 hours during the whole year. Yet its very existence and its findings are a great restraint upon the executive in matters of finance. Its report is discussed in the Lok Sabha and necessary action is taken on its highly commendable recommendations.

The Estimates Committee consists of 25 members, is appointed in the same manner as the Public Accounts Committee and follows a similar procedure in conduct of its business. Its quorum is 8. Its function is to examine the estimates presented by the departments in the budget for grant by the Parliament. It examines whether the estimates have been properly framed. It suggests to the Lok Sabha if economy could be effected in estimates and suggests alternative policies for bringing efficiency in the administration. It again examines estimates of one or two departments every year and goes on examining them even when the budget has been passed by the Parliament and estimates have been granted. The 1952-53 Committee held 21 meetings covering 55 hours throughout the year. These two Committees provide to the opposition the opportunity to have a peep into the inner working of the administration besides providing to the House devices to control finance.

The Committee of Subordinate Legislation consisting of not more than 15 members is appointed to scrutinize and report to the House whether the powers to make rules and regulations, sub-rules, by-laws, etc., delegated to the executive under acts of Parliament or conferred by the Constitution, are properly exercised or not. It may recommend to the House that any order should be annulled wholly or in part or should be amended in any respect.

Besides, there are Committees like the Committee on Petitioners, the Committee on Government Assurances, the Rules Committee, the Committee on Private Members Bill, etc., like the sessional committees in the House of Commons.

Finer has well summed up the importance of Committees :

"In England the Government, in France the Government and the Commissions . . . . in the U.S.A. the party leaders and the Committees decide and debate, the rest is advertisement, explanation, electoral strategy, the joy of talking, and sealing wax."

In India the Cabinet rules.

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THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT

By K. VENKATARAMAN, M.A.

INTERNATIONAL investment has come into the limelight not only as a desideratum of prime importance in a sound system of international trade but also as a potent motive force in moving off an under-developed economy from the dead centre of the vicious circle of stagnation. International Investment is, like the quality of mercy, twice blessed; it blesses him who gives and him who takes. For, apart from its benefit or profitability to a debtor or creditor as an individual, it helps the debtor country as a whole, inasmuch as it provides real savings for capital formation and foreign exchange for importing capital goods from abroad; it also helps the creditor country as a whole to increase income and employment within its borders, being itself in *pari materia* with domestic action for increasing income and employment. Fundamentally it is a means of improving the distribution and use of the world's productive resources. The dictum of Polonius, "neither a borrower nor a lender be," if it is applicable elsewhere, is not certainly applicable here.

It is a fact worth noting at the outset that almost all developed countries did in their time of development rely to a greater or lesser extent upon external finance—not by choice, but by necessity. England used to borrow from Holland in the 17th and 18th centuries, though she herself became the world's leading creditor nation in the 19th century. The U.S., now unsurpassed in its size and solvency, did in fact borrow heavily in the 19th century when her resources were opened up.

In the exceptional circumstances of the 19th century international investment in fruitful conjunction with international migration paved the way for the spread of industrialisation and world trade. Capital flowed in a fertilising stream from Europe—England in particular—to the under-developed countries of the world. The period 1870-1914 can indeed properly be called as the golden age of international investment. Even by the time of the World War I, international investment was at a level of about 1,600 million dollars a year and by the end of the 1920s it was at 2,000 million dollars a year worth about the same in real terms when the change in prices is taken into account. But there was a noticeable shift in the source and direction of capital flow. The U.S. was no longer a net borrower, but had become an overwhelming competitor to U.K. in lending out.

But the epitaph had to be written to the golden age of international investment. The severe depression in the '30s affected international investment as well and reduced it to a tiny trickle. (Strangely enough it was this period that a theory of international trade based on mobility of factors like capital and labour was put forth). Though there has been a revival of world production and trade since the World War II, international investment excluding U.S. Government grants, is only in the range of 2,000 million dollars a year. This is clearly very low not merely when we compare it, allowing for change in prices, with investment before the World War I; it is also low when we take into account the needs of the capital-hungry nations.

The problem of international investment demands therefore an explanation not so much of mobility of capital between nations but of its immobility. Let us first look at international long-term investment by private investors. This type of investment undoubtedly possesses certain special advantages. Being governed by the Calculus of profit, it will be "productively" employed, if not in the social sense, at least in the private sense; it may bring in its wake technical knowhow and better methods of production and management. There are also no such rigid requirements for interest and amortisation as govern loans by international agencies.

But, if this type of investment has special advantages, it has special disadvantages as well. Political factors and economic logic vie with each other in militating against any large-scale investment of this type. Its movement is not only subject to the uncertain weather of international politics; it is also governed by the

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ticular measures and attitudes of the borrow- governments; the fear of nationalisation hout adequate compensation may be hanging a Damocles' sword on private investors ting in certain countries. There is also the done by double taxation, which can how- be obviated by agreements between the tor and debtor countries.

There is also the fear of refusal of foreign nge (by the governments of borrowing tries) for transferring profits or repatriating tal and this stems essentially from the ce of convertibility. This fear is not dless since in the '30s the refusal of ex- did happen, for no other reason than no foreign exchange was available. Some- the governments of borrowing countries their assurances in this regard, but it is lt to see how such assurances would be in times of severe exchange crisis. In times, only the help of the creditor country ay of temporary foreign exchange loans e useful. Such an idea is reported to be d favourably in Washington and is said to erating in certain classes of investment.

There are also sound economic facts which ay deplore but cannot ignore. It is wrong nk that just because a country is undeve- and wants capital, it will be profitable for e investors to invest there. The purchasing of domestic consumers in under-developed ries is too low to be profitable for private rs and investment of this type has usually concentrated, not primarily because of ciation" but because of profit calculus, in ntractive and raw material industries work- r exports. Even such investment as usually s cannot be expected to be steady and conti- s in view of the uncertain demand conditions raw materials in future and in view of the that the state in many under-developed ries has been spreading a growing net over industries.

Another perplexing problem is posed by the level of business profits in U.S. in recent While the U.S. is undoubtedly the fittest ay the creditor nation in the world the condi- are often more favourable for investment not only for Americans but for others. d, though the Point Four Programme origi- stressed the role of private foreign invest- more recent pronouncements like the Gray and Rockfeller Reports have desisted from laying emphasis originally laid on it.

Before 1929 private investors also used to lend out to foreign governments (*e.g.*, India used to float sterling loans in the London Market). But such a form of investment is, for more than one reason, no longer possible on any significant scale and if governments have to borrow they have to borrow from other governments only. There is good reason, therefore, to believe that the era of private foreign investment has ended.

International grants, whether they are called as such or as unilateral income transfers or as unrequited capital exports are only an euphemism for that simple word, "gift." The *raison d' etre* of such grants is that a transfer of resources from the wealthy to the poor nations is a natural application of the principle of progressive taxation on the international plane. Apart from the question as to how far narrow nationalist feelings will allow for the recognition of the principle on the international plane, the grants are inevitably based on the sandy foundations of domestic and international politics, and will be neither continuous nor equitable. It is hard to think of such grants as a permanent institution.

Under present conditions of international politics and economics, inter-governmental lending offers the best hopes for advocates of international investment. It is needless to say in this connection that the U.S. has been the greatest lender and that President Eisenhower has proposed to send 1200 million dollars on the existing economic aid programmes of all kinds in the fiscal year ending in June 1957, and 590 million dollars on new programmes. Loans have been given by the U.S. Government itself both to war-devastated countries and to under-developed ones. In some countries there are also government institutions for the purpose of granting foreign loans—like the Export-Import Bank of the U.S. and the Colonial Development Corporation of the U.K.

It is important to remember that inter-governmental lending is also in its size and flow a function of domestic and international politics and that a government is rarely wise and fortunate enough to get the loans it needs without sacrificing in any way its international status. There is also another great difficulty—not hypothetical but real—to which inter-governmental

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grants discussed above are subjected to an even greater degree. The loans granted may be used not for productive purposes of capital formation, but for increasing consumption. This may be obviated by earmarking loans for particular productive purposes, but in such cases it is possible that domestic resources thus released may be ill-spent. The rationale of international investment then loses all meaning.

International agencies for investment have a great advantage in that they provide for fruitful co-operation between creditor and debtor countries. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development which formally came into being on December 27, 1945, has been intended to arrange and guarantee private loans and in their absence or inadequacy to provide finance out of its own capital. Loans granted by it upto 31st March 1955 amounted to 2168.9 million dollars. But while it has satisfied punctilious standards of financial propriety, it has not been able to satisfy the hunger of capital-starved countries.

Proposals for other such international agencies have been in the air but they have not yet materialised.. Particularly noteworthy are the proposals since 1948 for a United Nations Economic Development Authority and the proposal since 1953 for a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. Both proposals are said to have "foundered on the rocks of American creditor opposition." Such institutions if established can devote full attention, unlike the I.B.R.D., to under-developed countries, but it is wrong to think that they will be governed by a different financial spirit than that of the I.B.R.D. or that they can by themselves satisfy the demands for capital.

In conclusion, it is necessary to point out that the *modus operandi* of international lending is also of prime importance. The payment of a loan should be so arranged as not to involve undue strain on the trade and payments positions of the creditor and debtor countries. The payment of the loan also presents serious problems for both countries. Here the creditor country is apt to feel like an inverted Micawber in daily fear of debtors. The reason is that payment of loans might have damping effects on its domestic business activity. The problem is indeed posed as to "how and at what sacrifice the United States can accept (re) payment." Though the question has been illuminated by economic discussion and cleared of many misgivings, it is still open to debate. The possible solution is to continue renewing loans so that there is not net repayment of capital as long as the position of capital abundance of the creditor country is not changed.

For the debtor country payment of interest and repayment of principal present in each case a budgetary problem and a transfer problem. The budgetary problem is a problem of taxation to mobilise resources for repayment. While the import of capital may dispense with additional taxation at the moment, it does necessitate additional taxation when net repayment is due. But such taxation may be easier of accomplishment than in the case of the absence of the foreign loan itself, since it can be expected that national income of the country will increase between the time of import of capital and its repayment. The transfer problem is the creation of an export surplus to service the loan and its success in this endeavour depends on the co-operation of the creditor country also.

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SIGMUND FREUD

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By Prof. JANE GEORGE,
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"Who divined the famous riddle and was a mighty man."
—Chanted by the chorus in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* and lettered in Greek at the base of Freud's statue standing in the University of Vienna's hall of fame.

hundred years ago, two months before rd Shaw was born, the 21-year old wife of erly Jewish woolmerchant in Moravia gave to a son who devoted himself in later years e elucidation of the theory in which the ctual thought of the 20th century is soaked. ously dubbed "the unholy trinity," Darwin, and Freud are fundamentally responsible e predominant influences that characterize e.

Eldest of the eight children born to Jakob s second wife and with two step-brothers as his mother, Sigmund was born in g of Emperor Franz Josef's Austrian e and continued to be his mother's favourite rough childhood showing early signs of ing into a diligent student and a voracious . When Sigmund was four years old the moved to Vienna and when he was 17 he out of high school carrying the highest s.

is famous biographer, Ernest Jones, has en able to state clearly why young Freud medicine as a career.

felt an overpowering need to understand some- the riddles of the world in which we live," ried to explain much later in life, "and perhaps contribute something to their solution."

Completing his studies in medicine at the f 22, Freud lingered on working at the ories until he fell in love with Martha to marry whom he had to become a bread- . He set up practice as a neurologist and four years of parsimony was able to marry in Bernays.

At 29 Freud received a scholarship to study ris under the famous Jean Martin Charcot attempts to use hypnosis to cure hysteria Freud interest himself in the inner work- of the mind.

Freud did not discover his theory in a flash revelation. No overflowing bath-tub, no falling apple, no lid of a boiling kettle helped him. Like Darwin, Marx and Einstein, he was a man with prodigious capacity for work. The hysteria of Berta Pappenheim who was being treated by a colleague (Breur) gave Freud the first hints of how a person mentally troubled might relieve himself or herself by talking. As he handled and watched case after case the glimmerings of a theory were discenible to the one-track mind of the genius who continued to mull over the eccentricities of the human mind. The sexual basis of emotional upsets and the free associations of thoughts were slowly becoming corner-stones to a theory of psycho-analysis.

When his important book, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, was published it sold a little over 500 copies. But his theories had excited interest in a small group of psychologists in Vienna. Back in Austria, Freud met with this group once a week and discussed and sharpened his theories. One among them was another of the famous psycho-logists of our age—Alfred Adler. Slowly the new revolutionary theory of Freud spread and one of the heartening pieces of news that Freud received was that Carl Jung of Zurich had begun to use psycho-analysis and was already devising certain tests which seemed to confirm the theory. By 1907 the theories of Freud were attracting attention in Europe and Britain and two years later he crossed the Atlantic and received a favourable reception in the United States.

Power of the Theory

While dissension was developing among the psychologists themselves, the intellectual world of writers, artists and critics became powerfully impressed. The stream of consciousness novel was coming into fashion; literary criticism began to use the analytical principles of Freud; a music critic achieved overnight fame by explaining Wagner's operas in terms which were then ex-

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clusively psycho-analytical; a group of artists in Paris which included Picasso and Matisse was powerfully impressed by the sexual overtones of the theory. If Freud did not convince all psychologists he had totally succeeded in capturing the imagination of an intellectual world in flux.

Marx and Freud were the only bull-dozers that cleared the debris of the classical pattern of thought. Even long before them Kepler and Newton had given currency to various 'heresies' hewing away large chunks from the classical conception of man's place in the universe but it was Darwin's theory of evolution that first spelt disaster for the traditional pattern of thought.

Darwinism actually cleared the way for Freud by undermining the Aristotelian teleological theory of natural phenomena which had been reinforced by Stoic philosophy and Christian theology to declare man as the end of the universe. Darwin and Spencer succeeded in reversing this outlook and freed 20th century thought from the illusion of final causes. Since the theory of evolution has destroyed the arbitrary limits between various forms of organic life and since biochemists are slowly unravelling the mysteries of the protein molecule, modern thinkers are able to challenge Aristotle who emphatically denied the possibility of understanding the phenomenon of life by material causes.

At the turn of the century when Freud was enunciating, documenting and improving his theory, man's conception of himself had lost its intellectual centre. In the long history of mankind there have been instances of such discrepancies in theory and opinion, but even in the midst of seeming confusion, there had remained a general orientation, a frame of reference, to which conflicting ideas had been referred. Metaphysics provided this orientation during the heyday of Greece and Rome, theology during the Middle Ages and mathematics from the time of Descartes up to the Victorian era. Through Spencer and Huxley, biology made a bold bid to establish objective standards but did not succeed and had to capitulate quickly in favour of the subjectivism of psychology. In our own generation Planck and Einstein have made physics vie with, but not supersede, psychology as the master-faculty—*l'idee maitresse* of Taine—which interprets and gives homogeneity to the seemingly conflicting branches of specialized human knowledge.

Into this cauldron of disoriented intellectual confusion Freud poured his brew—his scholarly thesis popularized by pseudo-psychologists luridly emphasizing "sexual drives." The intellectual atmosphere of the time, as we have sketchily detailed at the risk of oversimplification, had been conditioned to receptivity and in every sphere of intellectual effort, except in the of psychology, his theory caught on like wild fire.

What Freud had successfully done was to undermine our faith which had its origin in the definition of man by Socrates as "that being who when asked a rational question, can give a rational answer." This faith had reached its acme in the post-Newtonian era when man imagined the universe to be a super-machine and God to be a super-mechanic. Blasting to bits the conception of the rational behaviour of man Freud made the effect of emotion, the importance of drives and the critical limitations of behaviour imposed by repression a generally accepted fact. In doing this Freud had conquered a new territory for science—a field until then exploited only by philosophy, poetry, art and religion.

Freud and Dissenters

Freud's main contribution is the extension of scientific investigation to explore mental conflict by exploring the "unconscious." Holding that the nature of man mainly biological Freud recognized in human beings instinctual drives toward self-gratification. He divided the psyche into the "conscious" and the "unconscious" and then again into "id," "ego" and "superego." The "unconscious" is the pool in which are drowned both forgotten things or those "suppressed" and things painful to remember or those "repressed." The "id" is unconscious and primitive in attempting gratification of drives. The "ego" is the conscious part of the human mind and the "superego" which belongs to the unconscious is the arbiter permitting the "ego" to allow the gratification of "id" or not. When these three fail to achieve harmony of functions, Freudian "neurosis" sets in, the common cause being "Oedipal feelings" (modern psycho-analytic term for Oedipus complex) in children. The variety of psychological or emotional disturbances that are the result of this lack of harmony is innumerable and these contribute to lack of social responsibility in individuals.

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Psycho-analysis is the cure devised to "re-ve" this emotional imbalance. On the couch e patient talks in "free association" and "re-ssed" and "suppressed" experiences are venti-d. In this the language of the patient's dreams ve an important part. "Neurosis" is said to "resolved" when social responsibility is ained.

One of the earliest admirers of Freud to break y was Alfred Adler in 1911 because he attach-more importance to "inferiority feelings" dern scientific term for 'inferiority complex') to sexual drives. For instance, organic iority, according to Adler, would develop eriority felings" but it would, according to d develop "Oedipal feelings." Freud, at that was chiefly concerned with "libido" and not, as yet, introduced the theory of "death ct." Hence Adler's stand was not totally tified.

Another reason for Adler's schism is com-y attributed to Freud's overweening admi-n for the only non-Jew in the group—Carl w Jung. But two years later Jung himself e away denying that "libido" (basic mental y which, according to Freud, converts itself xual energy) was overwhelmingly sexual. He condemned Freud's theories because "the is viewd as an appendage of the genital ts." Jung contended that "libido" is composed th non-sexual and sexual drives and that such ng exists as "racial memories" or "collec-consciousness" within which are emotional types which he names "archetypes." Parts ng's theory are considered scientifically able because, according to Jung, dreams lution of conflict in sleep, according to d) are preparations for the future having etic content. Eighty-year old Jung now in Zurich interesting himself in Buddhism, myths, and rituals.

Another of the important dissenters is Otto who said that the real emotional trouble the "birth trauma"—the shock an infant s when it leaves the security of the womb. ally this shock should disappear when the and later the child matures, but if it did not neurosis would set in. Much of the symbolism mes Joyce's novels is derived from Rank.

WAS FREUD SCIENTIFIC ?

Freud like a true genius was a man seeking answer to a question. Many a scholar and saint in India has posed himself the same question: Who am I ? Two of India's well-known Yogis who passed away six years ago—Aurobindo Ghosh and Ramana Maharshi—have both asked themselves this question and they have both answered it in terms of Hindu mysticism. But Freud demanded of himself a scientific answer.

Throughout the course of his life Freud constantly checked and modified his basic assumptions at a time when the world was stretching or mutilating the economic man of Marx and the superman of Nietzche on the Procrustean bed of theory. The numerous shifts he made have raised the question whether any theory that changes so frequently as Freud's did can be called scientific. One wag tried to clinch the argument by asking: "Does the multiplication table change?"

Only, the multiplication table is not science; it is only predetermined relationship between agreed symbols. Physics, the most reliable of our sciences, has changed so vastly that only the second law of thermodynamics has survived. On the other hand, science is not capricious either, like fashions by Christian Dior. Much of science relies today on statistical probability and so, according to a modern definition, "Science is the creation of a reliable notion."

Incontrovertibly Freud created a reliable notion. No theory has outmoded Freud's as Einstein's has outmoded Newton's. Despite many variations, psycho-analytical field work has amply borne out the validity of the fundamentals of Freud's life-work. Modern psychopathology owes more to Freud than any other individual. There are 9,000 psychiatrists in the United States alone of whom 619 are "hard-core" analysts. Apart from them there are many "lay" analysts (those who do not have an M.D.). At any one time in the United States there are about 15,000 patients undergoing psycho-analysis and the estimated total of Americans who have tried analysis as a cure is over 100,000.

All through his life Freud waged war to defend his theories. "They may abuse my doctrines by day," he once observed, "but I am sure they dream of them by night." Seventeen years ago on September 23, some days after the world blew up into the mighty conflagration of World War II, stricken painfully for many months by cancer of the jaw, Sigmund Freud died at 83 in London—another Jewish refugee of Hitler's domination of Austria.

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He is not alive today to hear from the lips of every one the revolutionary phrases of his which shocked the urbane societies of Europe and America. He did not know that fiction, and consequently motion pictures, would adopt his ideas so completely in a few years that even an Indian peasant in a remote village would become aware of the necessity of a happy environment for his children. Psychologist Charles Baudoin, a staunch Swiss Catholic, declared recently, "Modern man cannot conceive of himself without Freud."

It is peculiar that all criticism one hears about Freudian theory is mostly invective hurled against its indisputable core. The strongest weapon of the anti-intellectuals who decry Freud is oversimplification. They say that, according to Freud, "man is nothing but a bundle of sex instincts," just as they say that, according to Darwin, "man is nothing but a monkey."

Where Freud Was Wrong

Those who preoccupy themselves with sexual instincts do not explore those theories of Freud which scholars consider scientifically unacceptable. These lie in the extension of the field of human behaviour where Freud makes dynamic impulses determinants of cultural patterns. For example, if factors of "death wish" and "agression" were posited, these by themselves do not determine that we should have an organized war. Organized war, if Freud were right, would occur regularly.

When Albert Einstein posed Freud the question in a letter: "Is there any way of delivering mankind from the menace of war ?" Freud wrote a very discouraging reply:

> "Any effort to replace brute force by the might of an ideal, is under the present conditions, doomed to fail."

Later on in the same latter, summing up his arguments, he said:

> "There is no likelihood of our being able to suppress humanity's aggressive tendencies."

At this conclusion Freud arrived by methodical argument in his letter to Einstein and in other works. This part of his theory is today considered obsolescent. The theory of aggressive tendencies in individuals from which society derives its organized force for destruction is at least two thousand years old and nothing new that Freud discovered. The Apostle James wrote in his General Epistle:

> "From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?"

The rejection of this theory surprisingly comes from sociologists who are themselves educated on Freudian theses. Since agression in individuals can be traced to childhood environmental factors, the latter could be improved under controlled conditions to such an extent that the former will cease to become a social menace. Plato, by the way, had envisaged this centuries ago and suggested in *Republic* that to build an ideal state children must be separated from the corrupting influences of elders

> "by sending out into the country all those who are more than ten years old and by taking possession of the children who would thus be protected from the habits of their parents."

The elimination of war by elimination of individual and social aggression might only be the "wishful thinking" of well-intentioned social scientists. Freudian theory has too often been distorted and viewed as a study of sex and the "unconscious" without recognizing it as socio-psycho-biological one. If, in its role as the latter, it does not provide all the answers we must remember that it does attempt to pose all questions in a scientific manner—an advance over 19th century psychology.

However the "basic urges" which serve as the foundation of Freudian theory appear too much like the theory of "instincts" given currency by 19th century biologists of which Freud himself was highly critical because while components of "libido" lead to hetero-sexual fixations, there are libidinal components homosexually directed. Thus individuals are instinctively race-preservative or race-destructive.

It follows that if behaviour is either race-preservative or -destructive, there are no basic instincts independent of environment. Some psychologists, basing arguments on the "instinct theory" contend that socialism and elimination of war are impossible. Others hold that change in the educational system might divert aggression into socially more acceptable forms.

Much argument has gone on and will be mooted on this subject. Scientifically it may not be possible to prove whether the pacifist-minded social scientists of today or the gloom-ridden Freud of yesterday is right. Any such attempt will be frustrated because in social life many

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situations will arise which will the limiting of variables.

But science is essentially an accumulative process—the piling up of bits of reliable knowledge. Freud added a large chunk. The present conceptual and methodological difficulties of Freudian theory represent a transition from classical psychology to a field-theoretical one. Freud began his work when psychology was a non-theoretical science. The genius of Freud sheds a halo round his theories (like that shed by Communists on the theories of Marx) and render them rigid, inelastic and doctrinaire.

Logical argument and original thinking based on statistical data devoid of prejudice should not hesitate to improve and modify his contribution. But meanwhile, the intellectual and the housewife and the unlettered factory-hand have admitted Freud into their vocabulary, into their very processes of thought, so much so that W. H. Auden writes :

> "If often he was wrong and at times absurd
> To us he is no more a person
> Now but a climate of opinion."

———:O:———

REGIONAL PACTS AND WORLD SECURITY

By Prof. DINA NATH VERMA, M.A.

One of the most widespread and superstitious beliefs in the modern world is that world peace can be maintained through regional pacts. The holding of innumerable such pacts after World War II has been sought to be justified on this ground. The usefulness of such pacts has been repeated *ad nauseum* so that the people of the world have begun to cherish the belief that these alliances and pacts are the royal road to international peace and security. Strange as it may appear, even the U.N. Charter has recognised regional pacts as one of the efficacious instruments for world peace. The result is that beginning from the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation to the newly-signed Jeddah Pact between the three Arab States, the world has at present honeycombed and meshed with a network of sundry regional, defence and mutual pacts and all in the sacred name of world peace. But the logic of this argument can appeal only to those who are innocent of historical knowledge and devoid of analytical thought. The existence of regional pacts in our times is a testimony to the fact that we still believe in the old Roman adage, "If you want peace prepare for war." Regional pacts have not maintained world peace. On the other hand, they have precipitated international crises and world wars. If there had been any significant exception to this statement that has never been made a matter of record.

The genesis of regional pacts, as of many other things, can be traced back from ancient Greece. The Amphictyonic League, the Athenian Leagues, the Peloponnesian League, the Achaean League in ancient Greece are the examples of such ancient regional groupings which were created to deter aggression and promote co-operation. But in course of time these leagues swerved from their original moorings. Athens, like modern, America became a capitalist plutocracy and self-appointed guardian of public liberty throughout the Greek world. Sparta embraced communism dedicated to "discipline" and "planning." Power politics led these super-powers to try to dominate the various leagues which resulted in incessant fraticidal wars and eventually the complete destruction of ancient Greece.

The mediaeval period of world history was an age of endless confusion and hopeless international anarchy. However, out of this commotion came the conception of balance of power, set up by the Peace of Westphalia which concluded the Thirty Years' war in 1648. But the balance of power soon proved unstable due to disunity among the European powers, and the principle itself degenerated into confused

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struggles among various warring camps. It was thought at that time that the security for the individual states could only be obtained by the formation of alliances to offset any attempt to overthrow the existing political equilibrium. But this also ended in disillusionment. Despite several alliances and counter-alliances the period witnessed many wars such as the War of Spanish Succession (1701), the War of Austrian Succession (1740), the Seven Years' War (1756) and the revolutionary and the Napoleonic Wars, etc.

At Vienna Congress in 1815 a Quadruple Alliance was formed which gave birth to the Concert of Europe. Though the Concert had been supposed to be the first international organisation, it was in fact a sort of regional alliance, which also failed to maintain peace in Europe. Throughout the period between 1815 and 1871 there were violent revolutions for national unification and democratic rights in whole Europe and the Concert restored *status quo* (but not peace) only through the coercive method of armed intervention in the affairs of other sovereign States. There was also no dearth of wars in this period. The Crimean War of 1856, the War of Italian Unification, the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and the Franco-Prussian War of 1871 followed one another and no regional arrangement could prevent them.

In 1871 Germany along with Italy entered the European family of nations. Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor of Germany, introduced a new element in international diplomacy. What is known as "Interlocking of International Politics" is solely the legacy of Bismarck, whose ambition was to make the newly-created German Empire secure from the "revanche" policy of France by diplomatically isolating her. He, therefore, cultivated friendship with Russia and finally succeeded in forming a secret Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria and Italy in 1882. The interests of these powers were so irreconcilable that Russia finally deserted the Central Powers and formed a counter-alliance with France in 1891, known as the Dual Alliance. Due to the Russian penetration in the Far East, England also abandoned her policy of "Splendid isolation" by concluding the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902. When it became clear that Germany was becoming a powerful nation eager to dominate the world, England came to an understanding with France and the Anglo-French Entente came into being in 1904. In 1907 England, France and Russia formed another alliance known as Triple Entente. Thus before the outbreak of the Armageddon in 1914 two opposing alliances—Triple Alliance and Triple Entente—were standing face to face and the spokesmen of each claimed that they had done so for sheer self-defence and world peace. But we all know what happened in 1914 and even before that. Alliances and counter-alliances were mainly responsible for Morocco, Agadir and Balkan crises that set the stage for the great dance of death that followed the Searajevo murder.

Though the aggressive policy of the dictators caused the Second World War, here too defence pacts were no less responsible for aggravating international tension. The Franco-Belgian military alliance of 1920, the Franco-Polish treaty of alliance of 1921, the formation of Little Entente in 1920-21 by Roumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia and later on the French participation in it were all regional pacts created during the period between the two World Wars. In 1934 Mussolini formed an "Italian bloc" by concluding a series of agreements with Hungary and Austria. The anti-comintern Axis and other alignments were all symptoms of a general malady which ultimately brought the Second World War.

Thus it is clear that never since the dawn of history regional pacts have served their ostensible purpose of securing world security. This historical sense of Woodrow Wilson impelled him to remark that

> "There can be no leagues or alliances, or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations."

But this considered opinion of the learned President was contemptuously ignored by Churchill when he made his notorious speech at Fulton in 1946 in which he propounded "the policy of containment" of communism by fair means or foul. If as a matter of practical politics pleaded Senator Vandenburg following Mr. Churchill, the free world could do nothing more, "let us by all means help to form a series of special groupings for peace." And on June, 11, 1948 the Senate passed his resolution empowering the Administration to favour the "progressive development of regional and other collective arrangements." The result has been that during the last ten years various regional organisations

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Bihar Martyrs—A view of the full composition
Sculptor: Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

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The dead falling boy being supported by one of the followers of the great march
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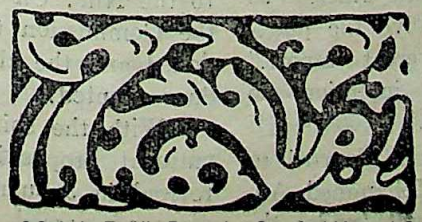
e cropped up under several treaties among a p of nations such as the Inter-American ty of Reciprocal Assistance, the Brussels ty, the NATO the ANZUS Pact, the U.S.-S. Military Aid Pact, the Balkan Pact, the SEATO and the Bagdad Pact. This grow- trend towards regional arrangements and al assistance pacts is not in consonce with aims and objects of the U.N. Charter. Such gements divert the attention from the inter- al organisation and may in time, according Armstrong, "overshadow the organisation's rsal character and aim." That such arrange- s have led to the formation of well-marked s and had aggravated power politics and rnational tension in recent times is a patent even to a superficial observer of every day spaper.

It is mainly on this ground that the U.S.S.R. condemned such pacts. But the irony is this she has done the same thing which she ses. The Warsaw Pact, the Communist ter-part of the NATO, and the Sino-Russian al Aid and non-aggression pacts are the al alliances sponsored by the communists. Historically speaking, therefore, regional are no panacea for world wars. Their very nce creates war atmosphere and international on. Each country thinks that the pacts or es formed by others are so many daggers ed at its heart and *vice versa*. This compels me to be always in a "state of prepared- " It sometimes tempts them to wage even ventive wars." Now in this atomic age it serve nobody's purpose to refuse to read writing on the wall. In the present state of rnational tension one can say with mathe- al certainty that there will be no localised and this also is equally certain that in any e world war there will neither be victor nor ished; the same volcano will engulf both ke and John, Mr. Nikita and Nikoli. What pired in this much-tormented world of ours ally, to delete Articles 51 and 52 from the N. Charter, and secondly, the affirmation of faith by all nations in the principles of "Panchashila" so sincerely sponsored by our own Prime Minister. And if pacts are at all necessary let there be Locarno-type agreements or Kellog-Briand type Pacts. But covenants, said Hobbes, are useless if the parties are unwilling to observe the solemn pledges they have undertaken. Even Locarno-type agreements would be unnecessary if we are not sincere about our international commitments. And the tragedy is that our international obligations are observed more in their breaches than in their observance and thus we are still, as it were, in the "State of Nature."

The several offers of olive branches by Russia recently, the repudiation of Stalin line, the dissolution of the Cominform and the conciliatory attitude of the Russian leaders led the present writer to believe that these regional pacts would be allowed to die a natural death and they would be given a decent burial. But the recent meeting of the NATO powers and decisions arrived at there have shocked the concensus of enlightened public opinion of the world. The decision to recast the NATO and thus bring the cold war in yet another field is evidently not calculated to throw oil on troubled waters. The only lesson that history teaches, said Hegel euphemistically, is that history teaches no lesson. But there is still time to learn at least this lesson from history that pacts and alliances are really the cause of war and not the harbinger of peace.

Fortunately for the world Mr. Churchill who so assiduously pleaded for regional pacts in his Fulton Speech, and who by no stretch of imagination can be considered an admirer of Soviet Russia, has made a very important statement recently at Aachen in which he has stated that if Russian repudiation of Stalin were sincere she should be invited to join the NATO. That means the NATO would lose its real significance and other regional pacts would naturally follow suit. This is high time to seize the opportunity and act. History should not be allowed to repeat itself.



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SUEZ—LEGAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS

By H. N. GULATI, M.A.

The worldwide importance which Suez Canal has gained today, on account of a proclamation of nationalisation by Col. Nasser, is due to the fact that this small artery is to some extent responsible for linking Europe and Asia, the East and the West.

In order to have a clear grasp of the legal and political aspects of the Canal, it is essential to keep before us a clear and unblurred picture of its growth, right from its inception and conception.

The credit for this profoundly important link goes to one Frenchman, Ferdinand de Lesseps. Of course the idea was not original. A navigable canal linking the Nile to the Red Sea through Wadi Tumulat had been started by the Pharaoh Necho in the seventh century B.C., and brought to completion by Darvis I after the Persian conquest of Egypt.

Constructed at a time when air traffic was yet unknown, its significance today in an era of air navigation remains undiminished. For transportation of odd, unwieldy, bulky cargoes the usefulness of waterways is unrivalled.

The equivalent to the all-sea route round the Cape of Good Hope figured prominently in the minds of all European nations. Already in 1839 an overland route through Egypt between the Mediterranean and the Arabian through the Red Sea had been achieved through British efforts. Alexandria-Cairo railway link completed in 1856 and the Suez-Cairo railway link completed in 1857, made possible the journey swift and comfortable. The new route, no doubt served well the light and passenger traffic; the commercial proposition was still unsolved.

Out of this commercial proposition emerged momentous political issues. A new all-sea route dispensing with the Cape was highly pungent to Britain. She held an exclusive control over the already existing, water route. Not only would her monopoly be lost, but the new plan would create rivals to the British commercial interests, most of whom being closer to the Suez might hamper the British trade, and upset the political balance in Europe. A canal, "changing as it would the relative position of some of the maritime powers of Europe towards each other," as Lord Palmerston observed, "would involve the possibility of political consequences of great import." Britain saw in the enterprise French intention to assert political hegemony over Europe.

In 1834, the request of a Frenchman Fournel to build a canal was turned down by Mohammed Ali, who at that time was the ruler of Egypt (under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey). The latter with a penetrating political foresight visualized that in the event of a canal being constructed, the independence of Egypt would be jeopardized. Mohammed Ali's successor Abbas followed in the footsteps of his grandfather.

After the death of Abbas in 1854, his uncle Said succeeded him. Ferdinand de Lesseps, a shrewd Frenchman, was quick to grasp the opportunity. He had developed friendship with Said while his father had been the French Consul-General in Egypt. Ferdinand himself happened to be an eleve Consul at that time but was dismissed later by Napoleon III. This friendship fetched to de Lesseps a fat reward. Said granted him in November 1854, a concession for the construction of the coveted canal. It was to last 99 years. It is important to bear in mind at this stage that the concession needed and still awaited ratification by the Sultan.

At that time the political atmosphere in Europe was one of bellicosity. Britain, France and Turkey were ranged against Russia. France did not want to take the political risk of embarking upon the new waterway without taking partners with her. Russia was already arrayed against her. In the teeth of British opposition, the adventure was reckoned unwise. Under these circumstances, the attitude of the French government could be none other than that of aloofness.

De Lesseps, however was fired with great enthusiasm. His zeal would not allow his scheme to be watered down. Propelled by the determination to carry through the scheme, he hit upon the project of making it an international proposition. He would not like to subject the canal to an international control. His only objective was to avoid the possibility of political tensions.

An international Commission was formed, and charged with the duty of furnishing a report on the advisability of the venture.

At the time of granting the concession, it was not stipulated whether the canal was to pass through the Isthmus of Suez or would go *via* the Wadi Tumulat to the Nile. On the basis of the recommendations of the Commission the Wadi Tumulat route was abandoned and the alternative through the Isthmus of Suez adopted.

With the shift from the individual to the international proposition, the original concession was revised in January 1856 in favour of a corporate company named Compagnie Universelle du Canal

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...ne du Suez. Two of the stipulations in the new ...ession need a special mention.

In the first place, in addition to the express provi... for cutting the canal through the Suez Isthmus, ... Company was granted for the period of concession ...ts of land in the Wadi Tumulat for the purpose ...constructing a sweet water canal. This would link ... Nile to the Suez Canal and satisfy the essential ...s of the Canal zone. Secondly, the Company was ...pted from the payment of taxes while it would ...enjoying the benefits unhindered.

Financial provisions entitled the Egyptian govern... a royalty of 15 per cent of the net dividends of ... Company. 10 per cent of the net profits were ...arked for the founder shares, allocation of which ...d with the Company. Balance of 75 per cent of ...dividends was to be the share of the ordinary ...holders.

Said was lured into concluding a secret protocol ...by Egyptian labour might be supplied during the ...e of building the Canal. This to all intents and ...es was forced labour. The workers were to work ...ds of miles away from their hearths and homes. ...willing worker was prepared to undertake the ...ous job, especially when there was no expecta... of a commensurate remuneration for the work. ... Company by forcing this provision down the ... of Said hoped to solve one of the difficult ...ms connected with the Canal construction.

In October 1858, a blue-print for financing the ...e was drawn up and subscription list opened. ...apital of Fr. 200,000,000 (£8,000,000) was divided ...400,000 shares of Fr. 50,000 each. 207,111 shares ...held in France and 96,517 by the Egyptian ...ment. 85,506 shares which had been set apart ...Britain, Russia and U.S.A., were unacceptable to ... and as such remained unsold.

De Lesseps dexterously handled Said and allured ...into purchasing the unsold shares.

The French nationals and the French government ...ot a small amount of gratitude to the ingenuity ...Ferdinand de Lesseps who with tireless efforts was ...upon carrying through the scheme. His way ...fraught with hazards and hardships at every ...Napoleon III was not sympathetic towards him ...had even gone to the extent of dismissing him ...the consular service in Egypt. However, he ...ed to win over the support of Napoleon. De ...es could now with confidence count upon the ...rt of the French government. In April 1859, ...Lesseps undertook to initiate the construction ...ut the ratification of the Sultan. Viewed at from ...legal stand-point the step was highly objection-...

The impotence of the Egyptian government and ...Sultan to take steps against the illegal move of ...Lesseps in starting the construction was partly and temporarily off-set by the British opposition which took advantage of the forced labour issue and brought about suspension of the construction till the beginning of 1863. Said's successor Ismail was required to pay £1,520,000 as recompense for having refused to supply the labour in contravention of Said's agreement. An additional sum of £1,840,000 was to be paid, as a price, to the Company which abandoned the sweet water canal concession. Ismail after the death of Said had called into question the validity of 1856 concession granted by the latter. Conscious of his weakness Ismail could ill-afford to ask for an outright annulment of the concessions; he contemplated to negotiate a revision of the concessions relating to the supply of labour and the Wadi Tumulat lands. To that end he commissioned his minister Nubar Pasha. The Pasha found himself helpless amidst his powerful virtual masters; and was constrained in March 1864, to submit the claim to the arbitration of Napoleon. It is a strange case of arbitration where a party to the dispute is made the judge.

The award directed Ismail to pay the price for the abrogation of the two clauses (in respect of forced labour and sweet water canal) in the 1856 concession. Not only was the award unilateral, but it lacked the support of law. The contract was unenforceable by municipal or international law. It was incomplete, wanting in ratification by the Ottomon Sultan, who possessed the sovereign right to grant the concession.

The Egyptians had to buy back their own property against a huge payment as a result of the arbitral award. It was a sort of penalty, so it may be said, imposed upon the Egyptians, on account of the 'generosity' of Said. Let it not be forgotten that the Canal Company had not been deprived of the benefits of the sweet water canal. Rather the new waterway could not possibly have been built without the supply of fresh water from the Nile.

The manner in which the Sultan, in April 1865, was forced to issue a *firman* giving approval to the canal enterprise, brings into lime-light, the high-handedness with which the concessions were secured.

Hoskins in *The Middle East* has correctly remarked :

> "The methods of financing the construction and maintenance of the Canal constitute the darkest chapter in the history of the waterway."

The international commission appointed in January 1856, to advise on the technical aspects of the project, had estimated that the entire project till completion would not cost more than £6,000,000. However, the cost published by the Company put it at £16,000,000, which has not been unimpeachably established. Of this sum, more than two-thirds of the contributions were those of Egypt. The table given below illustrates in detail the Egyptian disbursements:

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Amount of ordinary share holding	£3,750,000
Compensation as per Arbitral Award	£3,500,000
Expenses in connection with construction of sweet water canal	£3,250,000
Expenses of opening ceremony plus sundry expenses of missions, etc., in connection with the canal	£1,000,000
Total	£11,500,000

—John Marlowe: *Anglo-Egyptian Relations*, 1800—1953, p. 71.

Putting the things in a slightly different way, it may be said that Said and Ismail paid about £8,000,000 in return for a 15 per cent share in the profits, while approximately the same amount had been invested by the ordinary share-holders in return for 75 per cent of the shares.

Matters do not end there. The Egyptian treasury was unable to contribute. Ismail was forced to borrow money on disastrous terms.

The inauguration ceremony of the Canal took place in November 1869, with great pomp and show. Whatever might be the quantum of opposition offered by Britain, the Canal was a *fait accompli*. The new opening to the heavy goods represented a diplomatic triumph of France. French interests accounted for 50 per cent of the ordinary shares, and probably the entire 10 per cent of the founder shares. The balance largely represented the Egyptian stake. The Canal was controlled entirely by French personnel. The company was not international.

Hardly had a few years elapsed after its construction, when the British Government began to realize the political wisdom of a share in the control over the Canal. Fortunately for the British, Franco-Prussian war was fought and Napoleon III was defeated. Prime Minister Disraeli was quick to grab the opportunity. By this time Ismail was passing through financial difficulties, and negotiating with one M. Dervien, a French banker. Implementation of the project meant 100 per cent ownership and control of France. Disraeli viewed it as having serious political consequences for Britain. Taking advantage of France's weakened position, he did not allow Dervien-Ismail proposal to be carried through. Instead, at a cost of £4,000,000 he in 1874 purchased all of Egypt's ordinary shares.

That is not an end to the tragic history of Egypt connected with the new hopes of the West. Ismail was forced to transfer control over the finances of the State to Anglo-French Controllers who sold away the 15 per cent Preference Shares to the credit of Foncier de France in part settlement of the debt.

The Canal brought ruin to Egypt in another way also. The revenues from it were not benefiting Egypt. By peculiar methods of financial irregularities, the real masters were being deprived of their due share; and were also left with no alternative but to bear the brunt on account of the diversion of the traffic from the overland Egyptian route to the Canal. Thus the waterway instead of adding to, was in no small degree responsible for, subtracting the State revenues.

Henceforth, the effective control over the Canal was shared between the French and the British, and with the passage of time the latter came to dominate the scene.

The history of the Canal and the political fate linked therewith have passed through curious metamorphoses. Intended as an international highway, it turned out on completion, to be one having the French prerogative. It started with bitter British opposition, but in course of time came to be a British monopoly. John Marlow has likened the British role in the economic and political game of the Canal to that of a batsman intending to resist the intensity and target of the ball striking the wicket had mistimed it, and scored an ignominous boundary through the slips'. Started with Egyptian capital and labour it came to have European ownership.

It was only as a result of strong agitation and bitter demonstrations that the Company in August 1937, was forced to allow Egypt to derive certain benefits from the operations of the Canal. The royalty of the Egyptian Government was fixed at £ E 300,000, two Egyptians were included in the Company's board of directors, and the share of Egyptian employees in the Canal organization was enhanced to 33 per cent. The agreement of 1949 between the Company and Egypt, elevating the latter to the position of a "privileged partner", was also the result of pressure brought to bear on the Company.

Stake of Britain and U.S.A.

Since the onset of industrial revolution till towards the beginning of World War I, Great Britain held a position of supremacy in the world. During these years the Canal was, in the British communication system, an indispensable link between her and her empire in the East. Primary reliance for maintenance of hold on India, Burma and other interest zones was placed on it. World War II brought in its trail a gradual loss of Britain's power and prestige. The United States emerged as a leading power. Since Canal has played not an insignificant role in the new world relationships. Halford L. Hoskins observes:

"Nothing better illustrates the shift in international leadership and the new role of the United States in world politics than the sudden development of American interest in the Suez Canal."

American interest in the waterway developed as a result of the necessity of transportation of petroleum from the Middle East required for the fulfilment of the Economic Recovery programme. The fuel requirements assumed bigger proportions with the assumption of leadership by the United States of North Atlantic treaty commitments. The enhancement of petroleum

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increased the importance of the waterway. In the beginning of World War II, American interest in Canal was meagre. In 1938, cargoes carried by American ships represented only 1.2 per cent of the tonnage passing through. By the close of the the figure reached 22 per cent. Since then American traffic was on the increase. The construction of pipe lines from Iraq and Saudi Arabia in 1949 thereafter, did not make her dispense with the policy of movement of oil through the Canal. The current of the economic and political health of Western Europe demanded a still greater quantity of petroleum. Pipe lines alone could not cope with the demand. Transportation by tankers passing through Suez was necessary.

International Status

The international status of the Canal emerged from the political situation prevailing at the time. When De Lesseps had been successful in obtaining the concession, he did not like to move ahead with the project single-handed. When the time came for selling the shares, big powers were unwilling to put a finger in the pie. Russia, U.S.A. and Britain showed participation. The status of the waterway was undefined even when it started functioning.

The exigencies of the war that broke out between Russia and Turkey in 1877 brought to the fore the question of control over the Canal. Formerly, Turkey exercised sovereignty over it. It being a part of her territory the Canal was open to Russian attack. The possible inference alarmed Britain, who had already in purchased shares of the Company, essentially with a view to the safeguarding of her imperial interests. With that end in view she had assumed responsibility for the defence of the Canal, which was the nerve-centre of her empire. On May 6, 1877, she asserted her position of control by a proclamation that any interference with the free navigation of the Canal would be considered an unfriendly act, inconsistent with her neutral position. An Anglo-Egyptian agreement signed on September 7, 1877, further strengthened British claims of protection.

In 1882, there was an armed revolt in Egypt led by Ahmad Arabi. Acting on the authority of the Khedive British forces were employed for the protection of the Canal. Till 1882, *de jure* control of the Canal rested with Turkey, and *de facto* it was exercised by Britain.

The incident of 1882 has in it the seeds of the 1888 convention. Other powers desired to check Britain in the exercise of her exclusive control over, and her acquiescence in the principle of free navigation through the Canal. After a good deal of negotiations, a convention representing Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Holland, Italy, Spain and Turkey, was signed in 1888 at Constantinople. *Inter alia*, the text says:

(1) "The Suez Maritime Canal shall always be free and open in time of war as in time of peace, to every vessel of commerce or of war, without distinction of flag."—Art. 1.

(2) "Similarly the provisions of Articles IV, V, VII and VIII shall not interfere with the measures which His Majesty the Sultan and His Highness the Khedive, in the name of His Imperial Majesty, and within the limits of the *firmans* granted, might find it necessary to take for securing by their own forces the defence of Egypt and maintenance of public order."—Art. X.

Britain, however, still possessed the trump card. The agreement exempted her from the applicability of the terms of the agreement, till her occupation of Egypt. France accepted the reservation grudgingly. It was only after the Anglo-French agreement of 1904, that the Constantinople convention came into force. Britain consented to respect the 1888 convention, and to accept the obligation of defence and of safeguarding free navigation. The principle of free passage was respected during the Russo-Japanese war of 1905, notwithstanding the fact that Japan was allied to Britain. During both the World Wars when Britain had a direct stake, she subordinated the provision of free navigation to the necessity of defence.

The year 1922 brought independence to Egypt, but Britain retained *status quo* in respect of the Canal. The British declaration of February 28 "absolutely reserved to the discretion of His Majesty's Government" the defence of the Canal, and by implication the security of free navigation.

The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, though granting to Britain the same rights in respect of defence of the Canal as she already possessed, brought about one significant change. The Canal was recognised as an integral part of Egypt. Great Britain was to aid in the defence and security of free navigation of the Canal till such time as Egypt made herself strong enough militarily "to ensure by her own resources the liberty and entire security of navigation of the Canal."

The outbreak of hostilities between Egypt and Israel after the announcement of the partition scheme of Palestine by the United Nations brought forth fundamental problems over the use of free passage through the Canal. These arose out of the institution of blockade of movement of goods or passengers from and to Israel passing through the Canal. Embargo continued even after armistice. On the one hand, the Egyptian Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs asserted that "Egypt's sovereignty over navigation in her territorial waters is affirmed by international law," on the other hand, the conflict between the two clauses of the 1888 convention presented itself as a problem. Israel referred the complaint against unjustified acts of Egypt to the Security Council in 1951. The Council

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upheld Israel's contention and called upon Egypt "to terminate the restrictions on the passage of international commercial shipping and goods through the Suez Canal wherever bound." Egypt refused to accept the admonition, invoking Art. X in support of her standpoint. Contending that armistice had not terminated the state of war, self-defence gave her the right to continue the ban on the passage of ships through the Canal.

The question as to what extent the Constantinople convention restricted Egypt's sovereign rights remained unsolved.

In the context of the recent developments, arising out of a declaration of nationalisation by Col. Nasser, that has given rise to hectic moves on the part of the West, especially Britain, the fundamental issue is whether there can be any international control over the Canal. History of the Suez tells us that Egypt has an inalienable right of sovereignty over the Canal. We are to recall the year 1925 when Egypt declined to extend the concession by an additional period of 40 years. The right to refuse, establishing Egypt's suzerainty, has never been challenged except till recently.

Undoubtedly, not only the West but other powers also are interested in the free passage through the waterway. That, however, does not imply a throw of challenge to the sovereign rights of a nation. Our Prime Minister while accepting participation in the London Conference scheduled for 16th August announced in Parliament:

> "A settlement of this problem *on the basis of the sovereignty and dignity of Egypt* and by agreement among all concerned and the abandonment of postures of threat and violence and of unilateral action by either party are therefore of the utmost concern to India."

Egypt's refusal to attend the Conference is based upon the non-acceptance of the unqualified principle of internationalisation. Sri Nehru remarked:

> "This conference can reach no final decision for that requires the agreement of Egypt."

As to the necessity of freedom of navigation, and guarantee of the implementation of 1888 convention Col. Nasser has unequivocally announced that nationalisation does not affect that freedom. The stand that Egypt has taken appears to be justified.

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THE ECONOMICS OF CHEMICAL FERTILIZER

By JYOTIRMOY RAY, M.A.,
Economic Research Section, Central Jute Committee

That the law of diminishing returns comes into operation more rapidly in agriculture is known to the people since the time of Ricardo, if not earlier. That intensive cultivation renders the soil poorer and poorer is not a new experience either. The reason is also clear enough. For centuries, man has known that nitrogen, a chief plant food and the vital constituent of soil fertility is taken out by each harvest much faster than it is replaced in the natural course. To meet the situation, man at first took recourse to farm-yard manures and composed heaps; but soon the necessity of increased supply of nitrogen was felt and felt deeply. Farm-yard manure was found to be insignificant as compared to the demand of the soil.

In fact, this nitrogen deficiency of the soil began to cause headache to the scientists in the agriculturally advanced countries as early as the last quarter of the 19th century. It was realised that unless a cheap and abundant source of nitrogen could be discovered, the world would run short of food-stuff at no distant date.

Three-fourths of the air is composed of nitrogen, but unfortunately it cannot be used as plant food in its free state. Scientists, however, found a way out to separate nitrogen from other elements and this finally led to the production of fixed nitrogen to be used in soil as fertilizer. This was, undoubtedly, a great achievement in the field of science and technology which has saved mankind from the impending danger of starvation. Today, the world uses 1,76,37,000 metric tons of chemical fertilizers every year. One cannot but lift his hat in the memory of those German scientists* who pioneered the field.

The dawn of independence synchronized with a keen desire to augment the agricultural productivity of India. The experience of the Bengal Famine of 1943 had been so terrible that even the foreign rulers of the then India found it hard to sit idle. It was not difficult to realise that unless a successful programme of intensive cultivation could be launched immediately the story of 1943 would repeat again and again.

It was under such background that the Foodgrains Policy Committee was constituted. This committee

* Haber and Bosch.

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mmended as a first step, the implementation of a 100-ton Ammonium Sulphate factory. The choice ually fell on Sindri in view of its nearness to two ential raw materials—coal and coke. The river ndar would solve the problem of water. Gypsum, her essential raw material was, however, not ble in Bihar or its neighbouring States. It was, efore, decided that gypsum would be imported North Punjab. But unfortunately, we have lost part of the country as a result of partition. ks to the agility of the National Government, a source of gypsum was soon discovered in chan.

Though planned by the foreigners, the giant ser factory at Sindri was implemented by the ral Government of India with a total investment s. 23 crores. It went into production in October, and since then is progressing in rapid strides. The ing figures will speak for themselves:

	Production of ammonium sulphate at Sindri (in tons)
[illegible]	7,445
[illegible]	219,340
[illegible]	249,953
[illegible]	290,983
[illegible]	320,000

The factory went into production towards the end of the year, namely, October.
Estimated. The actual production figure of 1955-56 was not available at the time of writing this article.

Though Sindri marks an important epoch in the y of our heavy chemical industry, it would, er, be wrong to suppose that it was the first plant nufacture chemical fertilizers in India. The ring credit is due to Mysore which installed an nium sulphate factory at Belagula in the year That was, however, a very small plant with a ction capacity of only 6,000 tons per year. The works at Tatanagar and Burnpur as well as some fields in Bihar were also producing some amount thetic ammonia as by-products of their coke-plants, the sum-total of which was about 250,000 per year. Before World War II, the imports mical fertilizers in India was also insignificant. ing a student of agricultural economics, I may e to say that of the nitrogenous fertilizers now in India, ammonium sulphate is the most popular. exists, however, a general belief that its conti-use renders the soil poorer and poorer every if not actually barren. It is the business of the chemists to dispel this belief and I consider d least capable of saying anything in this regard. has, however, been found to be an important of nitrogen supply to the soil, its nitrogen being 20.6 per cent as against 6 per cent in oil-cakes and only 0.5 per cent in farmyard manures. In regions of heavy rainfall, ammonium sulphate is found to have a wonderful preserving value and is excellently resistant to leaching.

* * *

The ever-growing burden of population on the one hand and the fantastically low standard of living on th other demand an immediate and thorough overhauling of the agricultural system in India. The First Five-Year Plan, therefore, concentrated much of its energy and resources in that direction. A vast area of hitherto unploughed lands were successfully brought under cultivation. But that was not enough. Attention was, therefore, diverted to intensive cultivation as well.

When more and more crop is required to be obtained from a particular plot of land, it is imperative that a sufficient quantity of manure be applied. One may expect that with the largest number of cattle population in the world, India can obtain more than enough of farmyard manure and composed heaps. But alas! here also we are poor. A huge quantity of cattle-refuse is used as fuel by the village-folk thereby depriving the land of a potential source of nitrogen supply. The role of chemical fertilizers in the agricultural regeneration of India can, therefore, be, by no means, insignificant.

A plant generally requires three kinds of food—nitrogen, phosphorus and potash. The soil in India is particularly deficient in nitrogen and phosphorus. Ammonium sulphate and superphosphate are responsible for the supply of nitrogen and phosphorus respectively. It has already been stated that ammonium sulphate contains about 20.6 per cent of nitrogen; the phosphorus contents of superphosphate varies from 15 to 18 per cent. The experts in agriculture assert that almost all crops grown on almost all types of soil in India respond favourably to the application of nitrogen. Its response to crop like paddy has been stupendous throughout the length and breadth of the country in spite of the difference in topography and climate. I have the practical experience of applying ammonium sulphate in several doses as top-dressing to jute plants and the results obtained were highly satisfactory. I must also add here that the response to the application of additional doses of phosphate was not so encouraging.

Anyway, it has been successfully demonstrated to our agriculturists that the use of ammonium sulphate in different types of crop becomes in the end more than paying. Still one must confess that chemical fertilizers in India have not made much headway so far as an average Indian farmer is concerned. The reason is mainly two-fold: psychological and economic. The psychological factor has already been referred to. The

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apprehension that it causes a permanent deterioration in the soil can, however, be dispelled without much difficulty if it has no actual foundation. But the second factor is more baffling and cannot be so easily eradicated. Bold planning and energetic drives are necessary for the purpose.

The poverty of an Indian ryot is proverbial. Though the price† of India-made ammonium sulphate compares favourably with the world price, an average Indian cultivator can hardly afford its use even in small doses. Unless there is sufficient inflow of money in the rural sector, the dream of agricultural regeneration of India is destined to remain unfulfilled. Some steps have already been taken in the right direction. The abolition of the Zamindary system, the creation of the State Bank of India and various co-operative societies, all are expected to augment the purchasing powers of the teeming millions of India.

In the meantime, as a result of central subsidy ammonium sulphate was being made available to cultivators at a specially reduced rate. The subsidised scheme, however, now stands withdrawn and in its place a scheme for providing credits to the agriculturists has been introduced. To enable the cultivators to purchase chemical fertilizers, the Government of India is making available to the States a sum of Rs. 8 crores since the year 1953. This is to be given as loan to be recovered either in cash or in kind at the end of each harvest. Needless to say that this fund is being utilised profitably by the farmers as far as it goes.

The distribution of chemical fertilizers is the responsibility of the Central Fertilizer Pool operated by the Central Ministry of Food and Agriculture. The retail distribution to the cultivators is done by the States through its various agencies. The distribution machinery of the State is further to improve and should aim at establishing a depot in each village. That the chemical fertilizer has taken its roots firmly in the Indian soil can be gauged by the following figures of its consumption in different years:

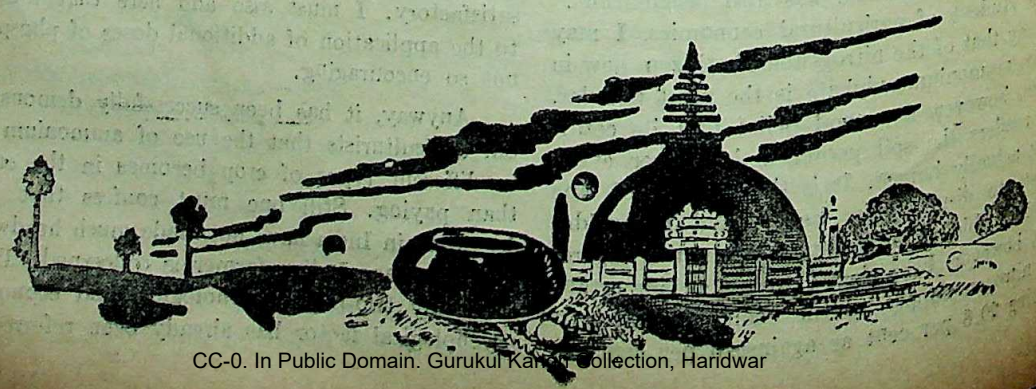
Years	Consumption of ammonium sulphate (in tons)
1953	276,000
1954	350,000
1955	650,000

At present India produces 340,222 tons of ammonium sulphate and the balance is made by imports. The installed capacity of the existing plants is 426,5[illegible] tons. The Second Five-Year Plan proposes to increase the producing capacity of the installed plants besides the establishment of 3 new plants. It has been estimated that about 900,000 tons of nitrogen will be required by 1961 and the Government of India and the Planning Commission are keenly aware of the situation. On the recommendation of the Fertilizer Production Committee, Bhakra-Nangal area has already been tentatively selected as the site of a new plant with a capacity of 200,000 annual tons.

Besides pure ammonium sulphate and superphosphate, certain manufacturers also deal with 'manure-mixture.' Some use machinery for the process of mixing while others do the same by hand. The mixture is generally composed of ammonium sulphate, superphosphate, oil-cakes, bone-meals and muriate of potash. Ammonium sulphate, however, forms the important ingredient of the mixture. Amongst themselves, these manufacturers produce about 200,000 tons annually.

Chemical fertilizers have come to stay. Indigenous production has much reduced our dependence on foreign imports and it also saves about Rs. 12 crores of foreign exchange. It has been estimated that the use of chemical fertilizers has increased our food production alone by about 1,800,000 tons valued at about Rs. 50 crores. Its contribution to commercial crops like jute and cotton and plantations like tea and coffee is not insignificant. Let us hope that by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, the country will be self-sufficient in this regard and increase the national prosperity by augmenting the agricultural production of all kinds.

† Rs. 315 per ton at any rail-head in India.



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THE MARTYRS

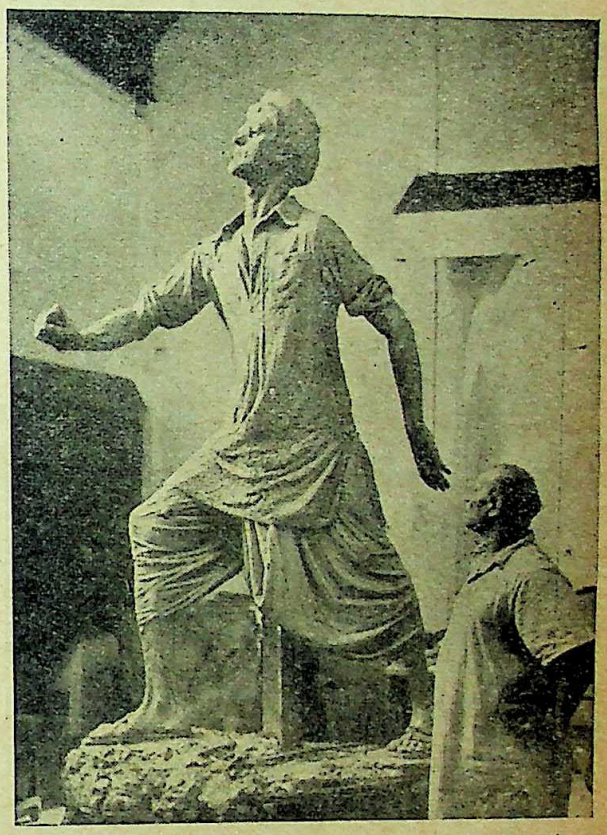
By ARTHUR CARSON

[illegible] time off from my work as an art-critic in Britain [illegible] just concluded a two-year stay in South India. [illegible] this holiday whilst in Madras, on my friends [illegible] insisting that I should meet the Principal of the [illegible] School of Arts and Crafts, with some misgivings [illegible] consented and have never regretted taking this [illegible].

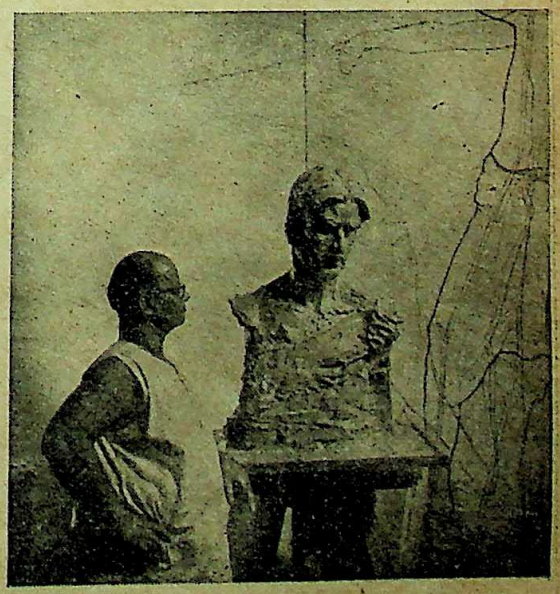
The leader carrying the banner

[illegible] found the Principal, Chowdhury, a burly, genial [illegible] who had spent over a decade at this school, [illegible] only a painter and sculptor but a writer of [illegible] in Bengali and at one time a keen *shikari*. His [illegible] were good, some even outstanding but it was [illegible] his sculptures that I got the shock of my [illegible] quite frankly I never expected to find in India [illegible] outstanding sculptor. Looking at the head of [illegible], his powerful *Thinker* and the *Triumph of* [illegible] I was reminded of the work of Rodin, especially [illegible]hury's group of workers as here in another [illegible] was surely something which could be compared [illegible] Rodin's work, the *Burghers of Calais*.

By chance I had discovered a great genius about [illegible] I had never previously heard a word and who [illegible] had shown his sculpture in Europe would by now [illegible] been internationally famous. Chowdhury told me [illegible] his paintings had been shown in England and [illegible] but lack of finance had prevented him taking [illegible] sculpture there. This did not surprise me but I am of the opinion that it is strange that no patriotic Indian has come forward to supply the necessary financial backing, as, if he had done so he would have brought fame and renown to India.



One of the followers. Mark the determination in his face and also the forward steps



In the process of making

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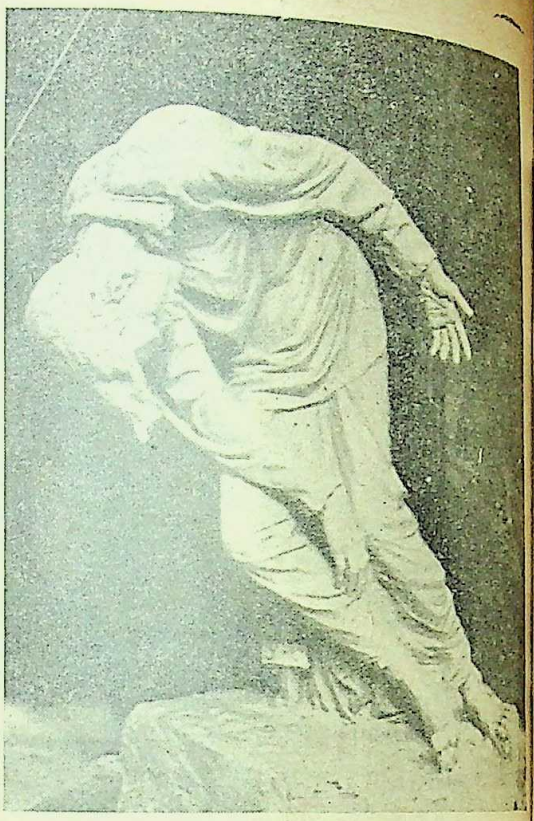
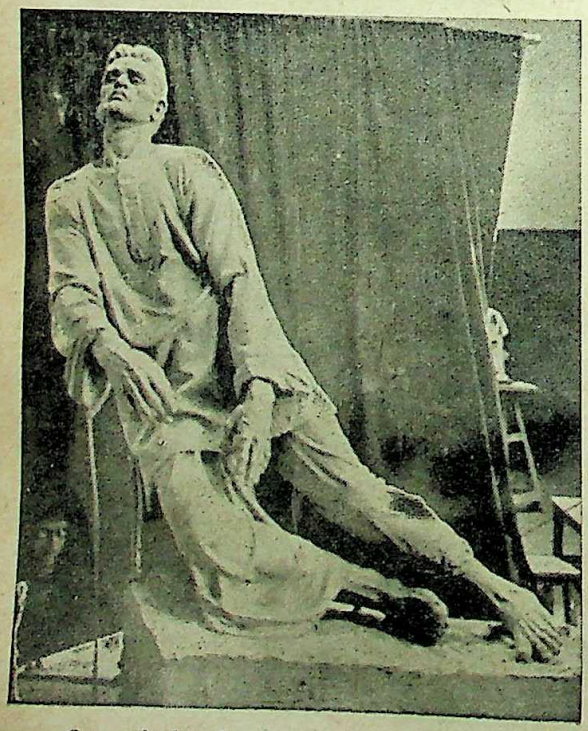
In the course of my first meeting with Chowdhury I was interested to learn that he has another genius in his family as his son is an expert in Indian classical

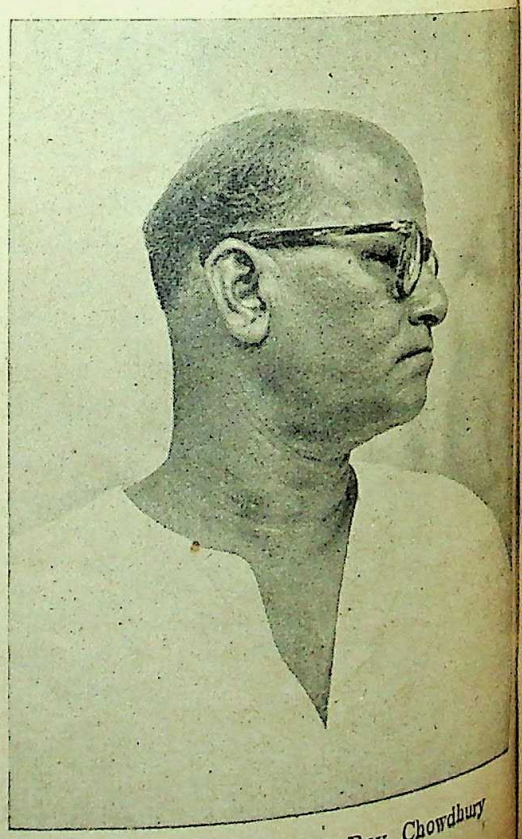
The details of the back muscle in movement in one of the figures of the composition



The dead falling boy



One of the figures of the composition



The artist—Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

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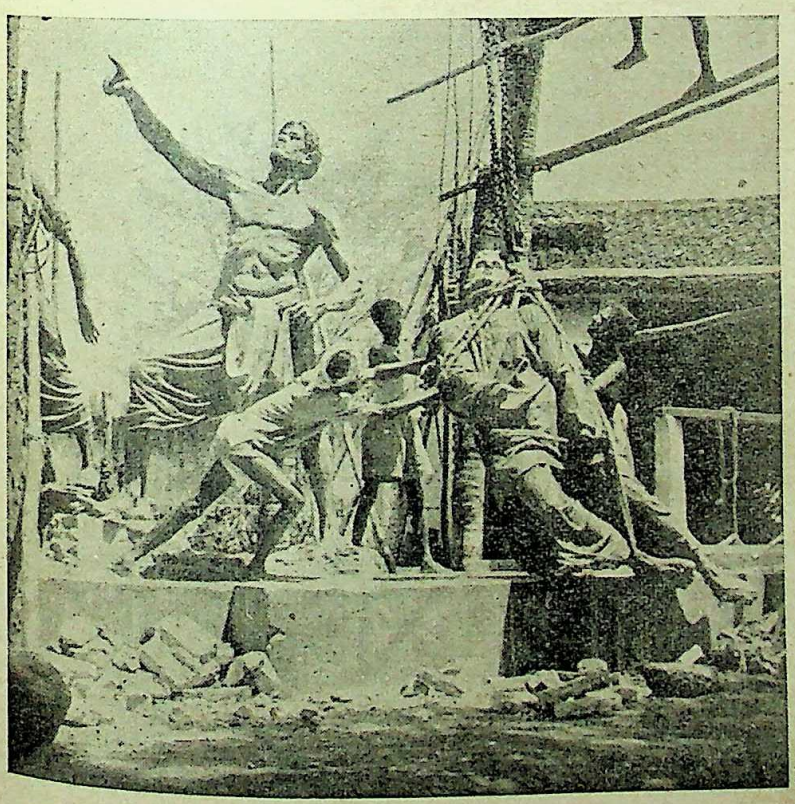
The final bronze casts are being assembled for composition



The final bronze casts are being assembled for composition

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The final bronze casts are being assembled for composition

Full composition seen from a different angle

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but perhaps profiting from his father's of being 'a prophet without honour or re- in his own country' he had quit India's shores the more profitable pastures of America.

I had many more meetings with Chowdhury and privileged to see this master execute another great a memorial to the Bihar martyrs, seven Indian who in 1942 attempted to replace the Union Jack, on the Patna Secretariat, with the Indian Flag and were shot dead for their patriotism, studio which was far too small, lacking modern and lighting arrangements. Despite this month by month seven gigantic figures, ten feet in height and weighing over a ton first in clay, then plaster and finally in wax.

Chowdhury worked like a man possessed from early till the light failed in the evening, putting his and soul into it whilst smoking time after time cigarettes and drinking innumerable cups of tea. was, however, never too busy to talk to me and gladly for a genius to listen with patience to my Often after an absence of several days I to see with some surprise that no progress had made, to learn that this was due to dissatisfaction some aspect of his work, like a badly shaped hand muscle which had meant ruthlessly scrapping starting again as Chowdhury was determined that the best that he knew that he could produce was good enough to show the world the patriotism of India's youth.

The greatest pains in every detail were taken and I was pleased to contribute my own small mite to this work as one evening for over an hour I demonstrated to Chowdhury the attitudes men took when shot dead in the last war.

Over a year passed before the whole was completed and then it was taken to be cast in bronze and even here Chowdhury had to spend long hours in the hot sun supervising this important work, until completed the masterpiece was packed and despatched to Patna.

By this time I had become a friend of Chowdhury but this fact did not influence my opinion of the Bihar Martyrs, the largest of its kind ever executed in the East. I think it is a real masterpiece which when it is unveiled should win the plaudits of not only Indians but also artists throughout the world. I have only two regrets. The first is that events have forced me to leave for U.K. before the unveiling ceremony next month and secondly that despite the arduous labour and great skill that Chowdhury has put into this work, his financial gain, as artists cannot live by just pride in their work, will be so small as the major part goes into the rapacious hands of the Income Tax Collector. I can therefore only express the hope that this work will be the fore-runner of many more which will not only bring financial gain but lasting renown to Devi Prosad Roy Chowdhury.

———:O:———

EGYPT—NASSER

By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

MENT of the country is the aim of every patriot, exploitation of the country is the aim of foreign tion. A gigantic scheme for improvement of is the building of the Assuan Dam, which will speedy economic relief, provide for a source of food and raise the standard of living of the popu- of 20 millions, which is increasing at the rate of a million yearly. An efficient dam will make a river do the work of a million people, like the of the Atom. Such schemes require immense the bigger the amount, the quicker the result a country cannot afford it, a loan is taken from countries, even with reasonable strings; naturally country that advances funds would insist on seeing the money is not wasted or mis-applied. An offer grant of 70 million dollars from America and England welcome to Egypt for building the Assuan Dam. it was suddenly withdrawn, it is said, at the sug- of Turkey, Iran and Pakisan, because this might the aid they would themselves receive. The withdrawal may also be meant as a lesson to Egypt for not joining the defensive pact in the Middle East, spon- sored by the U.K. and the U.S.A. Or it may be due to the fact that arms were supplied by Russia, of the antagonistic world block, although their own supply was withdrawn. The World Bank withdrew the offer of 200 million dollars, as a matter of course. In any case the conditions imposed with the offer were not palatable to Nasser. Egypt could not approach Russia for financing the project, Russia having once declared that the Assuan Dam project would be uneconomic, when the U.K. and the U.S.A. were in the picture, perhaps from a sense of frustration—grapes beyond reach are always sour. However Russia is ready to give all economic help.

Nasser had therefore to look to his own resources. He nationalised the Suez Canal Company located at Port Said, to raise funds for the project. He stood on the ground that the Company has always been an Egyptian Joint Company, registered in Egypt.

Nasser contended that the Suez Canal was built by

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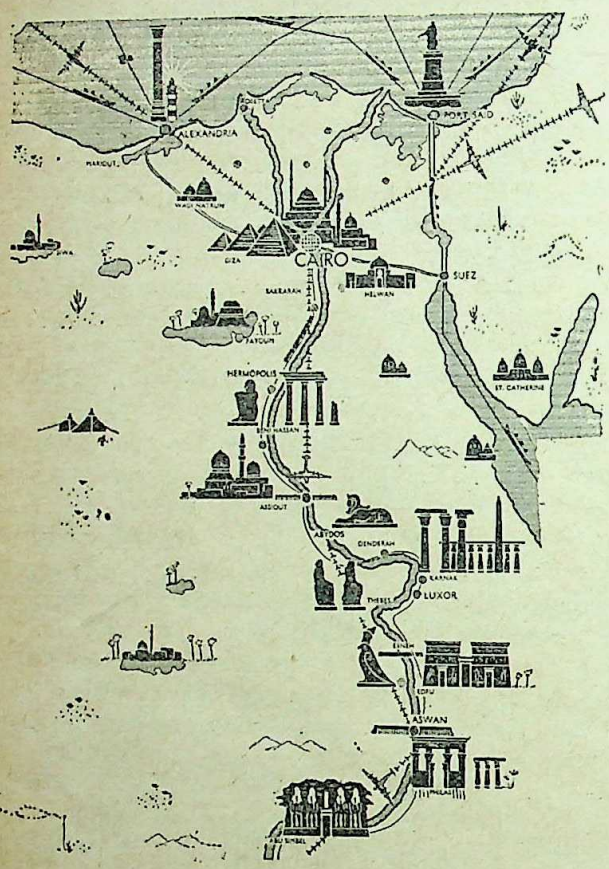
Egypt on Egyptian soil and the huge profit that foreign capital was making should be diverted for national purposes. This would touch the pockets of the present investors, mainly English and partly French, who are

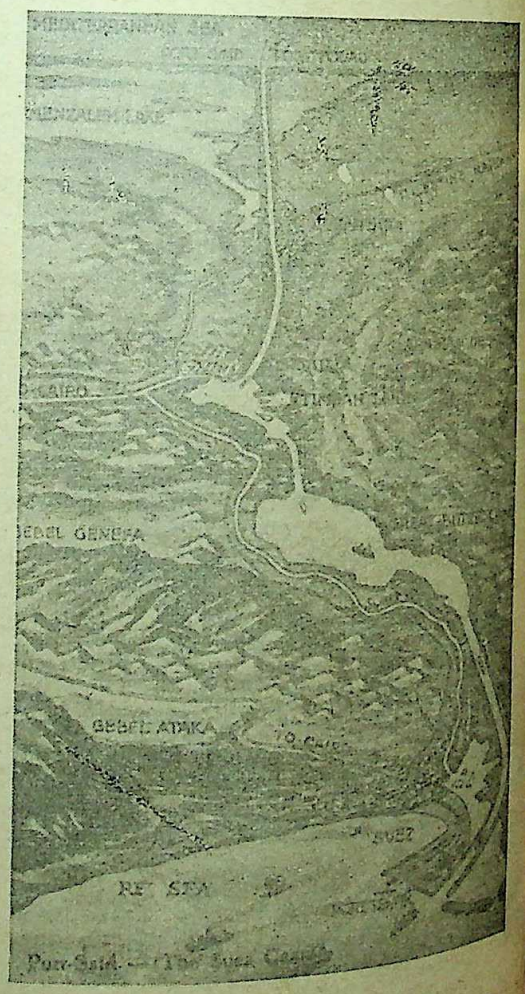


Aswan Dam on the Nile locating ancient relics

resenting the move. Egypt was getting only 1 million pounds as Royalty out of the easy income of 35 million pounds or 100 million dollars of total profit. This income from the Canal was a very poor return, Nasser asserted, where 120 thousand Egyptians constructed the Canal at the cost of their lives. Nasser expects that with 100 millions every year it would be possible to complete the Dam in 5 years. The dissuading argument is that this would fall far short of buiding the Dam, and the compensation proposed to be paid would take away all the profits, carries no weight, as they are advanced by the losing party. Let us stew in our own juice, the Egyptians would say, it is no concern of others.

The problem is whether there should be International Co-operation, subject to any sovereignty or an International Authority dictating to a subservient ruler. Opinions are sharply divided and in India, there are even people who are spitefully gloating over the West's discomfiture for our old scores, or Pakistan's disappointment for present difference with us. There is a general resentment from Colonial memories at the threats of violence.

For a long while to come, it would be too much to expect that all water, land and air high-ways of International importance like Aden, Gibralter, Singapore, Panama, etc., which are Imperial strongholds, would be internationalised. The main interested powers are individually at work, threatening Egypt by mobilisation and concentration, adoption of coercive economic measures like freezing Egyptian assets and evacuating their own nationals. They cannot wait to consult the U.N. The whole world will have to suffer economically if they have to use the Cape route. Nasser cannot be blamed if he has taken unusual measures threatening imprisonment (later modified) to prevent a deadlock in Canal navigation for the same reason. It is not like the question of a strike. Nasser has only anticipated the position by 13 years, because in 1968, the final transfer or reversion to the Khedives takes place according to the agreement for 99 years' concession grants to the Canal Company from the Khedives of Egypt. Britain as the largest shareholder would naturally disagree. Surely if Nasser failed to keep the International undertaking, the U.N. could take steps to force him.



The Suez Canal

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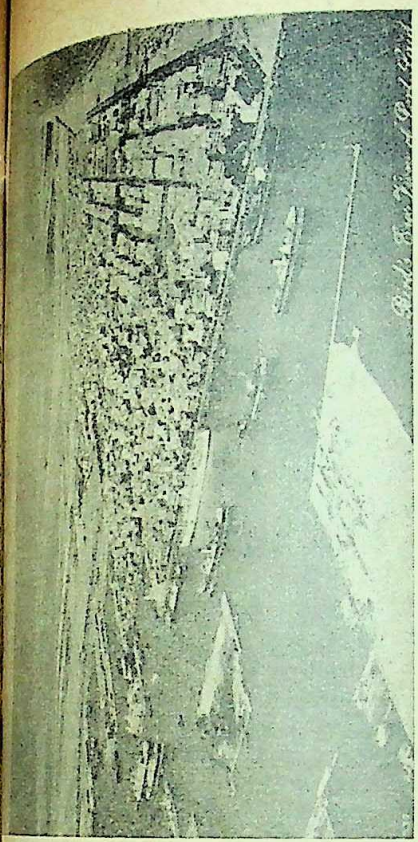
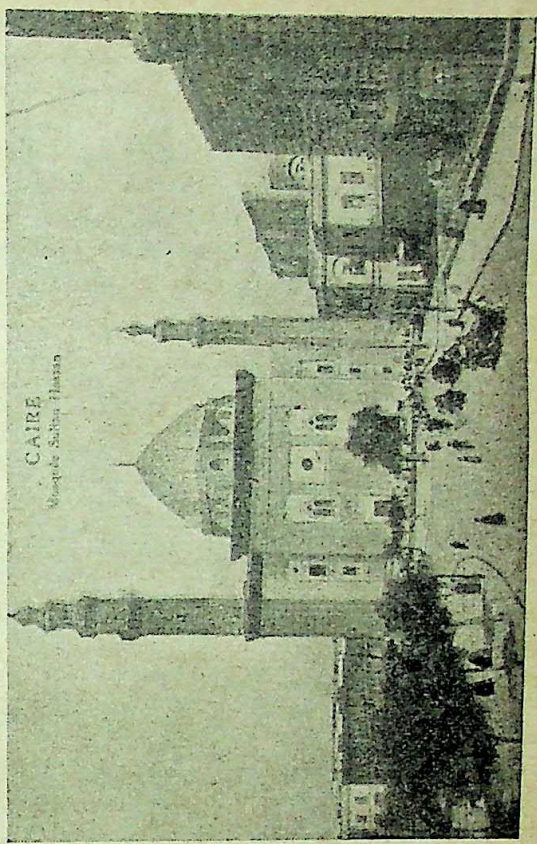
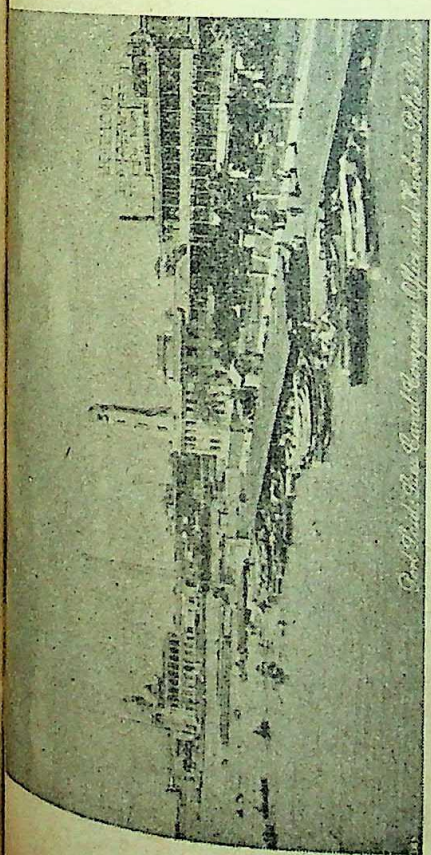


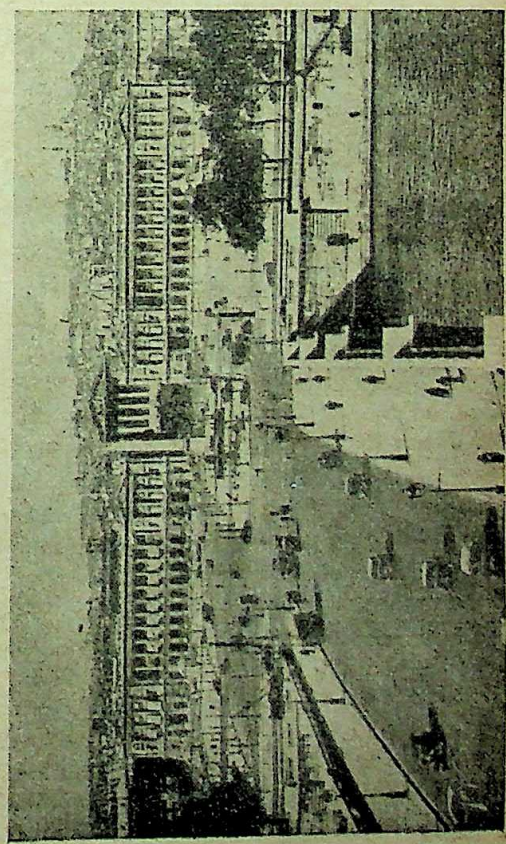
General view of Port Said



Sultan Hassan Mosque, Cairo



Suez Canal Company's office at Port Said



Cleopatra's needle at Paris

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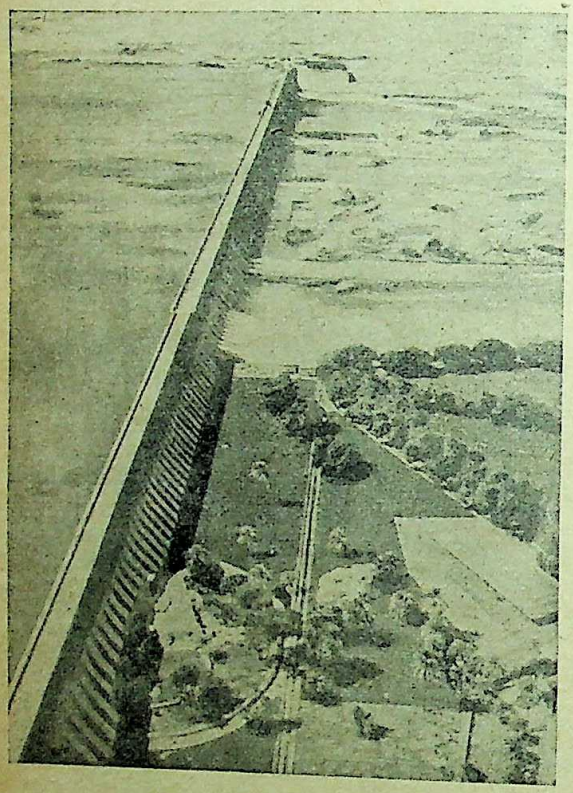
The move was perfectly legal so far as Egypt was concerned internally. We have plenty of examples in different countries of such nationalisation. To cite a few examples, England nationalised her Railways, coal and steel industries without reference to foreign investors; France nationalised her Banking and Insurance; America nationalised the Panama Canal; India nationalised land, Railways, Banking, etc. But the nationalisation of the Suez Canal is supposed to prejudice the International character of shipping through the Canal.



The present Aswan Dam

Nasser did not question the validity of the convention of 1858, which granted the freedom of navigation through the Canal, and he takes up all the present assets and liabilities of the Company, honouring all its obligations. The only plea that Nasser cannot be trusted, now appears to be the basis of the arguments of the present investors. Nasser had opposed the Baghdad Pact, supported the Algerians, accepted Soviet arms and has thus antagonised the U.K., France, and the U.S.A. Nasser had obstructed the Israeli passage through the canal. (So would England obstruct her future enemies.) What if he fails to carry on as at present? What if he raises the tools in spite of his assurance to the contrary? What if he levies a double tax by Government and the Canal Company? Surely the instability of Egypt is a point against the solidarity of England for keeping the passage secure. Anyhow peace-time assurance is not enough. Would the canal be secure in war-time for which the British bought during the last war for her allies? Who knows will be the alignment is case of another war?

Against Nasser's claim to nationalise the Company, other interested countries protested that Company was international and was not Egypt's property. The bones of contention are Suez and Canal. It would be interesting to go into their history. The idea of digging the Canal mooted from the time of the Pharaohs of Egypt over 3 thousand years ago and again in 600 B.C. Others including Darius of Persia, several Louises of France and Napoleon were interested in the scheme, when the land was under their respective sway. It was, however, during the middle of the last century after Waghorn, an intrepid English man of Eastern services had failed to create an interest in England (even after strenuous practical demonstration about the project, that Ferdinand De Lesseps, a French man of Consular Services, took up the cue. But Egypt refused to grant him the concession at first but when the ruler Khedive changed, it was obtained for 99 years. Lesseps allotted shares of the Company to different countries for the enterprise. France was the biggest sharer of the 14 countries who joined. Britain was opposed the scheme, afraid that the French and Egyptian control will prejudice British interests in the East. When the 103 miles Canal (21 miles through Lake) was dug, after 15 years of strenuous work and it was opened with great eclat in 1869, in presence of all the ruling princes of Europe, Britain kept aloof. It was until 1876 that there was a dramatic change of mind from early apathy and with great political insight Britain bought the shares of the needy Khedive, encouraged to be extravagant and of some others and ultimately obtained the controlling interest in the Canal.

Suez is the dividing line between the East and the West and the locality has been the trade route from early times. The Canal now has become the high-way of trade, of immense benefit to the East and the West and great factor in unifying them to the advantage of both. The economy of avoiding the Cape route is substantial. It proved strategically of great international importance during the devastating wars. The security, already stated, is now in British hands.

For the place of the Dam in Egyptian history and the back-ground of the Canal Company one has got to go into the long past to study new the river Nile, controlled by dams and barrages affected the lives of people in their earlier civilisation. Nomads, who were whole occupied in securing food, had come from arid Asia and settled in fertile Egypt, where the bounty of the Nile gave them leisure, when they took to farming, industries such as textiles and mining and trades to dispose of the products. They utilised the leisure for practical science in nature such as Astronomy, Mathematics, land and water measurements, systematic irrigation, etc. The art of writing (Hieroglyphics) was invented very early

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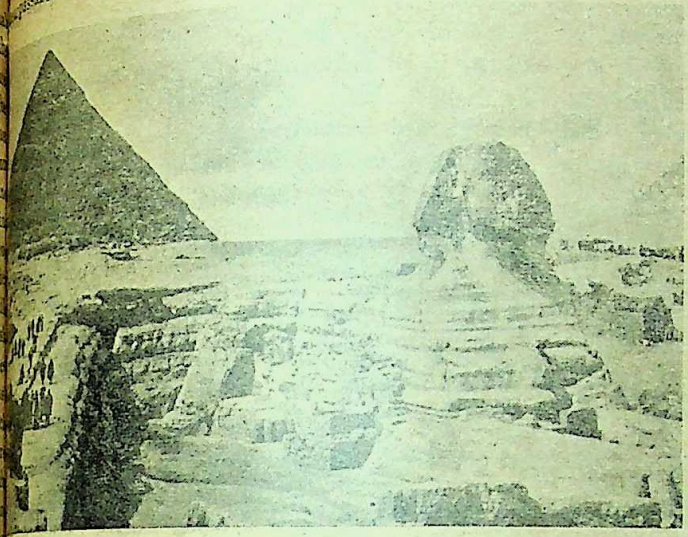
as the stepping stone to further progress in various ...ons. They have also left us grandiose tombs ...emples for gods, where unique architecture shows ...ssable artistic excellence both in quality and in



The Pyramid and the Sphynx

...y. The vagaries of the Nile had to be controlled ...king efficient dams, using the mud which ...es the soil and the water which enlivens the ... The winding Nile flows between two rows of hills ... fertile valley, varying in width from 2 to 120 ... with cataracts or water-falls at various points of ...ourse and the people live on ...produce of the valley and the ... water of the river. During the ... the river would rise 20 to 30 ... equal to the height of a two-... building. The rainfall being ...½ ins. in the whole year, the ... would go dry, when there is ...d. Hence the necessity of ... Flood water is stored in ... formed by dams and distri-... in times of drought by open-...ates in the dam through canals. ...ses or low dams without gates ... the flood-water to pass ... canals on both sides by ... the level of the water, while ...ess water passes over. The ...ence of such control practised ...h ages testifies to the high ...ent to which this early civili-... reached. (The present ... at the first cataract at Assuan is 1¼ miles long ... 147 feet high, 46 feet being added since its opening ...02. A higher and bigger Dam is in contemplation ...). Great cities and huge pyramids were built. ...ese enormously ambitious public works, requiring mobilisation of population, prove the development of a disciplined society, which was possible under a socialistic monarchy. To the animal divinites of the nomads were added the Nature gods of farmers—the Sun influencing seasons and crops; the Nile influencing vegetation; the Earth influencing fecundity and so on, with their respective names.

From between 5,000 and 4,000 years B.C. 330 kings of 31 dynasties or succeeding families had ruled in Egypt, while Abraham and Moses lived and before Caesar and Christ were born. Fifteen years for each king also aggregate to 5,000 years. Cairo or Themkis, as it was called, was the original capital. The first sovereign was Menes of the First dynasty who made another Capital at Thebes, 200 miles up the Nile to unify the country. The huge Pyramids (highest 450 feet, with Sphynx close to it) on the desert lands west of Cairo were built of big blocks of stones wonderfully carried across the river from the hills on the east side. They are one of the wonders of the world and date from 3,000 to 2,000 B.C. from the third dynasty. During the 6th dynasty expansion took place towards Asia but the capital was removed to Thebes

General view of Alexandria

for the consolidation of the country. The Pharaohs of the 11th and 12th dynasties instead of wasting time on sepuchral glory, diverted their energy to agriculture and commerce, and the empire extended to Palestine and Syria. Usartson of the 12th dynasty (about 2,430 B.C.)

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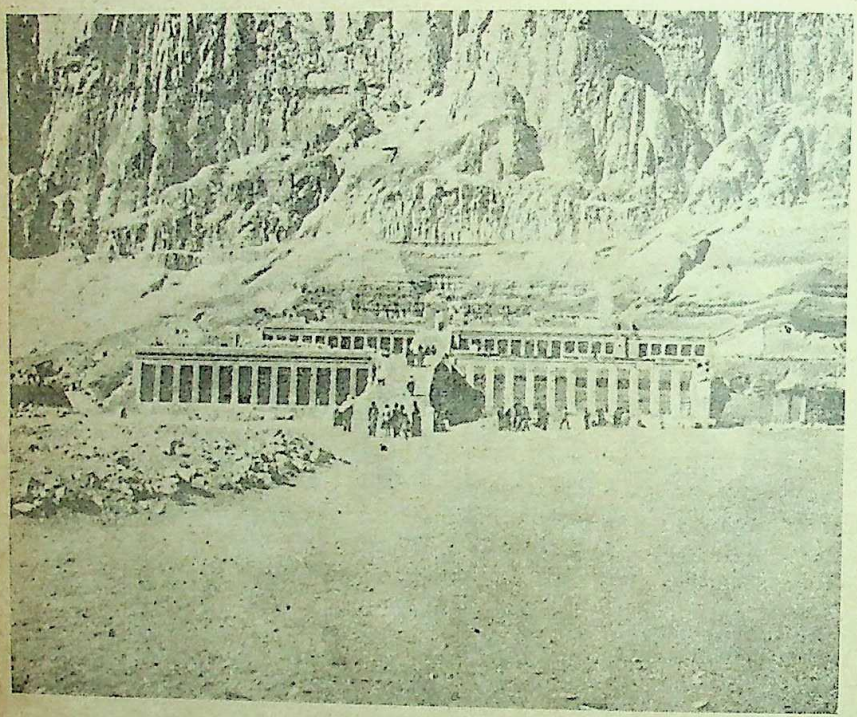
however built many temples at Heliopolis near Cairo and decorated them with red granite obelisks, later known as Cleopatra's needles, now beautifying London, Paris and New York. During the 15th to 17th dynasties, the Hyksos, a wandering tribe from Asia, drove the Pharaohs to the south and occupied the country (2,100 to 1,600 B.C.). During this period, the Israelites, due to famine or insecure conditions, migrated for 433 years to Egypt, where they were persecuted and confined to the country of Goshen, until Moses



Tombs of kings

miraculously crossed the Red Sea and after many tribulations conquered Canaan or Palestine about 1,300 B.C. Pharaohs of the 18th dynasty (1635 to 1390 B.C.) drove away the Hyksos and extended the kingdom to Asia and removed the capital to Thebes about 1,550 B.C. At thebes there were rocks round about and numerous temples and tombs began to be built in place of Pyramids at Luxor and Karnak, east of the Nile and in the valley of the Tombs of Kings, opposite. Valuable furniture and precious metal articles and ornaments, all conveniences and house-hold effects (in the belief that the dead would return to life) used to be keept in tombs with the well-preserved dead bodies or *mummies*. These have been unearthed in recent times, giving the world, the history of ancient Egypt, despite the depredations of robbers through all the ages. About 1,500 B.C. Egypt grew very strong under the two Rameses of the 19th dynasty (1580 to 1150) and the empire extended far into Asia. The Capital was brought back to Neksis or Cairo, the present capital of majestic mosques and minqrets. The bronze age of which many unique examples are extant was now followed by the iron age, and others got the better of Egypt, bereft of iron. The 25th dynasty was of the hated Ethioptans. The 26th having been defeated by Nebuchadnazar of Babylon, the Pharaohs were not only pushed back from Asia but driven to the South. Later they came back but after Alexander's conquest (323 B.C.) and the foundation of Alexandria which has grown to a fine modern town and port, the Greeks drove them finally to the North and left the Ptolemies to rule up to 30 B.C. (Cleopatra). This was followed by the Roman rule.

Since A.D. 641, after Mohammed had preached the Islam, Egypt came under the Mohammedans in the proselytizing drive towards Spain. Saladin and the Mamelukes can be mentioned in its long history. It was nominally subject to Turkey, the Khalifa being the spiritual head of all Muslims. In the early nineties after the Napoleonic wars, it was under the joint financial control of France and England and from 1882 the control became really British. The Canal was dug in 1854-69 and the interest shifted from Egypt to the canal. British occupation began in 1882. The nominal head in Egypt was the Khedive with British advisers. As a protectorate under the Turkish Sultan in 1914 Britain was paying a yearly tribute to Turkey against various rights according to the convention of 1838. This arrangement ended in 1914, when Turkey joined Germany and lost the War. The British took over Egypt as it was—a protectorate uder its own Sultan until Kamal Pasha dissolved the Khaliphate and Turkey became a republic, so Egypt becme independent in 1922. In establishing King Faud's reign, Britain insisted upon her own right to guard the Swez Canal to protect the interests of foreigners so as to prohibit intervention in Egypt by any other power. The Wafdist or Nationalist party very strongly resisted this intervention, and in 1954 ten thousand British soldiers and 400 pilots had to leave the canal. In the meantime, Naguib, the leader was found wanting and the military commander Col. Nasser took up the reins as president of the Republic.

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WELFARE OF SCHEDULED TRIBES

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Review of Work During 1951-55

ing the four years between 1951-52 and 1954-55, a m of Rs. 20 crores was spent on the welfare of heduled Tribes and the development of Scheduled Tribal Areas. Of this sum, about Rs. 10 crores e sanctioned by the Government of India as grants- d to various State Governments. The Central grant the First Five-Year Plan for the welfare of heduled Tribes and development of these Areas was 15 crores, and it is hoped that the balance of Rs. crores will be utilised during 1955-56.

This has been disclosed in the 1954 Report of the missioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled es. The Report also points out that in 1954, the missioner had visited the interior-most regions bited by Scheduled Tribes in the country, parti- ly in the States, among others, of Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.

Girls of the Bhil tribe in the Dungrapur Community Project area in Rajasthan

The Commissioner's suggestions for the welfare of heduled Tribes and the development of Scheduled s are thus based on the experience and data he had ered during these tours.

Educational Schemes

The report says the impressive progress had been e in the field of education for the Scheduled Tribes. is apparent from the fact that while in 1952, 911 lications were received from the Scheduled Tribes scholarships for post-Matric students by the Govern- nt of India, the number of such applications in 1954 e to 2,485. The ashram schools and boarding hools for tribal students have also proved popular. In addition, reservation has been made in the selection of students to public schools for children of the Scheduled Tribes.

A sum of Rs. 12.65 lakhs had also been provided for the grant of scholarships for students belonging to the Scheduled Tribes, while there was a scheme for sending advanced students to foreign countries for further studies.

Problem of Shifting Cultivation

The Report remarks that one of the most difficult problems of the Scheduled Tribes was of shifting cultivation. It is admitted that while it would not be possible to settle all the tribals who had been practising shifting cultivation on the plains, the Report emphasises the necessity of devising some alternative method to stop this wasteful form of cultivation.

In Rajasthan, the Scheduled Tribes, known as Kathodias, who had no houses and and lands of their own, are, however, being settled. The most backward of Secheduled Areas (like Bastar and Surguja in Madhya Pradesh, Malkingri area of Koraput district in Orissa, Lahaul and Spiti in the Punjab, and Rajadera and Mahuadand of Latehar sub-division of Palamau district in Bihar), popularly known as merged areas, where semi-slavish conditions existed and which had so far been neglected, were also being developed in different States.

The Report has suggested various other welfare schemes for Scheduled Tribes. In Bombay, the Government has sanctioned a sum of Rs. 1.5 lakhs for Forest Labour Co-operative Societies which will improve economic conditions of tribals inhabiting the forests. Similar schemes in other Scheduled Areas for tribal people could be useful, says the Report.

Tribes Advisory Councils

In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, Tribes Advisory Councils have been set up in all the States having Scheduled Areas, namely, Andhara, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Orissa, Punjab, Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan, and in West Bengal which has Scheduled Tribes but no Scheduled Areas. District councils for this purpose have also been organised in all the autonomous districts of Assam, with the exception of the Naga Hills district. In the Pawi-Lakher region of the Mizo district, a regional council has been set up. These councils, the Report remarks, are working satisfactorily.

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Todas of Nilgiris

The Report states that much progress had been made in the scheme for converting the Todas of Nilgiris into good agriculturists by giving them land and agricultural implements. Medical facilities provided for them under the scheme have also eliminated disease and resulted in checking the gradual decrease in their population.

Conferences

It is also mentioned that two conferences were held in December 1954, to consider schemes for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and other matters relating to it.

The first conference was attended, among others, by State Ministers and officials concerned with work relating to the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes, Members of Parliament, and members of the Executive Committee of the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh. This Conference was arranged by the Party Standing Committee on Tribal Affairs, comprising tribal Members of both Houses of Parliament and was presided over by Shri B. N. Datar, Deputy Minister for Home Affairs. The speeches made at, and the papers received in connection with, this conference have now been printed in the form of a brochure.

An official conference following it was held under the chairmanship of Shri L. M. Shrikant. The official conference considered priorities for the formulation of welfare schemes, submission of six-monthly progress reports, basis of making grants-in-aid by the Central Government, and collection of material for the Second Five-Year Plan.

The Report says that these conferences have proved useful, as such occasions provide opportunities to bring officials and non-officials together on one platform to discuss problems connected with the welfare schemes.

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FUTURE PROGRAMME FOR LAC DEVELOPMENT

Second Plan Schemes for Improved Production and Research

By M. S. RANDHAWA, I.C.S.
President, Indian Lac Cess Committee

In order to draw up a clear programme of development, it appears necessary to recapitulate the problems facing lac cultivation and industry. These problems are inter-related and are not to be viewed in isolation. It has, therefore, to be ensured that co-ordinated and all-embracing measures are taken in a systematic manner.

For the sake of convenience these problems may be outlined and classified under the following main heads:

(1) Problem of prices,
(2) Production of lac,
(3) Related problems of marketing from the field to the export stage,
(4) Problem of demand and organisation of foreign markets,
(5) Research in dealing with all the problems. Research into scientific aspects of cultivation, manufacture and utilisation has to play an important role.

Stabilization of Prices

All Enquiry Commnttees which have been set up from time to time, right from the time of enquiry by Messrs Lindsay and Harlow to that of the recent Report on Lac by Dr. Jordan, have viewed with great concern the fluctuations in prices and increasing competition from Siamese lac as well as from synthetic materials. This instability in prices has been attributed to speculation, elasticity of demand of shellac, its dependence on too many industires due to comparatively small quantities being used in most of the industries, too much dependence on foreign demand, and wide fluctuations in annual production levels.

Though different solutions have been suggested from time to time for this vexed and intericate problem of price fluctuations, all interests seem to hold the unanimous view that *fatka* or speculation should altogether be banned. It is gratifying to note that with effect from December 27, 1954, the Government of India prohibited all forward contracts in seedlac and shellac except those on non-transferable specific delivery basis. It appears necessary that this control over speculation should be rigidly exercised in future as well.

Recently the Bihar Shellac Enquiry Committee made the suggestion that maximum and minimum prices for both seedlac and shellac be fixed periodically at the export stage. It assumed that prices at manufacturing and cultivation levels would adjust to the two sets of regulated prices at Calcutta, *viz.*, the selling price for delivery to the shippers and the export price for shipments. In addition it was hoped that the co-operation of importers would be forthcoming as the fixation of maximum prices would be to their interest.

Against the above view of the Bihar Shellac Enquiry Committee, it has been held that when the demand

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and shellac is so elastic and when the market depends on the conditions in other industries in foreign countries, any attempt to regulate prices would not be successful, unless the Government were prepared to buy and reserve stock and release it as required in order to stabilise the price level which may eventually take the form of State Trading.

Production of Sticklac

Lindsay and Harlow in their report stressed the need for increasing the production of lac in the country. A similar view was expressed by the London Shellac Makers' Association. Thus, it has been held all the way that lac production should be stepped up as a prerequisite to normal and sound trade in lac. Unfortunately, there has been a decline in the country's production of lac, particularly of the superior variety, *i.e.*, *kusmi* lac. It has, therefore, been decided that the future programme of work must include measures to increase the production of lac, including the higher quality *kusmi* lac. As regards the current average annual production of 11½ lakh maunds, a target of 16 lakh maunds has been fixed for the Second Five-Year Plan period and is to be achieved by 1961.

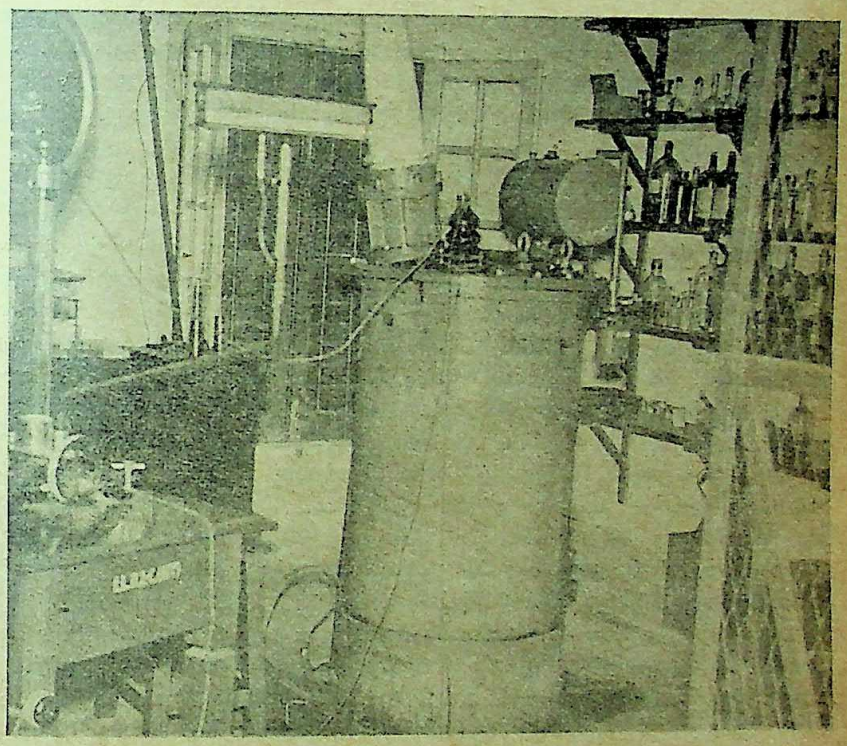
In the realisation of the above target, some difficulties and limiting factors have to be kept in view and overcome. Production of lac is dependent on both the host plant and the insect and, therefore, a judicious combination of both, without detriment to either, is necessary and this can be achieved only by adopting improved and scientific methods of cultivation. Unlike other agricultural crops the production of lac is ordinarily only three to four times the broodlac (seed) used and this makes quick achievement of production targets.

A serious menace that has to be faced is theft, because the lac hosts are found scattered over large areas. The solution of this problem seems to be in the organisation of co-operative societies of lac growers and by empowering the village panchayats to deal with cases of thefts in a suitable deterrent manner, instead of following the lengthy course of police reports and trials in courts.

Schemes for Second Plan Period

Another important handicap in increasing lac production is the shortage of broodlac felt at the time of crop harvesting. This is due partly to climatic factors in some localities where brood arrival is poor and partly to the lac crop being cut out of fear of theft. In order to overcome this difficulty, it has been proposed under the Second Five-Year Plan to set up a number of broodlac farms throughout the major lac-growing areas of the country. For the period of the Second Five-Year Plan, it has been proposed that 50 brood farms be established. These broodlac farms will consist of compact areas containing sufficient number of host plants in suitable localities and will be able to supplement the brood supply of the locality.

Emphasis will be laid on methods to preserve or produce broodlac in addition to the study of other aspects of lac cultivation. There are indications from work already under progress at the Lac Research Institute, that it is possible to produce more brood through cultivation on other important minor hosts known for better brood carrying capacity and also on certain hosts under crop and bush conditions, such as on *Albizzia lucida* and *Cajanus Cajan* (*arhar*).



The High Tension Transformer at the Indian Lac Research Institute, Ranchi

Further, necessary extension service for giving technical advice to cultivators is also being organised and strengthened under a special branch of the Indian Lac Cess Committee. It is proposed to make use of the services of the extension and village-level workers under the Community Projects and National Extension Service Administrations for lac work, and these workers in the important lac-growing areas will be given sufficient training for lac extension work.

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Apart from the above, it is asso necessary to secure for lac cultivators a fair and reasonable price. without which there may not be adequate incentive for increased production of lac.

Improving Marketing and Credit Facilities

The cultivators of lac are mostly illiterate and economically backward. The primary producer of lac does not receive the full benefit of his labours. To improve his lot and to provide him with sufficient incentive, proposals under consideration are the formation of co-operative purchase and sales societies for each block under the National Extesion Service Scheme known as "Vikas Mandals" which should undertake purchase and sale of sticklac in addition to other produce. At important marketing centres of sticklac, separate co-operative societies for dealing in this commodity and for providing suitable storage godowns are proposed to be set up. These co-operative societies and other measures would not only provide financial aid to lac growers but would also prevent, to a certain extent, the adulteration of sticklac, thereby improving the quality.

Air-Conditioned Godowns Proposed

As regards manufacturers, factories in existence at present vary widely in their capacities. The smaller ones are naturally in difficulties as regards finance, storage facilities, etc. Added to this is the problem of transport of the produce from the production centres to the chief trade centre at Calcutta. As a measure of relief from these difficulties, it has been proposed to establish during the Second Five-Year Plan two air-conditioned godowns where seedlac and shellac can be conveniently stored.

Another relief that can be expected with the establishment of these air-conditioned godowns is with respect to finance. So far banks have not been coming forward to grant loans on the security of stores of seedlac and shellac presumably because of uncertainties about their qualities. Shellac and seedlac keep well under air-conditioned storage and quality can easily be ascertained by reference to any one of the seven regional testing laboratories, also proposed to be established under the Second Five-Year Plan. Amalgamation of smaller factories into an economic larger unit working on a co-operative basis also needs attention.

The only centre of export and trading is Calcutta. With the withdrawal of some of the important firms from the shellac market, the financial conditions of the shellac market have deteriorated and needs to be strengthened. It has also been suggested that for the ultimate stability of the commodity and benefit of the country, trade practices are to be watched and improved upon in co-operation with established trade associations, such as, the Calcutta Shellac Trade Association.

Although at Calcutta there is air-conditioned storage available, there is none exclusively for lac. It has therefore, been proposed that one air-conditioned godown should be set up at Calcutta which will meet a long felt want there.

Statistics

Another handicap in arriving at policy decisions arises from the inadequacy and inaccuracy of statistics. Some statistics have hitherto been collected by the Indian Lac Cess Committee on a voluntary basis. Manufacturers as well as traders in Calcutta have not been sufficiently co-operative in this respect. The question of improvement in the matter of collection of statistics on lac is under consideration.

Problem of Demand

While it is essential that the foreign markets be preserved and exports of shellac be increased as far as possible, it is necessary that the internal consumption of shellac and seedlac is also increased and fresh markets are explored so that exports are diversified.

Suggested measures to stimulate exports or at least keep them at present levels are: improvement in the quality of goods, provision of technical service and intensified study of markets.

Progress of work relating to the formation of international standards has to be accelerated. It is also proposed by the Government of India that a laboratory for certifying quality of exports of seedlac and shellac be established in Calcutta.

Efforts would be made to induce the potential consumers of shellac in the country, in particular Railways, transport organizations and Defence Services establishments, to use shellact in as many of their requirements as possible. The endeavour would be to stimulate interest amongst consumers and help them in their technical problems on the utilization of shellac through better liaison and wider pubilicity. It is proposed to bring out a non-technical publication dealing with all aspects of lac consumption and marketing.

Research

Work has already commenced on preparation of a Monograph on Lac which would summarize the research work so far done. The research activities of the Indian Lac Research Institute are also proposed, to be organized. On the cultivation (Entomological) side the Second Reviewing Committee which is being appointed shortly will be required to draw up a programme of work. One proposal that has already been accepted is setting up of some field research stations in important lac-growing States for a study of the problems confronting lac cultivators in the locality and finding suitable solutions for the same.

On the manufacturing side, the Institute has proposed that investigations be carried out on the possibility of eliminating the drudgery involved in the indigenous method of shellac manufacture, thus relieving the distress of the workers there. Attention

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also to be directed towards more economic recovery and utilization of by-products.

Bleached lac is one form of lac which has not been manufactured in this country in any quantity due to some technical difficulties in its production. These have now been overcome and the Institute is now in a position to prepare bleached lac of satisfactory and saleable quality. A pilot plant is, therefore, proposed to be set up which, if successful, is expected to lead to the establishment of a full-scale manufacturing plant.

The above outline of the future programme of development relating to lac cultivation, industry and utilization would indicate that considerable effort is called for to rehabilitate this industry and save it from the severe competition that it is facing from synthetic materials. It appears that lac has a future, and will not be ousted by other materials if timely and co-ordinated action is taken by the various interests concerned.

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MY PILGRIMAGE TO HELSINKI, USSR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By SACHIN SEN GUPTA

In *Letters from Russia* Poet Tagore wrote that his pilgrimage would have ended in the woods if he not visited the Soviet Union.

Tagore had travelled all over the world as a pilgrim seeking for a knowledge leading to the discovery of the goal of man's fulfilment. But although he had found, and several instances of remarkable progress achieved here and there, in every country he visited, save in the Soviet Union, could he discover a plan that envisaged the elevation of the entire people to a higher plane of existence sharing in common to every individual all the amenities of life, not as grudgent throw-outs but as fundamental human rights. Tagore visited the Soviets as far back as 1930. But in those earlier days of rehabilitation of a distressed land, he was amazed to find the tremendous progress Soviet Union, including the Asian Republics, had made in the fields of education, agriculture and industry. He has discribed in details all the material and psychological changes that led to the re-birth of a group of nations under the Soviet system.

Theodore Draiser, an American writer of world-fame and a die-hard supporter of individalism as against communism, visited Russia earlier than Tagore. He has in his monumental documentary *Draiser Looks at Russia*, predicted that the system Russia had adopted would, in spite of some of its inner contradictions and one-sided lapses, enable her, in ten to twenty years, to overtake, if not surpass, the United States of America.

The present President of the United States of America visited Moscow immediately after the collapse of the fascist powers in Europe when he had been appointed as the Supreme Commander of the allied forces. He wrote in his book *Crusade in Europe*:

"Everywhere we saw evidence of a simple, sincere and personal devotion to Russia—a patriotism that was usually expressed in the words, 'But this is Mother Russia and therefore it was not hard.' A group of workers in the Stormovik factory told me that their work-week during the war was eighty-four hours, and they proudly stated that the factory's attendance record was something over ninety-four per cent. Many of the workers were women and children and it is difficult to see how, with their meagre rations and serious lack of transportation facilities, they could have maintained such a record. The same was true on farms."

The Supreme Commander had, obviously, a mixed feeling for the Russians. He both liked and disliked them. He could not but like them because of the victory they had carried to the doors of their comrades-in-war. Anl he disliked them because of their communism, and their practice of collectivism. He was impressed by the patriotism of the factory workers and farmers; by their collective will to win the war; and yet he hesitated to accept his own observations and the information he received from the workers themselves. He had written that he could not comprehend how patriots with meagre rations and lack of transportation facilities could maintain high attendance, although as a Supreme Commander he had witnessed how the patriotic Red Army had conquered hunger and craving for personal comforts when it had rolled back the fascist aggressors and had routed them. His son Lieutenant Eisenhower had hit the Bull's eye right through, as the Supreme Commander had himself confided to his readers, by proposing a toast reported to be as follows:

"I have been in Russia several days and have listened to many toasts. I have heard the virtues of every allied ruler, every prominent marshal, general, admiral and air-commander toasted. I have yet to hear a toast to the most important Russian in World War II. Gentlemen, will you please drink with me to the common soldier of the Great Red Army?"

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Victory attained, the Supreme Commander came to realise that the United States and Russia emerged from the war as the two most powerful nations of the globe.

Draiser's prediction proved to be true indeed. Russia had caught up America if not in the economic sphere, but certainly in the sphere of military activity in defeating the common ememy to justify the remark quoted above. But at what cost had Russia emerged from the war as one of the two most powerful nations? The Supreme Commander gave an account of that also. He wrote:

> "The experience of Russia in World War II was a harsh one. The year 1941 saw the entire Western portion of that country overrun by the Nazis. From the region of Volga westward, almost everything was destroyed. When we flew into Russia, in 1945, I did not see a house standing between the Western borders of the country and the area around Moscow. Through this overrun region, Marshal Zhukov told me, so many numbers of women and children and old men had been killed that the Russian Government would never be able to estimate the total. Some of their great cities had been laid waste and until November 1942 there seemed to be little hope that their desperate defense could hold off the enemy until their industries could be rehabilitated and the Western Allies could get into the War in force."

Russia had not only rehabilitated her industries and resisted the avalanche of aggression but drove the war demon back to his lair and destroyed it there, may be, not without substantial assistance from the Supreme Commanders' Western armies. The irresistibility of the collective will of a people which Russia demonstrated by the liberation, not only of her own lost territories, but also the lands of her neighbouring states, was conspicuous by its absence in France and other Western countries whose systems were, in the opinion of the Supreme Commander, superior to what Russia had established. But the world knows that the social and political system of France, also said to be based on 'individual liberty and human dignity,' could not save her from the indignity of an abject surrender; nor could it put a stop to acts of individual cowardice and the spread of mass demoralisation and corruption, admitted and bewailed by no less a personality than Marshal Petain himself.

But history had a different tale to tell in regard to Russia. In spite of Russia's being what General Eisenhower described as "dedicated to the dictatorship of the proletariat seemed in Western eyes to be engulfed in a form of statism under the absolute direction of a few men" each individual man and woman and child of Soviet Russia during the war rose up to the occasion in dignity and stature to defend the mother-land as well as to keep the factories and farms producing what the war-needs demanded of them. The more the Nazis pressed hard on Russia, the more the strength did Russia gather from her people, and the more dyna[illegible] grew her resistance and her determined will to achi[illegible] victory. France under similar pressure fell flat in a state of static collapse and utter disintegration. Whe[illegible] her system failed to inculcate into her people wa[illegible] astoundedly aroused in the people of Russia by her system although 'Western eyes' as told by the Supreme Com[illegible] mander "found it to be engulfed in a form of statism under the absolute direction of a few men."

From the historical facts mentioned above one can reasonably conclude that either 'Western eyes' see things from a wrong angle, or their much-vaunted individual liberty and human dignity are of no re[illegible] worth. Repeated social and political revolutions in western lands establish that individual liberty must have had suffered supression at the hands of a few grabbers of power, and human dignity very often lowered to the dust by their lust. Had the western democracies succeeded in giving entire satisfaction to the people, no revolution would have occurred anywhere in the west, and their systems would have, by now, made this world beautiful and bountiful a place for mankind to live in. Even the much-hated Nazism and Fascism were not born of any dictatorship of the proletariat, but of a gross injustice done, knowingly and willingly, by the upholders of 'individual liberty and human dignity' with a view to appropriating to themselves as much of the spoils of World War I as were possible to snatch away from the weakened and the defeated nations. Not was the Versailles Treaty a manipulation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was nothing more than a document of greed and vindictive perversity of Western Democracies that were found of swearing by individual liberty and human dignity, but were always found to be bent on crushing both in order to satisfy their lust for land and greed for gold and power.

Britain is said to be the cradle of western democracy. This democratic Britain denied individual liberty to millions of people of the world and deprived them of the slightest vestige of human dignity. Even at home, her ideal democracy could not save her from being hoodwinked into a danger that had almost brought her nearer to extinction by a few party-men headed by Prime Minister Chamberlain. In his world famous *History of the World* H. G. Wells wrote:

> "In March 1938, Mr. Litvinov, the Russian Foreign Minister, proposed that the Governments of Britain, France, America and Soviet Russia should confer on the necessity of getting together for common action to prevent further aggression, particularly in central Europe. This was a plain and obvious suggestion, which might have averted the European struggle altogether or nipped it in the bud, but the anti-communist mania of the British conservative majority was much more powerful than its apprehension of the German danger up to the very eve of the declaration of war against Germany. This proposal

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which was re-echoed by Stalin in March 1939 and by Molotov in May—with the added revelation that Britain and France had refused to guarantee the Baltic States in association with Russia against German aggression—remained the declared and consistently observed policy of Russia."

One feels tempted to question the powers: Which the systems worked honourably and with human ity? Were they the Western Democracies based on ividual liberty and human dignity' or was it Russia, ed to the dictatorship of the proletariat's? Well, better to know what H.G. Wells had to say'. He ard his narrative as follows:

"There followed threats of war and some fantastic gotiations. Mr. Chamberlain went far in his efforts propitiate the common enemy. His policy has been repudiated by the British people, but at time he certainly had them solidly behind him. went to and fro to Munich, and let it never be gotten that when he came back to the airport of on, after abandoning Dr. Benes, rejecting the necessity of a prompt collective suppression of many by Russia, France, Britain and Czechoslo- a, and surrendering every military advantage chosloavkia possessed, bringing in return a worth- scrap of paper signed by Hitler, and that when nounced to the crowd in Downing Street that is peace in our time, my good friends. And I recommend you to go home and sleep quietly your beds,' he was received with rapturous use. Let us never forget that. They went to y."

e anti-communist mania once again gained the hand in that ideal land of democracy based on ual liberty' and 'human dignity', and paved the way for Nazi aggression in Eastern and Europe. H. G. Wells further commented:

'In the harsh regime of nature the penalties for and feebleness have always been as heavy as the ities for folly and crime, and now Britain and all ind are paying for this mean evasion of honour y."

have the answer we had waited for. Were alive to-day he would have given us his opinion eral Eisenhower's thesis on systems. But history death to die. It continues to tell mankind nce and Britain, two leaders of Western Demo- based on 'individual liberty and human dignity' honour and duty to appease Germany while she ering herself to inflict death-blows against all ities; and that Russia consistently and persis- appealed to them to take a united stand against powers that had endangered world-peace and liberty, both individual and collective.

refer to these historical facts and take recourse ose quotations from the writings of thought- to emphasise that systems of nations should be only judged by the historic roles they play to advance the cause of human progress, and not by phrases used to describe them by their framers and founders. Every nation has the right to found its own system consistent with the growth of its own people without any interference from another. Every nation has also the right to propagate the principles on which its system stands.

The world had witnessed many an 'ism' known as 'systems' in the process of its progress forward. All religious, political and social 'isms' came to be guiding principles due to man's constant anxiety to go ahead. Any 'ism' that had assured man of this single objective, had been welcomed by man with great enthusiasm. As basically every 'ism' took its form out of man's desire, man had been, more or less, in stages of his onward move, benefited by each of them. But in God's own creation, as well as in man's, designing self-seekers had never been scarce. They had always taken advantage of systems. It is through those self-seekers that mankind had suffered terrible hardships and privations. Man, therefore, longed for communal systems. They came to him, in successive ages as political republics; as religious sects, fraternities, faiths and institutions; as business guilds, companies, co-operatives; as democracies, which today claim the closest attention and the loudest acclamation. But never could any of those communal organisations keep itself free from devices of designing persons who claimed special privileges, propagated dogmatic theses to split the community into irreconcilable groups, and adopted various other disruptive methods. It is due to them that republics and democracies waged wars of conquests, encouraged traffic in slaves, perpetuated serfdom; that religious bodies grew into fanatic factions; that kings claimed divine rights; that the church amassed wealth and corruption; that sons of revolutions usurped sovereignty that were taken back by its original owners from the kings and emperors. For centuries in succession mankind suffered but sought to gain victory over the evil forces of selfish individuals and grabbers of powers working through political, social, religious and industrial institutions.

The first note of man's protest, in many years, was sounded amidst rumblings of howitzers, buzzings of bombers, and wailings of the losers of crowns and kingdoms. This protest came from the Russians, who refused to be pulled by their noses for slaughter on the altars of war-gods. Be it remembered that this righteous revolt against thoughtless submission to war-maniacs was effected by a people who were never blessed by a system based on 'individual liberty and human dignity,' and who were, for generations, treated as beasts of burden denied of every human right. Nevertheless, it was definitely a glorious beginning of man's march on the victory. Russia walked out of World War I and concluded a separate peace with Germany with this faith glowing in her bosom that a secured peace on

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on the western front would lend her strength to secure peace and happiness for her people, not through passivist inaction, but through an active revolution. With peace-cry on her lips Russia started a revolution. And she could have succeeded to work out the revolution peacefully had not some of the Western Powers fomented rebellions within her territories and organised actual acts of aggressions from without. H.G. Wells gave the world this picture of powers whose systems were said to be based on individual liberty and human dignity:

> "The Western European and American Governments were themselves much too ill-informed and incapable to guide or help this extraordinary experiment, and the press set itself to discredit and the ruling classes to wreck these usurpers upon any terms and at any cost to themselves or to Russia. A propaganda of abominable and disgusting inventions went on unchecked in the press of the world. The Bolshevik leaders were represented as incredible monsters glutted with blood and plunder and living lives of sensuality before which the realities of the Tsarist court during the Rasputin's regime paled to a white purity. Expeditions were launched at the exhausted country, insurgents and raiders were encouraged, armed, and subsidized; and no method of attack was too mean or too monstrous for the frightened enemies of the Bolshevik regime. In 1919 the Russian Bolsheviks ruling a country already exhausted and disorganised by five years of intensive warfare were fighting a British Expedition at Archangel, Japanese invaders at East Siberia, Rumanians with French and Greek contingents in the south, the Russian Admiral Kolchak in Siberia and General Denikin, supported by the French fleet, in the Crimea. In the July of that year an Estonian army under General Yudenich, almost got to Petersburg. In 1920 the Poles, incited by the French, made a new attack on Russia, and a new reactionary raider, General Wrangel, took over the task of General Denikin in invading and devastating his own country. In March 1921, the sailors at Kronstadt revolted. The Russian Government under its president, Lenin, survived all these various attacks. It showed an amazing tenacity, and the common people of Russia sustained it unswervingly under conditions of extreme hardship."

History has no parallel to the above; neither in the abominability of such a conspiracy to crush a nation and its new-born spirit, nor in the intensity and the universality among an entire people of that invincible spirit. This is the new spirit that has led the Russian people to work wonders. It has passed beyond her borders to inspire people with the hope of the re-birth of all the peoples of the globe. It is greater than the system Russia has founded. It is greater than communism itself. It is much too greater to be kept as a national acquisition within the bounds of a state as Buddhism or Christianity or Islam could not be kept confined in the lands of their births, and as philosophies and arts and letters and scientific discoveries could not be made monopoly commodities of nations initiating achieving them. One has to realise this, keeping himself free from traditional proclivities, free from any bias for any particular pattern of system, free from any ideological inhibition.

Tagore, more than anyone else we know, was free from all obsessions and shackles of all 'isms'. Hence, from what he saw in Russia, he could imagine the dawning of a day when man would no longer unmake man by his own social and political systems but would create by his own efforts congenial conditions to be blossomed forth petal by petal into all the glories of man's fulfilment. This hope he expressed in his *Letters from Russia* as also he did it in his "Crisis in Civilization," his last thought on the wickedness of Western Powers. He had discovered a new type of man growing all over Russia.

Draiser had also noticed this magnificent transformation as did General Eisenhower when he had been still thinking and working as the Supreme Commander. But unlike Tagore, both of the latter two personalities were seemingly obsessed by an idea that Russia had been fast growing into a competitor against the United States by working out the communist system. The system alone so much engaged their attention, that they could give very little thought to the growing man in Russia.

And yet General Eisenhower had no little tribute to offer to Russia when on the conclusion of World War II he found that she had emerged from the war as one of the two greatest powers of the globe. The other one was of course, U.S.A. On Russia he wrote:

> "In the past relations of America and Russia there was no cause to regard the future with pessimism. Historically, the two peoples had maintained an unbroken friendship that dated back to the birth of United States as an independent republic. Except for a short period, their diplomatic relations had been continuous. Both were free from the stigma of colonial empire building by force. The transfer between them of the rich Alaskan territory was an unmatched international episode, devoid of threat at the time and of any recrimination after the exchange. Twice they had been allies in war. Since 1941 they had been dependent on each other for ultimate victory over the European Axis."

Never before had any defender of democracy paid any one of the Imperial Majesties paid so flattering compliment to Tsarist Russia. Even Napoleon, the emperor-general, would have congratulated himself if he were able to improvise such virtues in Tsarist Russia when he had to seek alliance of the Tsar Alexander on a raft in Tilsit, and once again, two years later, Erfurt.

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We will not raise the question if the statement of the Supreme Commander is historically correct. All world knows that the 'stigma of colonial empire-building by force' was not a myth, but an appraisal of a canker that ate into the Tsarist system to cause its complete collapse. No posthumous platitude may restore it to life again. But we must try to get at the thought that the Supreme Commander had in his mind back, when he referred to that friendly relationship which existed between the Tsarist Russia and the United States of America.

The system which the mighty Tsars had founded and nourished was not certainly based on 'individual liberty' and 'human dignity.' But the American system was. In spite of that wide gulf of difference a relationship of thick and sweet friendship was established between the two. Why could not it be established now? The thought that worried the Supreme Commander. He made no secret of it. Wrote he:

"Should the gulf, however, be bridged practically by effective methods of co-operation, the peace and unity of the world would be assured. No other division among the nations could be considered as a menace to world unity and peace, provided mutual confidence and trust could be developed between America and the Soviets."

These are noble thoughts nobly expressed. But it seems that the Supreme Commander did not delve deep into his mind to find an answer to the question why the gulf of difference may not be bridged now and friendship founded between those two who had twice been allies in war, and had worked together depending on the other, lending mutual co-operation in all ability to win the war which made them the two great Powers of the globe? Has one to believe that the United States of America, the Standard Bearer of the Western Democracy, may be friendly to autocratic states like the late Tsarist Russia only, and never to the Peoples' Democracies based on the dictatorship of the proletariat? Is it to be taken for granted that the alliance of two Powers following two different systems could only be made to win war and not to preserve peace? Logic does not lead one to the acceptance of either of those. It may, therefore, be presumed that the systems are, after all, secondary subjects for consideration with the Western Powers; the primary consideration is competitive worth of the socialist economy against capitalist economy, hinted at by Draiser, decades ago. The shadow of the phantom of competition in the fields of both the war-industry and welfare-industry is the cause of growing uneasiness among the western democracies, who had so long been dominating the world as industrialists and as colonialists. We Indians have never looked at Russia or any other country from this angle of vision because the phantom of competition and the idea of extra-territorial expansion, politically or economically, had never seized us. We had been giving every respect for every experiment made by man to ameliorate man as a social being and also as an image of God on earth. Even in the days we suffered domination, we nourished ourselves with all the liberal ideas that came to us from the West. An Abraham Lincoln, an Emerson, a Thoureau, or a Whitman, an Eugene O'neil was as dear to us, as was a Pushkin, a Tolstoi, a Turgenev, a Dostoivsky, a Chekov, a Maxim Gorky, a Lenin, and a host of other European thought-leaders and high-priests giving out to the world the message of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

After we had achieved our political freedom, we adopted as much of the Western social and political systems as would help our national development. But we did not keep ourselves confined within the limits of those systems alone. We introduced patterns from our past as well as patterns the people's Democracies had been giving shape to lead man onward to his fulfilment. We had fought with the British Imperialists and Colonialists, tooth and nail, for over half a century; but no sooner were we relieved of the burden of their unjust domination, we found that we had no hatred against the British nation. We felt we could love some of them, some of their ideas, as we could love some of our own leaders and their ideas.

Woodrow Wilson commanded our respect for the League of Nations although his own countymen had disowned it. In Roosevelt we imagined a real people's friend when he had partially adopted the New Economic Plan from the leaves of the history of the Soviet Social system. His Four Freedoms gave us as much encouragement as did give Mao Tse-Tung's noble expression—Let every flower blossom full. The United Nations organisation had been no less important to us than the World Peace Council although we found the former had unjustly kept its doors closed against the People's Republic of China, and had kept tied to its apron-string some of the enemies of the people, and had been encouraging them to preserve certain cinder-pits all over the world which might set ablaze another world-conflagration.

Most of our nation-builders like Tagore, the Mahatma, Sri Aurobinda were in their early days believers in British justice and the British pattern of Democracy. But each of them received a rude shock of disappointment when they engaged themselves in the movement for national freedom. But even then they did not lose faith in democracy. All of them had taught their followers to judge a system by the service it lends to advance the cause of the common man. We have in us that lesson as a legacy. And however unworthy may we be, we find it extremely difficult to disregard any human endeavour, in any quarter, to raise mankind in status and stature. We had read a lot about a new community growth of man in the Soviet lands. We had also read much about a new slavery of

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man under the Dictatorship of the proletariat. We wanted to see things for ourselves and had been anxiously waiting for an opportunity. We had it during the sittings of the World Assembly for Peace held in Helsinki in the last week of June 1955, when ninety-two of us, Indians, from every State of the Union had assembled there.

The Soviet Peace committee invited the entire delegation to visit the Soviet Republics. Sixty-two of us, men and women, speaking different languages belonging to different walks of life, believing in different ideologies, accepted the invitation with enthusiasm and enjoyed the ever-generous and fabulous hospitality of the Soviet Peace Committee which spared no pains, nor money, to show us all we wanted to see. Fraternal assistance from young interpreters of both the sexes, artists, writers, trade union organisers, directors of cultural institutes, ministries for culture, young pioneers, directors and workers of collective farms, hospitals, creches, kindergartens, libraries and universities enabled us to get an X-ray view of the Soviet Republics during our short stay for three weeks only. Luxurious international railway trains, fleet of aeroplanes, automobiles and autobuses were engaged to carry us cross-country from one republic to another. Every moment of our life there, from morning till midnight, we had wholesome feasts for our eyes and brains. No civil enterprise was kept a secret from us. Even experiments on the civil use of atomic energy were not denied to those of our delegates who were initiated to that particular branch of physical science. Iron curtains we found exclusively in opera houses maintained to protect an extension of accidental out-break of fire from the stage to the auditorium. Nowhere else could our sixty-two pairs of eyes discover any existence of them. We saw, we questioned, we learned and we were convinced that a new civilization had dawned over there to assure every individual of employment, shelter, health, education, culture and wisdom to grow greater and greater. From the moment of birth till death every individual member of the society gets the closest attention of the system based on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Work is found for every able-bodied adult, and the disabled are looked after, the sick ones are sent to hospitals, and physically deficient workers in rest-houses when they are off duty. Employment, education, cultural pursuits, amenities of modern life, are denied to none on consideration of birth or the station of life. A shoe-black or a parlour maid or a worker in a collective farm finds ample opportunity to improve his or her status and income by acquiring knowledge and skill while off duty. Several prize-winners for literary and scientific contributions, skilful industrial and agricultural advancements, are found to have come from the workers in the fields and the factories. It shows that although different income-groups do exist, no bar is anywhere raised to limit the progress of any individual to transcend a group by

skillful and useful social service. Not only with a view to increasing productions, but also to promote feelings in favour of community life, farms are collectivised, factories are made massive and apartment houses to shelter several families with community kitchens are being built in ever-increasing numbers. Pioneer camps, Youth Leagues, the Unions, Cultural Palaces, Gymnasia, Swimming Baths, Open Air Theatres, Grand Operas, Outdoor Sports, Collective songs and dances, are all sponsored and conducted to increase individual efficiency as well as to inculcate into every individual the spirit of mutual help and collective progress. Individual attainments are given due recognition; but stress is always laid on endeavours leading to the upliftment of the community as a whole. Relieved from day-to-day worries and anxieties, provided with facilties for unlimited growth, insured against accidental misfortunes, the citizens of the Soviet States find congenial ground and air and light to grow efficient physically and mentally and fulfil the duties they owe to the community and to humanity.

We saw all those and scrutinised, as far as we could, the working of each of the institutions we visited. We felt, each one of us, that we were on a pilgrimage. Never before in the past, I imagine, had any pilgrim found a land where man enjoyed life while he worked and danced and sang while he prepared himself and his fellow workers for a better existence. Looking at Russia and her peoples, both European and Asian, I wondered if a piece of the paradise described in the Puranas had been brought down on the earth by some human endeavours or if this muddy earth said to be the source of human sorrows and sufferings and strifes and discontents were actually passing through a process of transformation into an abode of heavenly peace and bliss for every living soul to enjoy. Needless to mention that the last was the conclusion I had reached.

This amazing transformation is due to an absolute thoroughness in the National Planning. It is a world by itself. Every sector of the social organisation has been brought under its purview to develop the entire community with every provision for individual growth. The interlinking of the plan with the sector is an interesting study. And more interesting is the fact that the administrative machinery has hardly any part to play in the successful working of it. Every sector is being put into proper gear and guided by the workers themselves through their unions. Neither theories emanated from high-brow bureaucrats, nor official red-tapism may disturb its smooth working. The more I saw things for myself, and the more enlightenments I received from private conversations with personalities of diverse walks of life, the more was I inclined to believe that the Russians have been gathering a spiritual force too. Man's superhuman effort to raise mankind to a state of equality and blissful co-existence needs no force. No selfish ambition and

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prosperity, however lofty and bounteous may they have in them any drive to lead man on to the realization that self gets glorified in selflessness, and that the efflorescence of individual self is only effected by the efflorescence of the entire community, the whole of humanhood. This realization yields a force which knows no defeat, the force of the spirit known as spiritualism. It may come to man through religion or without it, but never through sectarian religiosity. It may certainly come through selfless devotion to work for the betterment of the humanity. Ancient Hindus spoke of it.

Russia has freed her people from the evil spell of religiosity. She has uprooted churchianity but has not, I believe, been able to discard spiritualism and the spirit of Christianity. There are churches in Russia and mosques too. There are men and women in Russia who congregate in those places whenever they are inclined to do so. But churchianity and factional irrational religiosity which undermined Christ's religion, fostered corruption, oppression, expropriation, political expansion under the false cry of liberation through religious conversions, above all, fanatic fights to termination between Christ's followers and adherents to churchinity have no place anywhere in People's Democracies any more. But a spiritual edification may be discovered by those who know what spiritualism is. In China, which I visited in 1953, I observed a spiritual force working behind every nation-building scheme. In Czechoslovakia I had the honour to have for one whole day the constant company of the Bishop of the Czechoslovak Progressive Church from 9 a.m. in the morning till 7 p.m. in the evening. I came to learn from him how the Progressive Church in Czechoslovakia has been working to remove the dross in religion and religiosity practised in the past by blind adherents of churchianity. The old church still continue to exist in Czechoslovakia but progressive men and women are increasing the number of believers in Progressive Christianity which, as I could gather, is spiritualism and not formalistic religiosity.

In one of his speeches of Metropolitan Nicholas, member of the Sacred Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, I found what this Progressive Christianity stands for. The Metropolitan had pointed out:

"The Church does not engage in politics, but it cannot remain isolated within the framework of religious life. Its very purpose, the service of man, has always thrust it into the thick of human history. Throughout history, the life of mankind has been a seething ocean of antagonisms. But through the unceasing din of strife, above the roars, above the smoke of conflagrations, the voice of church has summoned men and nations to humanization, has urged them towards brotherly love and peace. The church must do likewise today, for it embodies the religious conscience of mankind. Religions conscience cannot be silent."

We know of 'good Christians' who cry, "We were yet sinners while Christ died for us." Yes, they are sinners yet. But do they repent of their sins? Not at all. We find these very same Christians with the very same cry still on their lips, in their search after profitable markets, raw materials, virgin colonies, and strategic positions, carrying death and destruction and slavery to millions of Christ's brothers. The rise of the Christian Powers in the East and their obstinacy to keep the conquests still in their possession prove that they have not only been sinning still, but have also been glorifying their sins.

The Russians on the other hand, have succeeded to bring into the fraternity of the Soviet Union some of the peoples who were antagonistic to them, who spoke different languages, practised different religions, and carried different traditions. This the Russians accomplished not by sword and fire but by carrying the cross on their own shoulders. They have founded peace within, peace in their neighbouring states, and have devoted themselves to the service of man although they do not swear by Christ. Writes Wang Kuang-wei, Secretary-General of the State Planning Commission, under the caption "A Great Plan" in People's China:

> "This great Five-Year Plan is inseparably bound up with the aid given us by the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, especially the former. The 156 enterprises built with Soviet help are the very heart of the plan. The Soviet Union is lending its aid at every stage of construction, with the surveying and selection of sites, assembling data for design, the design itself, supply of equipment, direction of the work as it proceeds, the installation and starting up, the supply of technical information of new types of product, and actually giving advice on the manufacture itself."

This is the new spirit that has born out of Russian System. It does not take cognizance of the so-called competitive intuition in man. It believes that a prosperous and efficient neighbour is a joy for them who want mankind to march on to victory against all exploitations and dominations. It is said that the People's China has been made a satellite to Russia. Those who say this are undoubtedly purposive. China is a nation of six hundred millions of people. China has proved her strength by successfully resisting many a combined aggression of the Western Powers and of her formidable neighbour Japan. China has a legacy of one of the earliest civilizations of the world. And China has a spirit to move with the times. Russia knows it. And yet she wants to see China stronger and more prosperous. She does not apprehend for a moment that this China may one day use the very materials against her for the expansion of China or for the foundation of a mighty Chinese Empire.

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History does not give us any instance of a nation having strengthened her neighbours, particularly a neighbourly nation of six hundred millions with a potential strength of resistance. On the contrary, we find that political treaties have been always made to keep potential opponents suppressed and weakened. Numerous such treaties may be cited. But we will only refer to the treaty of Vienna after the fall of Napoleon, and the treaty of Westphalia after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, the notorious Versailles Treaty, the recent treaty with Japan to which Russia and India refused to be parties.

There are politicians and propagandists in every non-communist country who propagate that Russia contributes these extra-territorial aids with a view to spreading communism and strengthening her own position. But even then the birth of a new spirit in Russia cannot be ruled out.

Russia must have known from world history that political alliances are as brittle as glass containers are. She has herself many bitter experiences of broken and betrayed alliances. If she has now come to believe that an alliance through communism is bound to resist all selfish desires in man and his lust for conquest, then it cannot but be admitted that on seeing her own image reflected on the mirror of communism she has been assured that communists will never fight communists. Communism, she has come to know, does not grow in greed for land and lust for conquests, but in community welfare and service to the humanity.

I am not sure if I had ever happened to meet in the Soviet Republics and in Czechoslovakia any person who was nothing but a communist. But I am sure from the talks I had with writers, artists, teachers, directors of cultural institutes, directors of collective farms, farm-workers and dwellers in villages, that they had been warmed up by a spirit that inspired them to found fraternal relationships with the people of different lands irrespective of political ideologies. The recent Bulganin-Nehru joint statement in support of the Chou-Nehru five principles was only possible because the people of Russia came to believe, like the people of India and China, that on the basis of these five principles of peaceful co-existence a better world could be built up. Because these three Prime Ministers of the world's three largest Republics had the wisdom to catch the spirit of their people and had the fairness to reflect the wishes born of that spirit, their principles were acclaimed with enthusiasm by more than a thousand millions of people.

Russia's love for Peace, her political move and her cultural pursuit in favour of world peace and peaceful co-existence of nations with different systems, have made her dear to all peace-loving people of the world including many who do not admire her social system based on communism and even some of those who hate to see further spread of the system of Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The world today thinks more of War and Peace than of political and social systems of nations.

It would be grossly unfair not to mention that the possibility of co-existence of nations was given a serious thought by Lenin himself before anybody else had conceived of it. The good Christian Powers of those days scoffed the idea off and raised an alarm warning their lambs to be on alert against what they took to be a camouflage to keep the communist lion in hiding till it finds its time to fall on its little preys. If the powers had not imagined a lion in every bush and had boldly come forward to give the proposition a feasible shape, the world would have been today much nearer to peace and prosperity. Sadder though, the world has been wiser now. The success of socialism has led some of the good Christians to regain Christianity by bidding good-bye to irrational religiosity. They have discovered the precious heritage that Christ had left in the coffer of Christianity—the belief in man's goodness and man's fulfilment through service to man. To this belief the Russians have infused the new spirit of one for all and all for each one. This is what we Indians call spiritual vision. The Russians have given this vision a material shape, a social system that works to guide man to attain fulfilment. This is the spirit which I found imbued every man and woman I had opportunities to talk to during our stay in the Soviet Republics and also in Czechoslovakia. This is the spirit that has extended beyond the political boundaries of the Soviet Union to other lands and to other peoples far and near, to raise a hope that some day as Chekhov had beautifully put:

> "In two or three hundred years' time life on this earth will be unimaginably beautiful and wonderful. Mankind needs such a life, and if it is not ours today then we must look ahead for it, wait, think, prepare for it. We must know more than our fathers and grandfathers saw and knew."

The land of Chekhov's birth has already been unimaginably beautiful and wonderful in much shorter space of time than Chekhov himself imagined. And now many a Masha all over the world who thought that they knew too much about this world and human people are of the opinion that they must know more than their fathers and grandfathers saw and knew. These Mashas are anxious to find life unimaginably beautiful and wonderful as the Russians have found. I had experienced it out at Helsinki before I visited the Soviet Republics. I would like to tell of it in retrospect before I pick up the thread of my thoughts on Russia.

HELSINKI

Our pilgrimage on to Russia was preceded by an immersion in the holy streams of human thought confluenced at Helsinki in the last week of June, 1956

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was a rare occasion of meeting in an Assembly sentatives of the peoples of sixty-eight countries the world numbering altogether one thousand six hed and forty delegates, one hundred and nine vers, and ninety-two guests. The gathering was ly a cross-section of the world-population. Every ession, pursuit and interest, was represented in it. ssified list issued by the Assembly Secretariat s that peasants, technicians and engineers, business- lawyers and jurists, artists, actors and film-workers, ers, scientists and doctors, poets and writers, ists, journalists, office workers and trade unionists, also two hundred and seventy-two persons pursuing er other occupations attended as delegates. Seventy- religious figures of various denominations and one red and forty-six members of parliaments from ent countries also participated. Never before any assembly had gathered together such a vast rse of persons and personalities of so many s of opinion and social occupation.

The Helsinki Assembly for Peace was no govern- l venture. It was a people's affair all through. delegates had to find for themselves money needed their travels bothways and their stay in Helsinki re than a week. Sixty-eight countries could find participants willing to stand the cost which by no means negligible. It may be said without g contradiction that the majority came from e and lower income-groups. India was represented ty-two persons of both the sexes. And I have ubt that at least eighty of them had to face erable difficulty to collect such money as was the e minimum. And yet they looked extremely y every one of them.

The Assembly Hall and its lobby presented the e of a multicoloured floating garden of human- s in full blossom. Every face had a sweet smile every one else, every eye had a glow of faith in al relationship between man and man, and every had a note of promise for mutual aid. It was a sight for the gods above and the warlords to see how wonderfully the people of the world come closer to one another in their endeavour to their own destiny.

They did not come there as rulers, legislators, istrators, diplomats and pedagogues although a large number of them belonged to the very same ies in their respective countries. But at the ly they considered themselves as commoners, sat discussed with those who were proud to be called commoners and worked hard day and night for a to reach the greatest common measure of agree- to give the world such a shape that man might enjoy the famous Four Freedoms which was once d only to be buried later under the radio-active and ashes. Nothing else, whatsoever, did they to establish; least of all communism.

Of course, there were many communist among the delegates. But non-communists were no less conspicuous by their numbers. Neither were they gagged or terrorised into silence who spoke against the communist way of life. Every delegation was given the utmost liberty to tell the Assembly what it considered to be the best method of mobilising public opinion against war, and to suggest how best problems leadng to war might be resolved. The Assembly sitting at ten plenary sessions listened to the speeches and splitted itself into seven commissions to discuss the world-problems and to reach concrete resolutions. Commissions relating to technical and scientific matters were again splitted into sub-commissions to facilitate thorough discussions.

The commissions discussed (1) Disarmament and Atomic Weapons; (2) Military Blocks and Social Problems; (3) National Sovereignty and Peace; (4) Economic and Social Problems; (5) Cultural Exchanges; (6) Education and Youth; (7) Co-operation and Action of the Peace Forces. These who attended the meetings of these commissions would attest how lively the discussions were, and how sincerely was every contradiction made a moot point and discussed threadbare. Difference in opinions were at times found to be so deep and wide that it was apprehended that no agreed resolution was likely to emerge out. But not a commission broke up in disagreement. Repeated sittings and resumed discussions brought participants closer to one another, hearts leapt out to meet hearts, and agreements could no longer escape attainment.

In the plenery session the speeches of the outstanding personalities of the world were listened to with as much attention as were the speeches of persons having no world-wide fame. The Assembly was more eager to find 'what' was said than 'who it was' that said. It does not mean that personalities were not given the respect they deserved; it means that the lesser personalities and less known people were given equal respect and attention. Not unoften the Assembly rose to its feet to great speakers who were not previously known to it as it rose on its feet to applaud the speeches of its Chairman, Professor Frederic Joliot Currie, Vice-President Knol Mojo, Mr. Ilya Ehrenburg and other world-figures.

It is not possible to discuss the most excellent speeches in this space. But an attempt must be made to show how candid were most of them. In closing his address Prof. Joliot Currie said:

> "As was made clear in the course of the preparations, it is for the World Assembly itself to fix the themes for discussion and its procedure. We shall have to put forward with complete faith and in all sincerety our points of view on these problems with the prime concern of seeking effective solutions acceptable to all in spite of everything which may create difference between us elsewhere. We shall find solutions which

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will unite us and which, tomorrow, will bring to a more articulate and better-informed public opinion, the strength needed to overcome the obstacles and impose the ways of peace."

I have chosen the above lines to show the spirit with which the Assembly was sponsored. Now I will put below a few lines which will prove how frankly opinions were expressed. An observer from the Church Peace Mission, Toronto, Rev. D. C. Candy spoke:

"The most urgent commission in my mind and I am sure in the minds of most Canadians just to what extent is the World Peace Council linked up with the Communist Movement. Countless numbers in Canada take it for granted that it is a political arms of communism and therefore keep away from it. A further question, however, ignores this first one and recognises that whether the World Peace Council is dictated to by Moscow or not it is heavily weighed by communists. Perhaps we will not disagree on this point. Perhaps there will be honest regret that this is so. Nevertheless it does pose difficulties for the non-communist which the communist must recognise and in facing which he must be tolerant and charitable. There are many Christians who seem to be able to accept communism without compromising their Christian faith. But there are many who find thty cannot . . . ."

Rev. Candy closed his speech by some suggestions which he believed all his listeners would be able to accept. They were: (1) Cut out hate propaganda. (ii) We must seek out the good to commend and not pinpoint the evil to condemn. (iii) We could all do with a little dose of humility and self-criticism.

Queen's Counsel from Great Britain, Mr. D. N. Pritt, said:

"In the light of the legal position which I have thus stated, I must stigmatise as wholly unlawful three recent policy decisions of certain powers, *viz.*, (a) To equip the forces of the N.A.T.O. with nuclear weapons, and that, too, on a scale which amounts organising them to wage war primarily with nuclear weapons, (b) to equip the forces of a re-armed Western Germany, with the rest of the N.A.T.O. with nuclear weapons, and, most serious of all, (c) to use nuclear weapons, not merely by way of reprisal after other belligerents will have resorted to their use, but from the start of the army war, without waiting to see what any other combatant might do the very decision to use those weapons, and the preparation to implement the decision, may well of themselves amount, moreover, to a 'crime against peace' under the Nurenberg charter."

Bertrand Russel in his message expressed his hope for a fruitful outcome of the deliberations of the Assembly. He proposed some measures to avoid atomic war which he apprehended would lead to the annihilation of the human race. Wrote he:

"It follows that the only possibilities before mankind are: peace by agreement or the peace of universal death. The first step should be a statement by a small number of men of the highest eminence as to be expected from nuclear war. This statement would undoubtedly make clear that a nuclear war would not bring victory to either side and would not create the sort of world desired by communists or the sort of world desired by their opponents or the sort of world that uncommitted nations desire."

Bertrand Russel had doubts and hopes. His message was discussed at length in the commissions as well as in the plenary sessions by a number of competent critics. M. Jean-Paul Sartre said:

"We all heard with joy the message which Bertrand Russel so kindly sent to the Congress, and we have all been appreciative of the valuable suggestion it makes. If, however, I allow myself to criticise it, it is because Bertrand Russel has come to a stop somewhere between London and Helsinki, and that his message enables us to realize how much more meaningful is the simple fact of being here, in Finland, than the letter of a great philosopher. It seems to me indeed that Bertrand Russel takes into consideration only the elite of specialists, known as scientists, and that other political elite known as members of governments . . . . on the contrary, all the groups who have sent delegates to Helsinki have stressed one essential aspect of the Peace which we are trying to create, it is a Peace desired by the people. Not in the first instance by elites, but foremost by the masses."

In his wonderflly brillant speech Ilya Ehrenburg more pointedly discussed:

"There are two groups of powers in the world today. It is not my intention to weigh them in the balance. It is clear to everyone that these two groups represent two forces. Neither of them has been vanquished, and to use the language of imagined victors means to strive not for negotiations but the abandoning of negotiations . . . . some political leaders assert that a Western military alliance is inevitable because 'Communists are convinced of the final victory of Communism.' This assertion is repeated so often that it is worth answering. We Soviet people believe that the future belongs to a society where there is no longer private ownership of the means of production. This belief is based on our understanding of the laws of development of society. Does this mean that our world outlook threatens any state? When I was in America I often heard from fairly responsible people that the future belonged to private enterprise, and this did not seem a threat either to me or to my fellow-countrymen.

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When we speak of the danger of war we point to the network of military bases, to the accumulation of arms, to attempts at interference in the affairs of sovereign states, but not to the philosophy of capitalism."

The above excerpts illustrate how frank and candid were the participants and how the problems were reviewed from all possible angles. Differences in opinion were bridged and concrete proposals on every problem were possible to be formulated. All the resolutions were accepted by the Assembly with enthusiasm and were crystallized into what is now known as the Helsinki Appeal. The modesty, the serenity, the universality of the Apeal have made it a profound statement of the people's will to win peace. It was unanimously accepted by the Assembly; only one delegate abstained from voting, either for or against.

My language fails to describe the mass-drama that was spontaneously enacted immediately on the announcement of the verdict of the ballot. Delegates, observers, visitors, workers, members of the presidium, two thousand men and women representing sixty-eight nations stood upon their feet and raised in one voice a mighty cheer that must have reached the heavens carrying the message of man's resurrection. Cheers followed cheers and thunderous claps. All on a sudden the entire throng of men and women, old and young, white and coloured, communists and non-communists, formed themselves into a human train and started moving around the seats shouting and dancing. Some did cry, some did laugh, and some did laugh and cry at the same breath. For about half an hour continued this unbridled expression of extreme exuberence.

But what was the jubilation for? Had they won a war? No, they thought they had achieved a greater victory than that; they have discovered how peace may be won and preserved. How so? The Helsinki Appeal states:

"The World Assembly for Peace has established with certainity that, in spite of deep differences, in spite of diversity of opinion agreement can be reached on important points and many problems can be solved immediately through negotiation."

Participants to the Assembly have discovered how to agree, when to agree, and on what to agree. They asked themselves when they had found a method to resolve their differences, why the powers should not? The Helsinki Appeal elaborates:

"The work of peace can at last be done if forces, whose aims are similar particularly peace movements and big political organisations of Christian or Socialist tendencies, unite their efforts to dispel mistrust and win peace. Step by step, the contradictions in the world can be resolved and the hopes of all people fulfilled."

The agreement the delegates were able to arrive at was no casual conciliation. It was, indeed, the discovery of an arsenal in man from which peace-weapons could be inexhaustibly drawn by man. A week's honest searching of hearts and sustaining patience to conciliate contradictory claims had led the delegates to its discovery. That was the reason why all those delegates, politicians and parliamentarians, scientists and teachers, professors and prelates, workers and peasants, fathers, sons, brothers, mothers, daughters, sisters, husbands and wives, coming from all nationalities, felt the thrill of joy unbound when they came to know that they were, irrespective of their many differences, united on the issue of Peace, a peace for all times to come, a peace that will make this world unimaginably beautiful and bountiful. This faith in peaceful efflorescence of mankind is a new spiritual realization. And although the delegates to the Helsinki Assembly for Peace realized it by discussion and negotiation, it aroused in them a spirit similar to what I have described as the spirit of New Russia, the spirit I found manifest in all the endeavours of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

(To be continued)

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BOOKS FOR TEACHING BENGALI TO NON-BENGALIS

By Prof. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

Generally we in India do not take sufficient interest in disseminating the knowledge of the provincial languages and literatures outside the provinces in which they are normally known and understood by the people at large who speak them as their mother-tongues. It is, therefore, rather difficult for a person of one province to learn the language of another province, as help-books, and really good ones, are rare except for Hindi, for which books usually meant for beginners only, have been written in different languages of India, since its recognition as the national language. Under these circumstances, we extend our hearty welcome to the few attempts made to render the language of Bengal intelligible to non-Bengali people. Of books compiled in this connection special mention needs be made of two in Hindi by Sri Gopalchandra Chakravarti Shastri who had already made his name through his books in Bengali for helping people of Bengal in learning Hindi. It is to be noted that his books in Hindi for helping Hindi-speaking people in learning Bengali have also earned well-deserved popularity having run through several editions. *Saral Bangla Siksha*[1] which is in its fourth edition gives in five parts an elaborate account of the Bengali language. Part I gives specimens of Bengali expressions with corresponding Hindi versions arranged in accordance with different grammatical topics. Part II is a collection of important Bengali words with Hindi equivalents classified into various sections. Part III explains the grammatical structure of the language. Part IV deals with the peculiarities of the colloquial form of the language. The last part contains examples of idiomatic expressions, proverbs and a selected vocabulary. *Bangla Pahli Pustak*[2] of which we have the eighth edition is an elementary work[3] which in 25 lessons collects illustrative examples of various modes of expressions with an indication of their pronunciation in the Hindi script and their translation in Hindi. We have reference to another Hindi book on the subject by Sri Bidhubhusan Das Gupta who has contributed a book in English entitled *Learn Bengali*. The latter[4] has 20 lessons including one giving specimens of Bengali prose and poetry selected from the writings of standard authors and another on letter-writing. There are two appendices containing lists of commonly used Bengali words and renowned books in Bengali. The grammar portion is occasionally defective and the transliteration of Bengali words into the Roman script is dearly faulty apparently without any system. Though not quite up to the mark it will yet be of some help to beginners.

Somewhat better, though not entirely free from defects of the type mentioned above, is the *Bengali for Foreigners*[5] by Mrs. S. Nandy who has practical experience of teaching the language to non-Bengali students. She begins her lessons with texts on the basis of which the characteristics of the language are explained. There are several lessons on the letters of the alphabet and their combinations in different words. There is sufficient reading matter including a few selected portions from the writings of Rabindranath and Abanindranath either with full Bengali translation or with translations of important words and expressions. Mention may be made in this connection of the Bengali *Self-Taught* written years back on a scientific basis by Dr. S. K. Chatterji and published in Marlborough's Self-Taught Series (London, 1927).

We must in this connection put on record the valuable work being done by the Nikhil Bharatiya Bangabhashaprasarini Sabha in making Bengali popular among the people of different provinces as well as foreigners. It has centres in various parts of the country where regular classes are held and lessons given on the Bengali language. It also intends to publish books for the purpose. It has already brought out a Bengali-Nepali Primer. Another infant institution with wider objectives is the Bharatiya Bhashasamgama of Banaras which aims at providing facilities for the teaching of all Indian languages and creating a common platform for people speaking different languages. More organised attempts are required to be made on a larger scale for the propagation of the languages and literatures of the country and solution of many attending problems including the one of scripts. The question of the possibility of evolving a common script will naturally arise and the feasibility of the alternate use of the Devanagari or Roman script along with the local scripts will demand sympathetic consideration in view of the extensive popularity of the former.

1. Svayambhati Pustakalaya, 11, Sadananda Bazar, Banaras. Price Rs. 2.
2. Svayambhati Pustakalaya, 11, Sadananda Bazar, Banaras, Price 12 annas.
3. This, I understand, is followed by *Bangla Dusri Pustak*.
4. Das Gupta Prakasan, 3, Ramanath Majumdar Street, Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 1-14.
5. Popular Library, 15-B, Lake Road, Calcutta-29. Price Rs. 2-4.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INDIAN INHERITANCE, Vol. II, Arts, History Culture: *Bhavan's Book University. Bharatiya Bhavan, Bombay. 1956. Pp. 256. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is the second volume of the series published the above title, of which the other two volumes been noticed by us in previous issues of the *Review*. The present work is a collection of tracts selected from the writings of sixteen s, Indian and foreign, on certain aspects of culture. They have been arranged under two namely, (1) 'Arts' and (2) 'Culture and y'. Among papers presenting illuminating studies their respective subjects may be mentioned those the titles *Indian Dance: The Background* mini Devi), *Art and Architecture* and *Indian* (E. B. Havell), *The Fundamental Unity of* (Radha Kumud Mookerji), *The Continuity of Culture* (Jawaharlal Nehru), *Hindu Renaissance dle Ages* (K. M. Panikkar), and above all, *The of Indian Religion* (Sri Aurobindo). The other which are mostly of an informative character *Indian Music* (Rev. H. A. Popley), *Indian Theory and Practice* (A. K. Majumdar), *The ate of Delhi* and *The Mughal Empire* (Baini d), and lastly, *India and the World* and *Indian in the Far East* (R. C. Majumdar). One in this list such outstanding contributions as Rabindranath Tagore on the significance of history as a continuous record of the mingling ferent races and cultures and that of Sri Auro- on the strengthening or weakening of India's spirit as the key to the rise and decline of isation. Instances of contradictions are not as *e.g.*, the dates c. 1st century A.D. and 3rd A.D. for Bharata's *Natyashastra* (pp. 22, 34), the antiquated dating of the Buddhist monu- (p. 42f) remains uncorrected. These defects have been avoided by the selection of an editor volume. The division of the work under the ds 'Arts' and 'Culture and History' is not criticism, since all the papers included under heading belong to Fine Art, while the latter is sufficiently comprehensive to have formed of the whole volume. On p. 243 last line Law Memorial Volume' is an unfortunate slip. whole, the book gives much useful information our culture for a remarkably cheap price.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE STORY OF THE INTEGRATION OF INDIAN STATES: *By V. P. Menon. Orient Ltd., 17, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta-13. Price Rs. 25.*

This is a timely publication. The Indian States as a solid rock against the solution of our problems, political and otherwise. After the transfer of power in August, 1947, the problem remained as such, and needed immediate disposal. It was due to the stern determination of Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel, the first Home Minister of Free India that the problem was solved within two years after the attainment of independence. This thrilling story is told in this book by one who was in the thick of the struggle, he was also a righthand man of the leader in this matter. It has, therefore, an additional value of the record of personal experience too. The book has been divided into twenty-six chapters with a few appendices, illustrations, cartoons and maps, namely, 1. Setting the Stage, 2. Spokes in the Wheel, 3. The Parting Gift, 4. Prelude to Chaos, 5. Stopping the Gap, 6. Junagadh, 7. The Orissa and Chattisgarh States, 8. Saurashtra, 9. The Deccan and Gujarat States, 10. Vindhya Pradesh, 11. Madhya Bharat, 12. Patiala and East Punjab States Union, 13. Rajasthan, 14. Travancore-Cochin, 15. Mysore, 16. A Miscellany of States, 17. Hyderabad I, 18. Hyderabad II, 19. Hyderabad III, 20. Jammu and Kashmir State, 21 Baroda, 22. I Administrative Consolidation, II Incorporation of the States' Forces into the Indian Army, 23. Financial Integration, 24. Organic Unification, 25. The Cost of Integration and 26. Retrospect and Prospect.

Captions of these chapters are suggestive and tempting. The story has been narrated here objectively. The author gives a short description of the narrative chapter-wise, which will tell us at once the subjects discussed. According to him:

"The first four chapters provide the background to the problem of the Indian States. There I have described how the British built up the framework of princely India. I trace the events right up to the announcement of the June 3rd plan declaring the lapse of paramountcy, whereby the Indian States comprising two-fifths of the country would return to a state of political isolation. Chapter V describes how this was circumvented by the accession of the States on three subjects. The next chapter deals with Junagadh State which had acceded to Pakistan. The ten subsequent chapters deal with the consolidation of the States on a regional basis. Hyderabad, which had remained aloof, has been dealt with at length in three chapters. Kashmir follows and the Baroda interlude comes next. Then four chapters are devoted to a survey of the administrative, financial and constitutional changes and to the cost of integration. In the last chapter, entitled 'Retrospect and Prospect', I have summed up the policy of integration and expressed my personal views on some aspects of the problem."

We commend the book to our readers.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

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PANCHAYAT RAJ IN INDIA (A comparative study): *By Ratan Lal Khanna, B.A. (Hons.), M.A., Dip. in Journalism. Published by the English Book Shop, Chandigarh. 1956. Pp. 282. Price Rs. 5-8.*

The book is an exhaustive study of Panchayat administration in India. The author has lucidly discussed all aspects of Village Panchayats: their foundation, aims, organs, functions, staff, finance, relationship with other local authorities and the State Government. A critical and constructive mind has been brought to bear upon a description and analytical survey. Appendices rich in factual material and comparative data and stimulating passages quoted from learned authorities on Government have added immensely to the usefulness of the monograph. The writer ends on a note of enlightened optimism which many will appreciate. "The nascent Panchayat Raj," concludes he, "bids fair to become the school of democracy and recapture the glory of village republics in Ancient India. Only we must pursue the objectives of Panchayat Raj with a steady stride, realistic outlook and in a creative spirit of community so that each to-morrow takes us farther than today."

Village Panchayats are now in the limelight. Almost all the States have enacted legislation for setting up Village Panchayats. The West Bengal Panchayat Bill is on the way to become an Act. To quote the Taxation Enquiry Commission, "The momentum gathered by the movement for establishment of new Panchayats is one of the most significant developments of recent years." A knowledge of Village Panchayats seems thus to be an essential equipment of creative citizenship in New India. Against this background the utility of Sri Khanna's treatise is to be assessed. It will serve as a valuable book of reference to those who are interested in perhaps the most vital branch of public administration in our country. We notice errors in printing here and there. These should not steal into the second edition.

NIRMAL KANTI MAJUMDAR

ON PATHS OF LIFE: *By Puran Singh. With a foreword of Sri M. S. Randhawa. Published by Uttar Chand Kapur & Sons, Delhi. Pp. 156. Price not mentioned.*

Sri Puran Singh was a distinguished literary luminary of the modern Punjab and the well-known author of several thoughtful volumes, such as, *Sisters of the Spinning Wheel, Spirit of Oriental Poetry, Life of Swami Ramatirtha*, etc. Born in a Pathan village of a Frontier district in 1881 A.D., he succumbed to tuberculosis in March 1931 at a premature age of hardly fifty years. He spent some years in Japan from 1900-1903 as a student of technology and there met Okakura, Swami Ramatirtha and Miss McLeod, an American disciple of Swami Vivekananda among others. Out and out he remained a poet, though he carved the career of a scientist for about three decades.

The book under review is the autobiography of the author completed and prefaced in 1927 about four years before his death. It was left unpublished till 1953, when his son S. Madan Mohan Singh handed it over to Sri Randhawa, the writer of the foreword, who arranged for its publication in November of 1954. The entire autobiography written in a poetic language is throughout readable and interesting. The Japanese reminiscences, however, occupy a very large portion of the book, which is nicely printed and got-up. A long index and the informative foreword have definitely increased the worth and importance of the book. A portrait, a list of works and a life-sketch of Puran Singh are badly wanting in the book.

There is no doubt that Puran Singh occupies an important place in the band of those composers of modern India, who have written poems in English, still our *de facto lingua franca*. Puran Singh shines as a bright star in the literary firmament of Modern India not only as a poet but also as a translator and biographer. His biography of Swami Ramtirtha, the great monk of New India, is perhaps the only one of its kind. His rendering of Jaidev's *Geeta-Gobinda* is quite original. He is in his best elements when he describes the divine amours of the Gopis and Sri Krishna, "Whose body is the colour of the purple cloud, adorned with the rainbow in the sky, whose tresses are embellished with peacock feathers that ripple with a hundred crescents."

Puran Singh returned home from Japan as a shaven-headed monk and continued so till marriage. He was by birth a Sikh and believed till death in a formless Father as testified in his words, "I am with my Father. I sleep and wake in him. He encompasses me when I stumble. Wonder! Oh wonder! I fall in his lap."

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

FRENCH

L'OPIUM DES INTELLECTUELS BY RAYMOND ARON: *Calmann-Levy, Editeurs. Paris. October 1955. Pp. 334. Price 750 frs.*

"British education less ideological than French, less optimistic than American does not estrange the intellectual to the same extent. It forms habits rather than builds up doctrines; it produces the desire to imitate practices rather than reproduce dialectic. The admirer of Great Britain would wish that the Parliament of New Delhi resembles that of Westminster; do not believe that a single intellectual in Indo-China or Morocco would dream of adopting an Assembly like that of the Palais-Bourbon." So says Monsieur Aron, a leading French writer who has to his credit numerous books and essays on the philosophy of history and on political ideas, some of which have been translated into English.

There is in France a long tradition of intellectualism which the ferment of ideas contributing to it springing from the French Revolution invigorated still further. In France to-day the intellectuals enjoy an influential position as nowhere else. Much of the leadership of France fell to the intelligentsia as a direct consequence of the disruption of the Ancien Regime and the emasculation of the Church. The respect for the individual, fervently fostered since the French Revolution provided a starting point for many cults advocating far-reaching social changes. Yet in France, the condition of the ordinary people is less satisfactory than in Britain and the United States of America where social and economic changes have been brought about by practical reforms rather than by ideologies.

Who are the intellectuals in France? According to Monsieur Aron they are those whose "principal profession is writing, teaching, preaching, acting or practising arts and letters"—they have the common characteristic of reflecting on their existence—they are responsible in many cases for transforming opinions and interests into theories; they are by habit inclined to be critical and disposed to challenge reality with ideas. They show a distaste for the servitude imposed by

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...ial civilisation (in this, the influence of Rous-
...may be seen at work), the brutalization of
...relations and the vulgarization of culture. The
...ists among the Existentialists go so far as to
...life and history. On the other hand, many
...are obsessed by the notion of the mission of
...masses. The intellectuals have no difficulty in
...the more profound of their theories with
...help of the brilliant apparatus of thought which
...has left to posterity, in the writings of
...from Plato to Rousseau, from Hegel to
...Marx. The march of material progress has
...a spiritual vacuum which man may not
...except at his peril.

The intellectual leadership relying as it does on a
...from reality would have been discredited long
...but for the fact that the inspiration which gives
...elan vital is never far from faith. The search
...millenium provides the essential urge and like
...ideals which are never lacking in attraction for
...and in firing their imagination the search is
...renewing. Here is the opium.

With the technical knowledge at its command
...ment of conditions is a duty which humanity
...to itself. "The cult of the Revolution, the pre-
...for sublime abstraction, the taste for ideology
...the indifference towards intractable realities which
...the fate of communities are contagious
...our culture excites the impatience which
...from the contrast between that which is and
...which should be, between the upsurge of ambi-
...and the conservatism of custom; it is prepared
...to submit to a strict discipline in the name of
...liberty." Nevertheless, if amelioration of the
...of the masses is the objective, the successful
...of Scandinavia, Britain and other countries
...provide more fruitful guidance. Ideas have an
...quality and in preoccupation with them
...lies in the means becoming mistaken for
...The advice that Monsieur Aron gives is
...it is better to be sceptical than fanatical; if
...comes from doubt let us elect doubt.

The author has given an excellent analysis of the
...of history and readers will be grateful for
...of ideas. The book is written by an
...for intellectuals but even to the ordinary
...it provides a monumental aid to straight
...

MARGARET BASU

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

THE PATANJALA YOGASUTRA (with the ...ary of Vyasa): *Translated from Sanskrit into ... by Bengali Baba. Published by Sham Sundar ...aj Puri, B.A., LL.B. Shree Maharaja Steel Mills. ... Kapurthala. Price Rs. 5.*

Here is a volume containing the Sanskrit text of *Yogasutras* and the *Vyasabhasya* together with an ...lish translation of both followed by exegetical ...by the learned translator who is a practical *yogi* ...self. Hence, it contains something more than is ...ted from a similar work by an ordinary scholar. ...unately the reader is embarrased by the ...ous misprints which have been sought to be ...ted in a long errata. Nevertheless this is a wel-... edition to the Yoga literature.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

BENGALI

RAMKAMAL SEN. KRISHNAMOHAN BANDO-...DHYA (Sahitya Sadhak Charitamala Series 72): *...Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Published by the Bangiya ...Sahitya Parisad. Price Re. 1.*

The book under review is a neat presentation of the lives and works of two eminent sons of Bengal of the last century. Their life-history has been narrated against a vast canvas—the canvas that presents Bengal's economic, political and cultural distress and her aspirations. The resurgent force of Hinduism reared its head once again under the impact of Christianity. Reform was the order of the day. The illiterate had to be educated, the poor fed, the distressed helped and the homeless rehabilitated. That was the urgent task of all sections of the enlightened gentry. Ramkamal and Krishnamohan took upon themselves this great task of reconstruction of their contemporary society. A devout Hindu, as Ramkamal was, did his very best not only to alleviate the distress of his brothers in faith but the suffering people of all communities. A devout Christian, as Krishnamohan was, was no less eager and enthusiastic to help to build the contemporary society with all the resources at his command, both financial and intellectual. Sri Bagal, the author of the book, is successful in his mission to portray the life-story of these two worthy sons of Bengal and to present them in a style and manner of abiding interest to the Bengali-reading public. We must know of the resurgent Bengal, her renaissance in the last century. The book would go a long way in helping us appreciate the great work done by our ancestors in bringing about this renaissance.

Both Ramkbamal and Krishnamohan laboured hard for the improvement of their mother-tongue—Bengali. They wrote Bengali books on different subjects for the enlightenment of their countrymen. The author has aptly given especial emphasis on this aspect of their work in two separate chapters. Accurate information regarding their Bengali works will be of much use to those scholars who are engaged in research work in different aspects of the Bengali literature of the nineteenth century.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

HINDI

US PAR KE PAROSI: *By Kaka Kalelkar. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-9. Pp. 311. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This is a Hindi translation by Shri Ramanarain Chaudhury of the author's *Travel-Diary* in Gujarati, of the visit he paid sometime back to East Africa where for decades our fellow-countrymen have settled down. He brought to them something of the vision, wisdom and wonder that is India, while to the people of his own country they have sent through him, something of their perpetual wistfulness for the Mother, their problems, their pattern of living, overshadowed, on the one hand, by the beauty and grandeur of Nature and on the other, by the life and culture of the sons of the soil. Kaka Sahib, through his inborn love for the spacious and the sublime, wherever these are discovered, has, however, built a bridge between the two. For, he is a welcome fellow-traveller everywhere.

G. M.

GUJARATI

YOGADIPAK *i.e.*, YOGASAMADHI: *By Shriman Buddhi Sagar Sureshwarji. Published by Shri Adhyatma Jnan Prasarak Mandal, Bombay. Printed at the Mahodaya Press, Bhavnagar. 1950. Cloth bound. Illustrated jacket. Illustrated Second Edition. Pp. 447. Price Rs. 3.*

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The author is a very well-known Jaina, Sureshwar, who from being born as a peasant, by sheer intelligence, close study and application to Letters and Philosophy rose to a high level of scholarship and authorship. He has published 108 volumes all bearing on Jaina life and philosophy.. The book under notice is a valuable guide to *yoga samadhi*. He has, in Sanskrit verse and its translation into Gujarati, pointed out in great detail how *yoga* is to be practised and attained. He can do it so ably because of first-hand knowledge and practice. It is an admirable text-book on the subject.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

See India—Guide to Agra: Illustrated cover. Printed on ivory finish paper. Illustrated with fine photos, with a map, and full of information of everything about Agra. Pp. 36. Price As. 8.

See India—Guide to Orissa: Same as the first. Pp. 44. As. 8.

Kashmir—Guide to Kashmir: Illustrated cover and illustrated with excellent photographs, some covering full pages. Brief description about places and sights worth seeing and full of information and detailed accounts about the Tourist Paradise—Kashmir. Pp. 52. Price Re. 1.

Indian Air Force: Intended for Careers for Officers and Airmen. It tells in brief about The National Defence Academy, Air Force College, Ground-duties branches: non-technical and technical, Ground Training School, and the Trades for Airmen to learn. Illustrated. Pp. 59. Price Re. 1.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Whither Modern Humanity ?

K. S. Ramaswami Sastri writes in *The Aryan* a suggestive essay on the dilemma of our ation and its remedy :

ver since Bacon held before the eyes of the the supreme importance of the method of science, doubt, enquiry, observation, experiment, hypothesis ation and test, science came to occupy the foremost in the thoughts of men. The West has progressed all expectations in the pursuit of science, ly in the realm of the physical sciences. s inventions of high value and utility followed wake of man's increasing mastery of science: ilway, the steamship, the telegraph, the telephone, tomobile, the aeroplane, the jet plane, the gramo- the radio and television—to name but a few of eful achievements which have exalted the glory ence. But gun powder, the explosive bomb, the , the atom bomb, the cobalt bomb, the hydro- mb, etc., show how science can also destroy man. ese last inventions were possible because science ped philosophy and religion. Philosophy broke from religion, and science in its turn broke away both. Western philosophy became entangled in agmire of barren conjecture and speculation. n, deprived of its alliance with philosophy, untenable sectarian dogma and degenerated into creed which appealed less and less to the pro- intellect of man. Science became contemptuous fiant in its attitude towards philosophy and and led humanity by invisible steps to rank alism. Mind was held to be a product of matter soul was held to be a mere assumption and esis. Philosophy retorted by saying that matter mere mental concept and nothing more. Religion wildered and became prone to repeat mere creedal se and deny the causal nexus altogether.

ut recent science has smashed the atom. It has that there are breaks in the law of scientific nism.

e thus see that the modern age is one of vast sion because of the discord among science, philo- and religion. Einstein once said that the malady dern thought was due to science having outstripped and philosophy. Hs said also:

"Religion without science is blind; and science with- religion is lame . . . . The most beautiful emotion an experience is the mystical. He to whom this ion is a stranger and who can no longer wonder stand in awe is as good as dead."

He said further that the world is in need of ists who recognize mysticism as the source of all art and science, and also of religious leaders who face with open eyes the results of science. We not halt science but we must quicken philosophy, and religion.

Science means knowledge. Knowledge is a mental ... The soul whose instrument is a mind ... What right have we to split science into sciences and set them one against another? And yet the modern man has done this and has split knowledge into warring camps and thus done himself incalculable harm. Today the physical sciences, the social sciences and the spiritual sciences go their diverse ways and even attack one another.

In ancient times religion dominated society and the physical sciences were in an undeveloped state. In mediaeval times the social sciences grew up to some extent but the physical sciences had not made much progress. But in modern times the physical sciences have made astonishing progress and are dominant. The social sciences are stagnant, Religion has definitely retreated.

Now that the physical sciences have armed man with terribly destructive nuclear weapons, it behoves man to develop the social and the spiritual sciences to a greater extent. No bombs can harm humanity if man does not throw them at his brother man. Social institutions must control primitive urges. But the social sciences will save humanity only if they heed the voice of religion upon the real nature and destiny of man. Only then can distintegrated "sciences" be re-integrated, harmonized and unified as that Science which can save humanity.

Religion should no longer be disfigured with ecclesiastical promises of heaven and threats of hell. We need a new vision of the Immanence and Transcendence of God and of the Divinity of Man. We need also a new philosophy of man. Man was formerly prone to overvalue himself as the pinnacle of creation. He was also puzzled by the wide-spread prevalence of evil and misery. He must learn to find the roots of his present position in the cosmos, in himself, whether we call this law, the law of Karma, or by some other name.

Scientific determinism and pessimism must be eradicated by a new philosophic vision and a new religious hope and ecstasy. Till now man has been looking out through the window of the mind. He must learn to throw open the window of intuition and mystic vision. Dostoevsky describes a rare experience of his as being "like a flash of light in the brain, relieving all doubts and anxieties, merging them in a lofty calm, full of serene harmonious joy and hope." Let us hope that modern humanity will move hereafter in that direction.

Problems of Education in India

Dr. K. L. Shrimali writes in *The Indian Review* :

The most important and urgent problem in the field of education in India is to provide free and compulsory education up to the age of 14 as laid down in the Constitution. Apart from the constitutional provision, a democratic society is morally committed to a system of free and compulsory education.

The aim of democracy is the development of the

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individual. A democratic society cannot function effectively as long as it allows millions of its childern to remain without schooling and majority of people illiterate. Freedoms of speech, assembly and worship as also the power to vote and to determine the policies of a country which are considered basic in a democratic society become meaningless when people fail to understand the conditions under which they live and the problems which confront them.

In order that people in a democratic society may be able to make use of the fundamental rights, they must be able to communicate with each other, to think and to decide things together. Literacy is a prior and indispensable tool for the functioning of a democratic society and India like other Western countries must go through the first phase of the educational revolution by building up a system of free and compulsory education.

As far as education is concerned, the Second Third-Year Plan does not present a very bright and promising picture. The target laid down in the Constitution is receding further and at the rate at which we are progressing, it seems doubtful whether the Directive of the Constitution can be fulfilled even by the end of the Five-Year Plan. By the end of the Second Five-Year Plan we shall have facilities of schooling only for 62.7 per cent children of the age group 6-11 and only 22.5 per cent for the age group 11-14.

This slow growth of elementary education should be a matter of great concern to the State on whom the Constitution places the responsibility for the fulfilment of the Directive of the Constitution. The local community effort is desirable and our people should be closely associated with the programmes of educational development, but the ultimate responsibility for elementary education will have to be borne by the State which includes the Central as well as the State Governments. They must jointly mobilise all their financial resources to implement the Directive of the Constitution.

Educational expansion at the elementary stage cannot be left entirely to the resources of the local bodies or of the State Governments. Some of the States are already incurring more than 20 per cent of their total Budget on education and they may have genuine difficulties in finding additional funds through taxation for opening new schools. Moreover, some of the States are economically backward and do not possess adequate natural resources for further development in the near future.

As far as elementary education is concerned, the nation cannot allow differences in educational standards to be perpetuated between one State and another on account of differences in economic resources.

The Central Government will, therefore, have to take its due responsibility for the implementation of the Directive of the Constitution and for equalising educational opportunities all over the country.

Another complicated problem which confronts the Government is with regard to the place of language in our educational institutions. The solution lies in making a rational approach to the probelem. It has now been generally accepted that mother tongue or a regional language should be the medium of instruction. There may be a few isolated schools which still retain English as the medium of instruction at the elementary or secondary stage but all the States have introduced mother tongue or regional language as the medium of instruction. There is no difference of opinion on this subject as mother tongue or regional language has been universally recognised as the most suitable medium of instruction at the elementary and secondary stage.

There is not the same unanimity with regard to the position of Hindi and English. Hindi has been accepted as the official language of India not because it is older or richer than other Indian languages but because it is spoken by a majority and understood by a vast majority of the Indian people. We have to choose one language which may serve not only official purposes but which may also serve as a means of inter-communication between people of different linguistic groups.

Education has so far been confined in this country only to classes. With the expansion of mass education there is bound to be greater need for inter-communication between different linguistic groups. While we recognise linguistic groups and do everying that is possible to develop regional languages, we should not forget that the linguistic groups are only parts of the whole. The strength of a democratic society is dependent in a great measure to the extent that it allows free intercourse between different groups. Free social intercourse is most essential for the growth of a democratic culture. The different linguistic groups cannot live in isolation from each other. They must have one common language which all people in the North, South, East and West can understand.

We cannot obviously have English as the language for inter-communication between people of different regions. It could serve the purpose when the Government could be run with a small number of people and culture was confined only to the classes. A democratic society requires greater and greater participation on the part of the people in the affairs of the Government and in the healthy development of culture. We cannot escape the conclusion that Hindi should be taught to all the children in India. It will be a great cementing factor for national unity and help us in reintegrating our culture.

With regard to English, there was some opposition to it in the past which was partly due to the fact that it was a language of a foreign power which ruled our country. This reaction was natural when Indian nationalism began to assert itself. Even at that time there were patriotic leaders in our public life who realised the importance of English in our educational system.

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After independence we can take a more dispassionate objective attitude towards the whole problem. There are two weighty reasons for the retention of English in secondary schools. (1) English is no more a language of one country only. It is now becoming an international language. India is destined to play an important role in international affairs because of her cultural heritage and traditions. We can make our contribution to the growth of world society and human civilisation only through English language. (2) English is also a language of science and technology. India has to make use of science and techonolgy for its rapid progress and for raising the living standards of its people. The original literature in science and technology in Hindi or other regional languages is almost negligible.

In order that our students may have access to original sources, it will be essential to have proper understanding of English language.

By the time a student leaves the High School, he should, therefore, acquire knowledge of three languages regional language, Hindi and English. The students whose mother-tongue is Hindi should learn another Indian language and in this way parity may be established between the Hindi and non-Hindi speaking regions. There is sometimes an apprehension that the study of three languages in addition to other subjects will make the curriculum too heavy for the child. The fear is groundless since we have before us example of several countries where children have to learn three languages in the secondary stage. In any case, the study of three languages is essential in a society like ours which aims for cultural freedom, national unity and international understanding.

Another difficult and yet the most urgent problem is to establish greater co-ordination between the Centre and the States so that we may develop a national system of education which may reflect the beliefs and values which we have accepted for our society. While the States may maintain their autonomy in the sphere of education as provided for in the Constitution, every effort will have to be made by the Centre as well as the States to develop common national policies and programmes of education.

With this end in view, the Central Government has set up various agencies, such as the Central Advisory Board of Education, University Grants Commission, All-India Council for Technical Education, All-India Council for Secondary Education, National Council of Adult Education, etc. The Government is already considering to set up an All-India Council of Basic Education.

In order that these Boards and Councils may be effective in bringing about the necessary reforms and changes in our educational system, greatest co-operation and understanding between the Centre and the States have to be established. If the individual States and the Centre do not act in unison in implementing national programmes of education, national unity will be jeopardised.

Education has always been a powerful instrument for the development of national outlook and for building up national unity. If the Central Government takes more and greater responsibility for financing educational schemes, it should not be misconstrued as interference in the sphere which constitutionally belongs to the States but a realisation of the fact that different parts of the Indian Union are inter-dependent. If the national character of our problems, such as removal of gross inequalities in educational standards between the rural and urban areas and between backward and industrially advanced States and between various communities in the same State requires Central assistance or direction, it should be welcomed by the States.

We must develop a greater and clearer understanding of the values of centralisation and decentralisation and strike a proper balance between these two conflicting tendencies, which have certain advantages as well as disadvantages. This is a stupendous task which has to be accomplished through a spirit of tolerance, intelligent understanding and wise statesmanship.

Struggle for Freedom of Goa

T. B. Cunha, Chairman of the Goa Action Committee, writes in *Careers and Courses* :

The present struggle for the liberation of Goa was started ten years ago in June 1946. It was the first Goan revolt against the Portuguese based on popular support and with a definite political demand for civil liberties and the right of self-determination. It was an exclusively Goan movement, launched without any outside support, whatever may say the Portuguese official propagandists and those who unconsciously play their game on the Indian side.

The casual presence of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia at the right moment served to the Portuguese as an argument to say that the whole affair was the work of Indian socialists and not of Goans. But the socialist leader himself was the first to admit that his participation in the first day of the civil resistance was merely accidental and due to the coincidence of his visit to his friend Dr. Juilan Menezes. And in fact he was immediately expelled from Goa and prevented from leading the movement. The agitation was purely Goan, and received no support or aid from the Indian side where everybody was busy at the time with the independence struggle and other succeeding events as the partition troubles, the organisation of the new political life and other problems of the consolidation of the independence.

To give a true idea of the intensity of our struggle to those who have been misled by the Portuguese propaganda, we can mention the fact that during the whole struggle more than five hundred Goans were sentenced by the Military Tribunal of Goa and other smaller courts for participating in movement. We do

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not include in this number those who have been arrested, beaten or tortured by the police and kept in their lock-ups for days, weeks and even months without being sent to courts. They are counted in thousands. Proportionally to the small Goan population of six hundred thousands, the number of persons sentenced for political offences in Goa constitutes a record of which hardly any other country can boast. For some of our companions the sentences of imprisonment were of 28 years, fifteen being deported to Portugal and Africa. Yet there are people who prefer to believe the Portuguese and say that Goans live satisfied under their rule which they do not resist and that their whole struggle is run by outsiders. Strangely enough the very people who accuse our countrymen of remaininng passive are themselves in different or even hostile towards our struggle.

In reality, for months and years the burden of the struggle was supported by Goans in Goa. It was precisely because our movement was left, as if the fight for India's unity and its territorial integrity was the concern of Goans alone, and isolated in India that it weakened and dragged on for years without reaching its object. It was only in 1954 that Goans in Bombay joined the revolt and took the lead of the movement inside and outside Goa. In 1955 the Indian people made their historic contribution to our cause on the memorable date of August 15.

Meanwhile, the long delay of ten years served the Portuguese to consolidate their position. In 1946, the revolt had taken the fascist rulers by surprise. They were unprepared to put it down. For nearly one month they did not react and they made no arrests and imprisonment in spite of the open defiance of fascist laws by Goan nationalist.

The conditions existing in 1946 were unfavourable for the Portuguese and were very different from those prevailing at present. To understand this difference it is necessary to take stock of the changes brought in Goa during this long interval.

It is amazing to see how the position has reversed, comparing the conditions in the beginning of the movement with the present state in Goa. In 1946, there was practically no army of occupation. The European and African forces were then two to three hundred people strong while at present they number several thousands. They are at present posted even in the remotest Goan villages. To show how disarmed were these forces at that time, it suffices to say that the amount spent for arms and ammunitions in 1948 was about Rs. 42,000, while the amount spent for the same in 1951 was raised to Rs. 2,934,522.

In 1946 the police force was unprepared to suppress the popular revolt. For nearly one month no arrest was made in the beginning despite the daily unauthorised meetings, and processions taken in defiance of fascist laws in the towns and villages. And when a few arrests were made the civil resistance, instead of subsiding, gained momentum and took a more organised shape. Those imprisoned were immediately replaced by new resisters and their number increased. But slowly reinforcements were brought from Portugal without meeting any opposition or protest.

At present, the police forces have not only increased in number and perfected their organisation but are working in close co-operation with the European military forces. The PIDE, the fascist political police which was unknown in Goa has introduced the Nazi methods of investigation using torture and murder in the progress of extracting confessions. Arrests of people, made under the slightest suspicion, as were made in those last days, are now daily occurrences. The entire population is living in terror.

In other aspects also the position of the Portuguese in Goa is far stronger than it was years ago. The Government income which was Rs. 12,714,629 in 1948 has been raised to Rs. 30,207,338 in 1954. This rise in the State income is due to two main factors; the intensification of the smuggling trade, going freely between Goa and India since the independence and the new exploitation of iron and manganese mines carried in Goa with the help of Indian capital and management. Thanks to this help the Goan general exports which amounted to Rs. 6,959,174 in 1947 reached the sum of Rs. 52,891,000 in 1954. These are the new resources which help the Portuguese to maintain a disproportionate and well-equipped army of several thousands of European and African troops meant to be used against India.

There is no doubt that the fight for the liberation has become far more difficult than it was ten years back. The hope for a peaceful settlement of the problem has been rendered more remote than before. Violence although still sporadic has already cropped up

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a very ugly shape. Salazar invites trouble in order save his face in his own country, where the prestige the authoritarian regime is at stake. Fascist colo- ialism is not prepared to willingly lay down arms the contemptible orientals and pagans and prefers military defeat. The heavy armaments accumulated Goa are certainly not meant to suppress an internal but are meant to deal with a regular army. Ten of dictatorial obstinacy must now convince people peaceful and non-violent methods are not effective the ruthless ways of a fascist power.

In ten years the problem of the liberation of Goa lost its local character and has been transformed an international issue, to be settled far away from or its neighbourhood. Goans, who were left for years with the sole responsibility of ending the foreign occupation, have now hardly any voice in the new approach to our problem. Portugal denies them the right of self-determination treating them as dumb cattle.

These ten years, freedom-loving Goans have endured sufferings and untold hardships, all for the righteous cause of winning freedom and have, therefore, the right to be taken into confidence in the settlement of this issue, since none is more competent to decide about the right way to put an end to the much-delayed and unfinished struggle. Only an open understanding between Goans and India can break the present stalemate.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Story of Suez Canal

The idea of constructing a canal to join the Mediterranean with the Red Sea is not a new one. Ancient Egyptians had thought of it and actually they had joined the Nile with the Red Sea by a canal, but that canal used to be blocked by the natural forces which led the Egyptians to renew its construction. It was renewed after Arab conquest of Egypt. Ancient Egyptians had thought of constructing the Suez Canal long ago, before Napoleon Bonaparte, but they did not attempt to construct it because they thought that this Canal might endanger the sovereignty of Egypt and lead to foreign intervention. This idea can be proved by the archaeological facts in Egypt. On one of the ancient monuments one can find a statement which indicates that the construction of Suez Canal is dangerous to the country.

When Napoleon was in Egypt he decided to dig the canal in order to take his way to India and defeat British troops in the East but the Egyptians did not allow him to avail this opportunity and he was obliged to evacuate Egypt and return to France. In the year 1854 during the rule of Mohammed Said, De Lesseps, a French engineer who was in good relations with the Egyptian ruler asked to have the privilege of constructing the canal. The ruler accepted the offer. The British Government objected to it very bitterly at that time. Lord Clarendon, the Under Secretary of the States in Great Britain gave an idea of the British attitude. He said, "The traditions of the cabinet of St. James were always against digging the Suez Canal." The British press, specially the *Times* were against the French and the Egyptians and tried to influence Egypt and the Ottomon Empire "to prevent the construction of the canal." The Viceroy of Egypt was under the influence of his French friends so he signed the agreement on January 5, 1856. The agreement was sent to Constantinople for sanction. So French Government with the help and advice of Napoleon III asked the British Government to help, but Britain still protested against this idea. Lord Palmerstone on January 7, 1856, said, "Her Majesty's Government could not use its influence to make Turkey accept the agreement for digging the canal." At another place he said, "The construction of this canal is dangerous not only to the British Empire but to the entire Middle East." However after a great controversy a company for the Suez Canal was established. There were four lakhs of shares. The value of each share was only 500 francs. Egypt purchased 44% of these shares and they gave the Ottomon Caliph 181506 gratitude. British people did not buy any share and used to call the company "The Association of Young Boys."

It is necessary to state here some of the terms of the company.

(1) The Company has the privilege of the canal benefit for 99 years after which it will be handed over to the Egyptian Government.

(2) The Egyptian Government is to provide 4|5 of the labourers for the construction of the canal.

(3) No duties will be imposed on anything imported for the company.

(4) The company has the right to exploit all the mines and natural resources in Egypt useful to the company.

(5) The company's dividend profit will be fifteen per cent for the Egyptian Government, 10% for the establishers of the company and 75% for the shareholders and the board of employees.

(6) The company is subdued to the Egyptian law.

The measurement of the canal was to be 56 meters width, 6 meters depth and 130 kilometers length. On April 25, 1859 they began to dig the canal but the two houses of English Parliament began severe attack and Lord Woodhouse confirmed that the policy of the British Government is not changed towards Suez Canal. Lord Ellenbrough said to his colleagues that it will be another Bosphore in the hands of the French company, that a French fleet can occupy India very easily through Suez in a shorter time than an English fleet through the Cape. All the manifestations against the scheme made the Egyptian Governor hesitate but two meters depth was actually constructed. In 1863 the new ruler of Egypt Ismail, who was extravagant and somewhat idiot was under the pressure of the British Empire. He asked to change the items of the Suez Canal Company. The company complained against him to Napoleon III who declared that all the terms of the Egyptian ruler were to be accepted but he must pay a compensation of three million francs. The ruler accepted it in spite of the bad financial situations of the Egyptian Government during his rule. The British Government interfered officially in his financial questions and sent supervisors to control the financial policy of Egypt and seized the opportunity and ordered him to sell the Egyptian shares of the Suez Canal. The British Government purchased these shares for one-third of its actual price. Since then and by the tricks of imperialism, Egyptians were away from the company and were not allowed, by force, to interfere in the matters of the company. Through Suez Canal British troops entered Egypt after their defeat in three battles in North Egypt, but only by the trick of the company board they colonized Egypt.

Suez Canal Company registered itself from the very beginning as an Egyptian Company under Egyptian law. The issue of concession granted by the Ruler Said, to the French engineer De Lesseps, laid down that the Director of the company shall always be appointed by Egyptian Government.

The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 recognised the Suez Canal as an integral part of Egypt. ..

But during the last great war there was an order to the British army in the year 1940 to destroy the canal if the allies were defeated. On June 30, 1940 a message came to General Marshal saying, "An effective blocking of the Canal is essential." So the Second World War had been a very revealing factor as to the attitude of the three great powers towards the Canal although the convention of 1888 guaranteed freedom of navigation and stated that Canal shall never be subject to the exercise of the right of blockade. Article 10 of the Firman concession of the company stated, "At the expiry of the concession, the Egyptian Government

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take the place of the company and enjoy all its without reservation, the Said Government will into full possessions of the Canal of the two and all the establishments connected therewith." President Nasser announced on July 26, 1956 the nationalization of this Egyptian company. He declared freedom of navigation and fair payment of compensation to the share-holders.

It is only now, after 87 years that the canal company was set up as an Egyptian company under Egyptian sovereignty. The British Prime Minister and French Prime Minister have refused to accept in any circumstances Egyptian rights of the Canal.

The canal is an Egyptian canal passing through the Egyptian land and subdued to the Egyptian sovereignty It will be so for ever.—*Culture of Egypt.*

Technology and the Liberal Arts

Henry B. du Pont writes in the *Christian Science Monitor* :

The truly educated man today must have an understanding of the impact and meaning of technology as well as a background in the humanities.

Two great revolutions have taken place in the field of education in the past half century, one cultural and one social. Each has resulted from the impact of growing technology and industrial advancement.

The first great change has been the transformation of the American college from a liberal arts sanctuary to one in which technical training in engineering and the social sciences have come to have so important a place. In 1900, out of an enrolment of approximately 100 college students, something less than 11,000 were trained in technical fields, or about five percent. Today, more than 15 percent of college students are in engineering alone, with a very large number additionally in the various basic sciences. This upswing is reflected further in substantial expenditures in the cost of providing technical training by American universities in the past 50 years.

The second great change to be observed concerns the greatly enlarged percentage of the population which goes to college. In 1900, about one boy in 30 went to college. Today, it is one boy or girl out of three, the greatest mass educational programme in history. We have as many college students in 1950 as we had high school students in 1920. I think it is safe to say that we are now reaching the point where no boy or girl of adequate intelligence who is willing to spend the time and effort need lack for a college education.

As we study the first of the two great changes in education we see that the effect of technology on the curricula and the character of our institutions of higher learning has been enormous and far-reaching. I think it is probably true that, in recent years, this change has resulted in an apparent overemphasis on technical education. There was a time, perhaps it is still with us, when those in the field of the liberal arts and the universities saw perils in the rapid development of technical schools. They were somewhat awed by the vast funds which were poured into the universities for physical plant, scholarship, and budget requirements of the engineering and scientific facilities, particularly when it appeared that this was done at the expense of the liberal arts side of the campus. This was quite a natural feeling, but I think we have, by now, come to realise that there is actually no basis for conflict; that each branch of education—technical and cultural—depends in an important way upon the other.

It is, of course, ridiculous to assume that there should be any real incompatibility between technology or industrial development and the scholarly pursuit of learning. The growth of the American university system has paralleled our industrial growth. In addition, much of our cultural development, particularly that which brought opportunities to millions of people, has come through endowments by men who shared the rewards of industrial enterprise with the general public. Art galleries, libraries, museums, historic restorations, public parks and gardens, and many other such institutions offer testimony today to the benefactions of men who were successful in the business and industrial field.

If the arts, the social sciences, and the humanities were ever in danger of being de-emphasised, the critical period has passed. In my opinion, the liberal arts are on the threshold of their most useful period of expression, for our need today is for education in its broadest sense. That is the area in which it should become clear that the liberal arts, which forms the basis of all education, have lost none of their former lustre.

Historically, it is to the universities that we look for the training of succeeding generations. The task before all of us today in planning for the future is particularly difficult, and the university's part is especially important at this time. Our society demands that the universities supply us not only the trained technicians and the gifted specialists as such, but those with a potential for broad leadership. The greatest need, now more than ever before, is for leaders—leaders with intellectual honesty, with objectivity, and with purpose.

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Leadership is never an easy role, of course, but the kind we need today is vastly different from that required in earlier days. The new leadership calls, it seems to me, more than anything else for perspective. The greater degree of specialisation we achieve, the greater the need for a perspective that can balance and equate the diverse elements in terms of the broader purpose.

The technical student of 50 years ago could hardly have seen, in his simple experiments, the kind of social and political forces which now exert pressures upon our society, many, if not all of them, arising from the changes brought about by advancing technology. The technical student of today, in contrast, must recognise and understand these forces exerted by labour, by government, by the courts, or by public opinion just as he must understand the stresses and strains of physical phenomena. Otherwise, his capacity for leadership will be severely limited.

The liberal arts curricula of fifty years ago, with the emphasis directed properly on the classics, scarcely could have anticipated that our technology in a few years would sevice all previous estimates of human progress. They hardly could have foreseen that old and well-accepted doctrines like the Iron Law of Wages, or the Limited Market, would collapse under our great outburst of productivity and invention. The liberal arts courses of today, if they are to be described either as liberal or as arts, must include a thorough analysis of the impact and the meaning of technology. Students should come to recognise not only the vital part technology has had in human improvement, but the conditions essential to its survival —the capital requirements, the incentives, and the environment in which it can best operate.

The role of leadership in tomorrow's world will be assumed neither by those who know a great deal about very little or a very little about a great deal. It will be discharged only by those whose thinking is broad and uninhibited, those with grasp and understanding—leaders, in short, whose horizons are wide enough to comprehend the world in which we live.

This, of course, is the basic objective of the liberal arts as it is the basic objective of all education. Here we have the truly educated man, well equipped to comprehend fully the world he lives in. This is the prime goal of all education, just as it is the prime criterion of all leadership.—*USIS.*

In the Native Town of the "Leica"

Dk Wetzlar.—There is hardly any friend of the art of photography in the world who has not yet heard of the "Leica," a miniature camera which has found innumerable immitations of all kind. The quality of the original, however, has never been reached. There are many who masterly handle the Leica, among them the great French photographer Mr. Cartier-Bresson, whose pictures—unique documents of human life in our time —were exhibited in the Louvre in Paris, an honour which no photographer before him could be proud of. He worked with the Leica only. An exhibition of his pictures will be shown in some German towns this year. The importance of the Leica is however, not confined to its being an excellent camera. There are many excellent cameras in the world. When it was first put on the market 33 years ago, the Leica opened up completely new territories to photography and gave the

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signal for the lively miniature picture. Its conquest of all markets of the world in the few decades has still other important reasons. It not only a camera for the amateur and press reporter also represents a valuable instrument in the hands scholars, scientists, doctors and industrialists, made by accessories and necessary lens systems it cope with all the tasks which modern photography to face.

The Leica was born in the small old Reichs-town between the Lahn and the Wetz. Despite its age center still in existence today with steep and lanes and colourful halftimbered buildings he did not like it, when in 1772 he had to study of the former Reichs-court. He preferred to his "Gotz von Berlichingen" instead and all his attention to the charming Charlotte the daughter of his landlord in the "Schmiedsgasse." praised only the "heavenly beauty of nature" around town.

IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE MICROSCOPE

That this "dead and rotten hole" of Wetzlar would come to world fame as the centre of optometry naturally could not guess at that time. 33 after his death, Ernest Leitz the Elder founded optical institute there. And Wetzler as the town in Germany took up the production of scopes on an industrial scale. The microscope stimulated the hunting after the microbes. The ment with which Robert Koch discovered the of tuberculosis and cholera had been manufac- in the workshop of Ernst Leitz. With an instru- of the same kind Loffler discovered the diptheria bus. In the hands of medical doctors, occupied valuable research work, the microscope began to mankind from diseases which had formerly lated towns and countries. When Leitz began the microscopes in Germany, the optical market dominated by Paris. The War of 1870-71 inflicted re blow on the Wetzlar Works. It is impossible eak here in all detail of all improvements and tions which were achieved through indefatigable of the founders of the Leitz firm as it exists to- When in 1889 Ernst Leitz the Younger entered works of his father, it already comprised 200 s and employees.

The firm of Ernst Leitz also overcame the First d War. After the death of the founder his son ver. Ernst Leitz the Younger as eterpriser left e hand to his employees. In 1913 one of them, herman Oscar Barnack constructed the first Leica. nobody thought that this small camera, this toy, d become an article of mass production later on. e as in the inflation years of 1922|23 when because e conditions, the firm got into an unfavourable tion and had to decide whether to dismiss numer- merited expert-workers, Ernst Leitz made up his to build the miniature camera. This was a hard tion and included a great risk. The outcome of nobody could forecast at that time.

THE FATHER OF HIS NATIVE TOWN

Today this miniature camera is the foundation stone the Leitz-Works. Till 1925 it comprised less than employees. in 1955 there were 2450 men and women today the figure has risen to more than 6000. Ernst the Younger died recently at the age of 85 years. only the members of the enterprise, but the whole of Wetzlar felt a deep sorrow for the passing away honorary citizen "the father of his native town" as it was sometimes said. During his long life time, many and high honours were extended to him. But more than these the social achievements which he introduced in his firm, were the source of his satisfaction. Never has there been a strike in the firm or a dissatisfied voice been heard. The reason for this may be that the firm relies on workers and technicians whose families have been associated with the Works since many decades and who can look back on generations of precision mechanics and opticians. After the father the son enters the Leitz Works. The mechanics and opticians of Wetzlar have a tradition of their own and are determined to maintain it.

Naturally along with the production of the Leica the Leitz concern also continues to build the world-famous optical and mechanical precision tools. Again there is a son continuing the work in the spirit of his father who during all his life has promoted science and culture and never ceased to be a simple and social man.—*Deutsche Korrespondenz*, August 11, 1956.

Songs as Bridges Between the Nations

An International Singing Circle in Hamburg

Dk Hamburg.—When the Indian Prime Minister Nehru was recently given a reception by the Hamburg Senate, it was one of the main attractions of welcome offered by the Hanse town to the high guest to have an Indian song by Tagore recited to him in its original setting by a German ladies' choir. Two Indians belong-

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(বিশুদ্ধ সিদ্ধান্ত পঞ্জিকার জ্যোতিষী)
ভারতে জ্যোতিষচর্চ্চার ইতিহাস এবং কোষ্ঠীবিচারের সূত্রাবলীসহ গবেষণার ভিত্তিতে ২১ অধ্যায় ডমাই ৫০০ পৃষ্ঠায় সমাপ্ত।
মূল্য বাঁধান ১০৲ টাকা। রেক্সিন বাঁধাই ১২৲ টাকা।
জ্যোতিষ শিক্ষার্থী, গবেষক, ঐতিহাসিক সর্ব্বশ্রেণীর পাঠকগণের উপযোগীতে বঙ্গভাষায় রচিত। গুরুমুখী লুপ্ত জ্ঞানের সূত্র প্রদত্ত হইয়াছে। মডার্ণ রিভিয়ু, অমৃতবাজার, প্রবাসী দৈনিক বসুমতী এবং যুগান্তরের সম্পাদকীয় মন্তব্যে গ্রন্থখানি প্রশংসনীয় সমাদর লাভ করিয়াছে।
প্রকাশক—ইণ্ডিয়ান এসোসিয়েটেড পাবলিশিং (প্রাইভেট) কোং লিঃ
৯৩নং হ্যারিসন রোড, কলিকাতা-৭

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ing to the international singing circle of the German lady singer Ina Graffius were in charge of this performance and had rehearsed it with them.

"In our circle we are encouraging the interpretation of songs of all nations. We want to be a bridge between the peoples and offer our hands across all borders through the medium of songs." This is said by the lady singer Ina Graffius who started two years ago in Hamburg to assemble around her men and women of all classes and ages who find pleasure and relaxation in singing and who also take an interest in the life of other nations. "The experience of spring or love, of summer or death is, after all, touching men and women everywhere," declares Mrs. Graffius. "Only the forms of expression in each country are different. A mother singing her child to sleep, whether German or Polish, French or Icelandic, is moved by the same feeling everywhere. And the folk songs of the nations have given expression especially to the atmosphere of events occurring at all times and places. That is why we have pledged ourselves to them."

The desire to be able to convey the folk songs of all countries equally to every receptive human being had moved Ina Graffius at a time already when she undertook to sing also Polish songs with her countrymen in the refugee camps where she lived for a long time as an East Prussian refugee. Later on, in Hamburg, she gave concerts specially with Finnish folk songs, which she recited in German and Finnish and explained to her audience in a most vivid manner. And it was with Finnish songs that she finally began, after a visit to Finland's world-famous composer Sibelius, to found her international folk circle. To understand the nations and their songs she had learned the Finnish language, started taking lessons in Icelandic, and is today even gaining ground in her knowledge of the Indian languages.

Famous in Canada

More and more, by words passing from one to another, it became known that a German lady singer assembled men and women of different nations around her at fortnightly intervals to sing folk songs with them. The first four members soon grew into a community of more than fifty, and in the meantime the singing circle of Ina Graffius has already held its hundredth evening session. The shelves of the singing educationist are piled up with folk songs and sketches from all countries—more than ever brought out by any publishing house in Germany so far. The Israel folk song is filed next to the French one, scores from Japan and South America reveal the connection with all continents. And from her study and lecture tours, for which the German singer received the most generous support from foreign consulates, she always brought home new treasures of folk lore. She has received letters from all over the world, and a nursing sister even wrote to her from a military hospital in Canada about the success she achieved in treating and calming down her severely wonded patients when she started singing to them folk songs in English, German and French, just as they came to her and as she knew them . . . "I had to communicate this to you," writes the nurse, "because formerly I only had a quiet smile for your efforts and did not take them very seriously. But out here I learned from practical experience what they are worth."

Meanwhile, the circle of Mrs. Graffius in Hamburg consists of men and women, boys and girls not only from Germany and Finland, but also from Sweden, Iceland, the Balcan countries and lately even India. At the hundredth evening session of the international singing circle, which by now can hardly be accommodated in the private rooms and around the grand piano of the singer, two new dark-skinned guests from India joined the group. They too had heard about it by way of conversation. And in the meantime Sri Sibabrata Roy has become one of its most active members. He will at a later date be in charge of an important power plant in India and has come to Germany, so to say, to absolve his "practical year" and to collect, new experience.

Music and Religion

As the Indians, however, contrary to the Central Europeans who are steadily growing more and more one-sided, do not feel satisfied with merely concentrating on the study of their special subjects, but each of them pursues an intellectual spare-time study, Mr. Roy has chosen Music and Religion. In reality, these two subjects are belonging together, since singing and the breathing exercises required for that purpose are to an Indian, prayer exercises as well. He told the Germans who listened to him with astonished eyes that the Indian tradition of singing dates back to 3,000 years before Christ, and he sang to them Indian songs, the words of which were written by the famous Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore and whose swaying charms no one can escape. India's Prime Minister Nehru was greeted by the German ladies' choir with such a song which made him take notice and suddenly find a piece of his own country up in the high North. Songs are bridges between the nations.—*Deutche Korrespondent*, August 18, 1956.

Survey Reveals Interesting Facts

More than 5,000 million copies of books of one sort or another are produced throughout the world each year. About three-quarters of all books published come from only 10 countries, and half the books published in the world are for use in schools.

In *Books for All*, Mr. R. E. Barker, Deputy Secretary of Britain's Publishers Association, who was commissioned by *Unesco* to survey problems confronting the international book trade, gives interesting facts about the book trade.

A dearth of printing and publishing facilities in large areas of the world, coupled with a maze of obstacles at national frontiers, seriously impedes the production and free circulation of books, says Mr. Barker. Difficalties range from tariff and currency restrictions to inadequate copyright protection; from a paucity of translating services to high transport costs.

The survey reveals that only a very few countries publish more than 10,000 book titles a year.

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Between 2,500 and 3,000 languages—excluding hundreds of minor dialects—are in use throughout the world. Yet nine-tenths of the world's literature originates in only 20 or 30 tongues, the survey reveals.—*British Information Services.*

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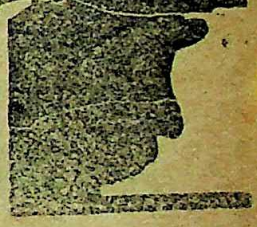

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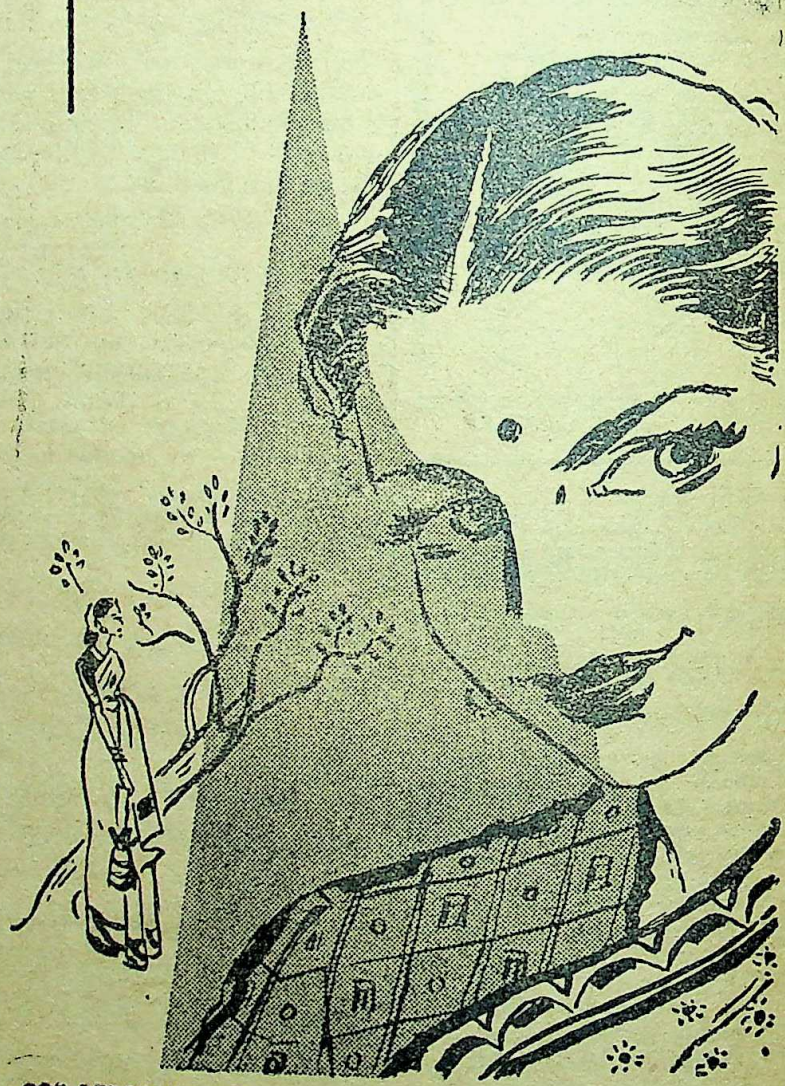

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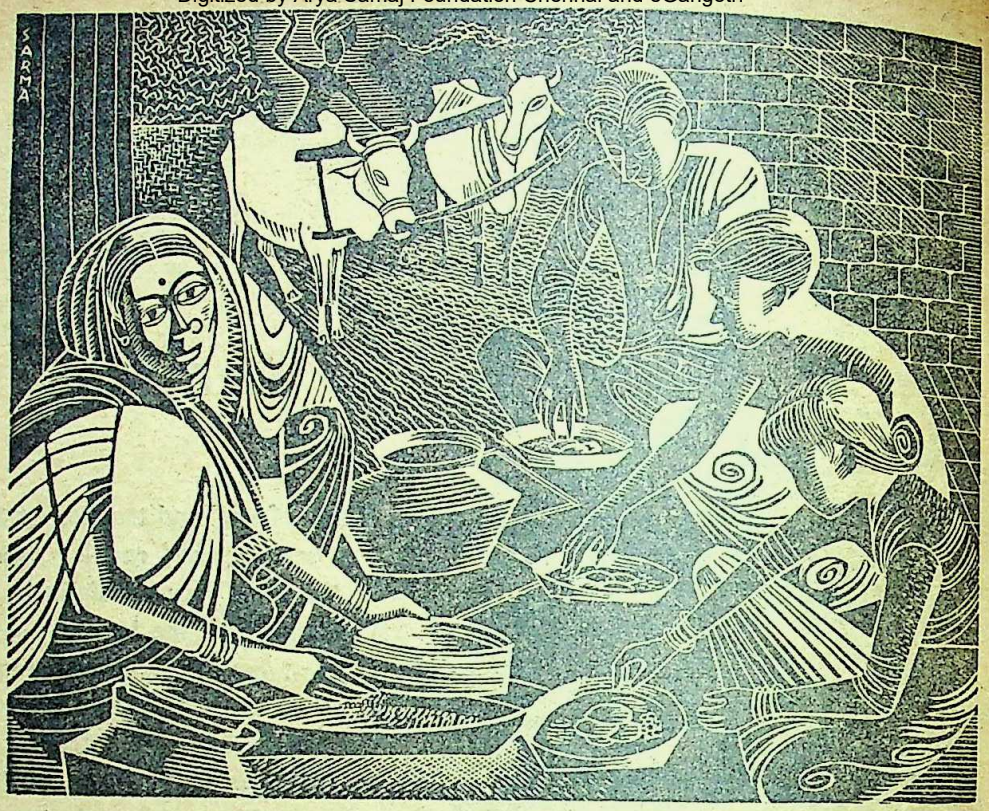

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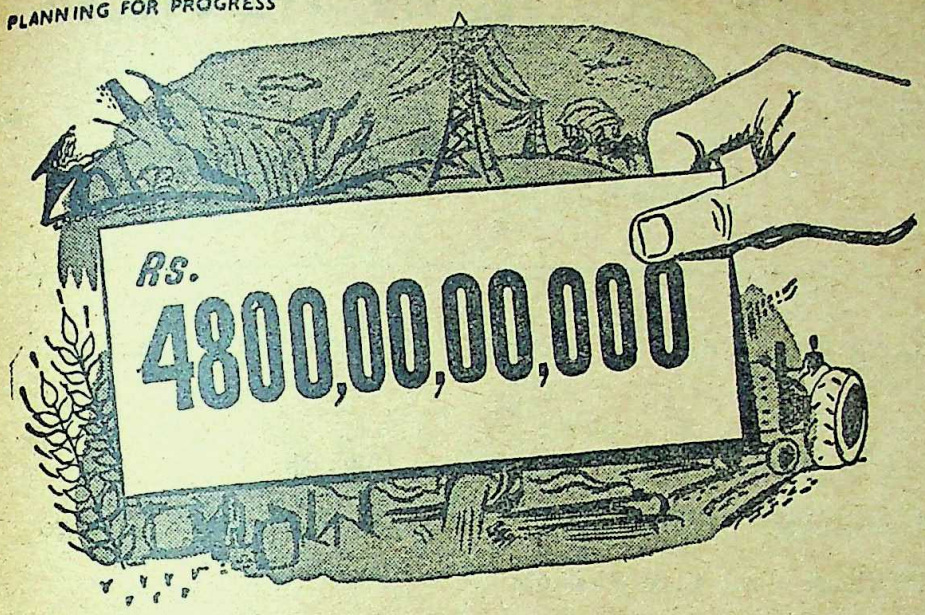

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A woman labourer

A peasant

Photos : Ramkinkar Sinha

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AN INDIAN FAIR

By Prabhatendusekhar Majumdar

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

World in Travail

At the time of going to the press there was pandemonium raging in the sphere of World Politics. Sanity seems to be dawning, the threat of Armageddon, but colonialism and likewise, it seems, Stalinism—dies hard. about our rosy dreams of a world guided Panchshila ?

It is too early as yet to draw definite conclusions about the happenings in Hungary Egypt. But what has already transpired us enough light to gauge the forces that in play. It is clear, therefore, that the atory and totally unmoral urges of brute still rule some of the so-called civilized ns of the West. Amongst the Great Powers the U.S., under guidance of a great soldier-sman, has kept the name of democracy ified.

The Soviets have justified their interven- in Hungary on the grounds that the rnment there had called for the aid of ets' forces. The Budapest radio did say, October 24, that the Hungarian Government asked for help, in putting down the revolt, the Soviet forces stationed in Hungary. ther the call from a *de jure* government, utside aid and intervention, would justify on on the pattern now seen is another er. Besides the intervention could hardly aid to be on the side of the party that called aid. On the contrary.

But the French and the British did not even that much of a justification. Indeed, clear to all reasonable persons that the aggressors, Israel, Britain and France, planned and acted in concert. There has no attempt, on the part of Britain and France, even to restrain the Israelis. They have not hesitated, on the other hand, to bomb open Egyptian towns and to bombard from naval guns the civil installations of Port Said. Colonialism, in its vilest form, is apparent in every move of the British and the French.

Egypt has faced the storm with undaunted spirit, meeting superior armament and numbers with a valour that has raised admiration all over the Eastern world. Hungary is ringed in, helpless, but the fighting goes on.

What is the lesson ? The world is still a jungle, inhabited by predatory powers. Woe betide the country or the nation that slumbers with rosy dreams of Peace!

We have to think, therefore, in the terms of preparedness, preparations in the terms of matching brute force with force, if and when aggression comes. It is patent now that we have to be self-sufficient to a very large extent, not only in the terms of numbers, but also in armament. And, above all, there should be that awareness and realization about what Liberty means, otherwise internal dissensions and lack of civic morale would bring about the same catastrophic results as happened during the past seven hundred years. We should take stock, immediately, of how and where we stand in those terms.

The mainstay of any country in times of travail and stress is its intelligentsia of the middle strata. Here in India they are being ruthlessly ground down, by harassment by the bureaucracy and the rising of costs all round. Have Pandit Nehru's ministers the brains to realise the effect ? The main causes of the weakening of the roots of the Congress and the total perversion of moral values lie therein.

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Imperialism in Action Again

The Arab nations' charge that Israel was an imperialist provocation in Middle East designed to hit the Arab countries below the belt at the instance of the Western masters have come true dispelling all skepticism. When the tension created (again by Britain and France) over the perfectly legal nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company appeared to be subsiding and the broader question of free international passage through the Canal was also nearing a solution, Israel created a new provocation by invading Egyptian territory on October 29. As if, by pre-arrangement, Britain and France sent an ultimatum to the governments of Egypt and Israel to stop fighting immediately and threatened Anglo-French intervention in Egypt. Compliance was demanded in twelve hours' time. The British-French demands did not end there and thereby showed their real colour. "Further, in order to separate the belligerents and to guarantee freedom of transit through the Canal by the ships of all nations," Sir Anthony Eden told the British Parliament on October 30, "we have asked the Egyptian Government to agree that Anglo-French forces should move temporarily into key positions at Port Said, Ismailia and Suez." In reply to Mr. Gaitskell's question, the Prime Minister said: "I am sorry it will not be possible for me to give this undertaking" that no physical action would be taken by British troops before the Security Council got a chance to discuss the matter. Every move was carefully designed to make it wholly unacceptable to Egypt, short of unconditional surrender—thus reminding one of the fable of the wolf and the lamb. Lest Egypt should be accommodating reply was demanded in twelve hours. Lest Egypt should agree even to that, demand was made for stationing Anglo-French troops on Egyptian soil. No country could accept such humiliating terms. Egypt naturally rejected them. Reports at the time of writing speak of Anglo-French bombardment of Cairo and other Egyptian cities.

Britain used her first veto in the Security Council on October 31 to kill a Russian backed United States proposal urging all nations to refrain from the use of force or the threat of force in Egypt. France also vetoed the resolution—thus confirming what acute observers always believed that no Big Power would ever hesitate to use the power of veto should that be necessary for their own power-interests and the use of veto was no Soviet peculiarity.

The U.S. resolution expressed concern over the violation of armistice agreement by Israel and appealed to all members of the United Nations to assist in the maintenance of the armistice agreements and called on all members "to refrain from giving any military, economic, or financial assistance to Israel so long as it has not complied with this resolution." The voting was seven in favour, two against (Britain and France) and two abstentions (Australia and Belgium).

A Soviet proposal calling upon Israel to withdraw her troops behind the armistice was similarly vetoed by Britain and France. The voting was seven in favour, two against (Britain and France) and two abstentions (U.S.A and Belgium).

In both the cases the resolutions had the required majority to become effective decisions of the Security Council, had there not been any veto.

To sum up, an international war was thus raging in the Middle East and the clear character of the aggression and of the aggressors was nowhere in doubt. Even in such a situation the United Nations Security Council failed to be effective—laying bare the utter inadequacy of the United Nations as an instrument for maintaining world peace. If, even in a situation where the aggression and the aggressors were universally recognized an attacked country failed to receive any protection of the United Nations and if ultimately the nations were left to themselves to ensure their own safety and territorial integrity it became difficult to see the justification for maintaining such a world organization at such cost in money and time to the various countries.

There were, however, some other very important aspects requiring consideration. In Korea, where the aggression was not confirmed (at least at the time of action had been taken by the U.S.A.), the U.S.A. intervened unilaterally without waiting for U.N. authorisation. On the present occasion when Anglo-French aggression was clear as day-light and when the slightest pressure from the U.S.A. would have desisted the European powers from taking such rash action she had done her duty

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oducing a mild resolution in the Security . The mere raising of the issue in the y Council by the U.S.A. was not of mportance when it was recalled that the internal disturbances in Hungary were ught to be made an issue of international —contrary to all international peace. estion was, would she have remained with such diluted action if instead of and France, say, the U.S.S.R. or were the aggressors? If past events were dication the reply would be an emphatic The peaceful professions of West Powers n trial and the world would be eagerly g how such professions looked in e.

Meanwhile, the views of the people throughe world were expressed unmistakably cing the neo-imperialist adventure of decaying Anglo-French Entente. The ment of India's attitude was made on October 31 in New Delhi. A spokes- the External Affairs Ministry said: Government of India has learnt with pro- concern of the Israeli aggression on ian territory and the subsequent ulti- n delivered by the U.K. and France to gyptian Government, which was to be ed by an Anglo-French invasion of Egyp- erritory."

It considers this a flagrant violation of nited Nations Charter and opposed to all rinciples laid down by the Bandung rence.

This aggression is bound to have far- ng consequences in Asia and Africa and even lead to war on an extended scale.

The Government of India is conveying ews to the Governments concerned and stly trusts that at this late hour this ssion will be halted and foreign troops rawn from Egyptian territory."

Trust in the imperialist Westerners' good events have taught, is wholly misplaced. wholly unjustified and unprovoked Western ssion against Egypt, the seizure of the Athos, the piratical arrest of the Algerian alist leaders,—the suspension by the h Government of talks with Moroccan rnment—all these are ominous signs of a ed imperialist effort to reassert their alism. The newly independent nations of Asia and Africa must take lessons from these events.

Events in Eastern Europe

Eastern Europe—the land of "People's Democracies"—is in ferment. This in itself might not appear remarkable at all—especially as at no time since World War I the area was free from political unrest. The revolutionary upsurge of the second decade of this century was followed by a period of fascist subversion of the national states. The Second World War ended with the emergence of the so-called "People's Democracies" with promises of political stability and economic prosperity. Disillusion was not long to come. A new period of subversion and treachery—this time the Communist variety—marked the post-war era. The period began with Communist *coup d'etat* in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary and reached its climax after the expulsion of Tito from the newly-organised European Communist Information Bureau. The death of Stalin saw the unique spectacle of armoured tanks of workers' state crushing the "ruling" working class in East Germany. In the typical Communist way the events in Eastern Germany were presented before the world as a piece of imperialist sabotage.

Then followed a period of apparent lull which was rudely broken by the Polish crisis and Hungarian desertion of the Communist bloc (the appeal of Communist Imre Nagy to the United Nations to protect its newly-proclaimed 'neutrality' is nothing short of that). To a world constantly fed on the propaganda of popular rule, democracy, socialist upsurge, economic prosperity and Communist selfless fraternity—the recent events have appeared not a little bewildering. The full implications (details also) of the events are yet to be known. But some generalizations may safely be offered.

Immediately after the establishment of the Communist rule in the Eastern European countries Communism failed to pass an important test: "Socialist internationalism" between socialist countries on an equal basis proved to be impossible—all communist theorisations notwithstanding. The world—disgusted with imperialists' gunboat diplomacy—eagerly watched how the Communist States would organize their mutual relationships. It found nothing better.

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For no lack of Communist convictions or practice Yugoslavia was pressurized by the surrounding Communist States in the classical imperialist manner—only because the Yugoslavs did not agree to be dictated by the Russians on the details. Some of the East European Communist leaders, while retaining their full loyalty to Moscow, also appeared to take a like view of their countries' relationships with Moscow. In a manner—that would shame the worst imperialist tactics to the background—the saviour, guide, leader, teacher and friend of humanity and the exponent of peaceful co-existence, the Soviet Communist Party and State, capitalizing on the idealism (and sometimes opportunism too) of the local Communist leaders effected a clever subjugation of the economic and military apparatuses of those countries to Russian national interests.

People—quite innocent and no less sincere in Communist convictions—were murdered in thousands after "fair and impartial" trials—hailed throughout the Communist world as the highest examples of socialist justice but now proved, no less than on Communist authority itself, to have been entirely concocted and faked (but for all that no less stoutly acclaimed by the Communists as examples of the superior self-correcting processes of Communism). The national Communist leaders of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and Rumania, were all liquidated and were replaced by secondary leaders. Kostov, the Bulgarian Party Secretary and Prime Minister; Rajk, the Hungarian Party leader and Foreign Minister; Dr. Klementis, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, Rudolf Slansky, the Czechoslovak Party leader and Prime Minister, to name a few, were all liquidated as imperialist agents after full and thorough-going "investigation" and "trial." By some queer accident in each of these and thousands of other cases the "investigations and trials" had all been wrong. Gomulka, the Polish Party and Government leader, had been sacked as a deviationist. Through sheer good luck he had been saved from the gallows. Tito being leader of a party where Russian infiltration had been the least could not be touched, luckily. But evidence was pouring in torrents that he had been acting on the staff of British, French and American intelligence service.

The decimation of the national leadership of the parties of Eastern Europe was accompanied with a violent campaign of secret police terror and forced collectivisation. The natural result was immense economic hardship engendering great popular discontent. Many intellectuals were fleeing from their countries. In such a situation everything needed for "revolution" was there waiting to strike at the first sign of any weakening of the ruling junta. The de-Stalinisation of Soviet Russia and the consequent confusion among the world Communist movement offered that opportunity. But it would be substantially incorrect to explain the whole thing by de-Stalinisation, as has been done by many analysts. The revolutionary upsurge of the Hungarian people signifies a great force—which could not be generated by de-Stalinisation alone.

Communism in mid-twentieth century seems wholly illogical and dishonest. The dishonesty is marked by the liquidation of the East European Communist leaders on completely trumped-up charges manufactured by the Kremlin. The illogical character of Communism is marked by the ludicrous position in which Communism places its inherents. Even such a brilliant band of leaders as the Chinese Communists (who by the way have departed a long way from the Russian or Eastern European models) have to behave like political infants only because of the compulsion to follow Communist logic. Thus Liu Shao-chi, China's leading theoretician wrote even a book on the *Bourgeois-nationalist* deviation of Tito (while Indian Communists were charging the Chinese leaders themselves of "bourgeois-nationalism") only to make the Chinese party appear as "truly Communist." Tito has not changed a bit since 1949 but he is no longer a "bourgeois-nationalist" but an upholder of the "independent development" of Communist nations. Such is the way of Communist logic.

In developing the technique of devious propaganda, the Communists have surpassed everyone. MacCarthy and Goebbels could master only a part of the art so that they were exposed so soon. But the Communist propaganda machinery was able to control its inner contradictions until it violently burst in the beginning of 1956.

Marking recent examples of Communist truthfulness, the Poznan riots in Poland this

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were decried as imperialist manoeuvres. sands were arrested and charged on that nt. Now all of them have been freed as innocent of any conspiracy against the The events in Hungary have likewise equally decried.

The Communist Press in Soviet Russia ressed the news of Polish and Hungarian for quite a number of days. *Pravda*, the Party paper went one step further and Polish press of slandering the Soviet socialism (perhaps, for the first time had to eat its own words, for within two ree days of making that wild charge they o withdraw it). The Communist press in (speaking of its central weekly organ, the *Age*) has likewise maintained complete over such momentous events.

An account of the events in Eastern Europe be materially distorted without any ce to the role of the U.S.A., U.K. and, less degree) France. Immediately on of the Second World War, the British intervened to crush the Greek national ent. Efforts were abortively made to anti-Soviet regimes in other countries of ea also. All this coupled with the United policy of "liberating the enslaved peoples stern Europe from the chains of Com-m" engendered and fostered a genuine of aggression and subversion in the minds Communist leaders. Millions of U.S. s were budgeted every year to subvert the al governments of the area for the credit ch boasts were made in public. This was mean factor in engendering iron discipline, orship and consequent repression in the ean East. Even now the Soviet Union een offered a pretext for military inter-n in Hungary by the joint Anglo-French-can move to raise the Hungarian distur-s for discussion in the United Nations ity Council. So long as Hungarians them-are the belligerents on either side there o be little justification for outside inter-n on this side or that.

The latest news from Budapest show that echanics of Stalinism are still being used ly. In a democracy worth its name, by the Western standards or by those of nism, no party can call for outside forces to crush its opposition. That is just what Moscow is proclaiming as the reason for sending its forces to dragoon the liberty-loving Hungarian into abject submission. The phraseology, too, of the Moscow broadcasts, is the same stereotyped jargon.

It is too early to analyse the trend of events in either Hungary or Poland. But the shadows of World conflict have ominously gathered.

French Provocation in Africa

On October 23 France took an unprecedented step in arresting the leaders of the Algerian nationalist leaders. An airliner was carrying the Algerian leaders from Rabat, capital of Morocco to Tunis, capital of Tunisia, when six French jet fighters intercepted it off the Algerian coast and forced the plane to land at Algiers at the point of guns. Thus were arrested the leaders of the national liberation movement of Algeria. Ahmed Ben Bella, Mohammed Khidai, Mustafa Lachref, Mohammed Boudiaf and Hocine Ait Ahmed. The deliberate provocation behind this act of the French Government became clear when it was remembered that—to quote *Reuter*—"The arrested leaders were to have played a part in talks (at Tunis) about a settlement of the conflict in Algeria and possibly the establishment of a bloc of North African countries maintaining links with France."

Earlier the French Government had announced the suspension of talks with newly independent Morocco on future relations between France and Morocco on the ground that the Moroccan Government had allegedly been helping the Algerian insurgents fighting against the French.

The arrest of the Algerian leaders was followed by a French complaint before the U. N. Security Council against Egypt and strike on October 25 of French civil servants and workers in public service in Morocco as a protest against "anti-French rioting in Meknes." The Moroccan Government resigned the following day protesting against French military occupation of the police headquarters at Meknes. On October 26, M. Habib Bourguiba, Prime Minister of Tunisia, also reported of clashes between French and Tunisian troops on the Algerian border but this was denied in Paris by

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the Secretary of State for the French Army, Mr. Lejeune. France also lodged a protest against Egypt with the Security Council.

As a natural corollary there was widespread strike throughout the Arab world. Mr. Bey Yahmid, Tunisian Secretary of State for Information, said on October 27 that the Tunisian Premier's efforts for peace in North Africa had failed because of French intransigence. Mr. Yahmid expressed the Tunisian Government's hope that France would "undo the error" of arresting the five Algerian nationalist leaders and transferring them to France. Earlier the Afro-Asian group of States also called upon the United Nations Organization to ask France to free the Algerian leaders. The French attitude remained unrelenting at the time of writing.

Referring to the arrest of the Algerian leaders and the seizure of a Yacht named "Athos" by the French the *Bombay Chronicle* writes in an editorial article on October 29 :

"The spectacle of the Prime Minister of France perilously progressing from one vote of confidence to another, actively encouraging the merciless decimation of Algerians, spouting venom at the Egyptian President, busy with piratical and kidnapping activities, angering the Moroccans and Tunisians and then talking of 'lasting ties' with them, is one of the odder highlights of this decade's bizarre world politics. The perfidious manner in which five Algerian leaders were seized and the lawless interception of a gun-laden yacht in the Mediterranean have made the North African situation a hundred times worse. It is doubtful if France can ever hope for friendly relations with any Arab nation in the future. And it is the agitated government of this puzzled pseudo-Socialist Mollet which has, on an amazingly puerile pretext, appealed to the U.N. Security Council for discussion of military aid given by Cairo to the Algerians. The audacity of the appellant nation coupled with its naked bellicosity is sufficient to put to shame all who continue to look hopefully at the United Nations."

The *Chronicle* adds :

"What is the French case? The *Athos* carrying small arms and ammunition to a Moroccan port was challenged by ships of the French Navy off the Algerian coast and seized. M. Mollet himself has admitted in the French National Assembly that in seizing the yacht the French 'were acting, I recognize, a little outside of territorial waters.' This is a damnable understatement. What they have done is an act of open piracy. And it is such a case that they have taken to the U.N.! It may be that supply of arms to the Algerians, however indirectly, is unpleasant to the French; it may even be construed as an unfriendly act. But two wrongs (if indeed the first is a wrong in the strictest sense of the term) do not make a right. And for France to assume the role of the injured innocent is a slap in the U.N.'s face, nothing less. Gun-running is no new thing; ever since Israel was born, guns and heavier military equipment have flowed into that country. But seizing a ship on the high seas under cover of the several disputes agitating North Africa remains a flagrantly illegal act which has yet to be condemned by all the world, especially France's worried collaborators."

Industrial Finance

The eighth annual report of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India reveals a steady progress in the activities of the Corporation. Indian industry is seeking the assistance of the Industrial Finance Corporation in an ever increasing measure and the amounts of loans sanctioned by the Corporation has also been increasing. During the year ended 30th June 1956, the Corporation received 86 loan applications, aggregating Rs. 27.70 crores, as against 46 applications for total credit of Rs. 11.27 crores in the preceding year. In the year 1955-56, it sanctioned Rs. 15.13 crores covered by 44 applications, as against Rs. 7.34 crores and 27 applications in 1954-55. The total amount of loans sanctioned by the Corporation up to June 30, 1956 is Rs. 43.21 crores. The amount actually disbursed stands at Rs. 16.73 crores, while loans declined or not made available was Rs. 6.23 crores. The Corporation's outstanding net commitments stand at Rs. 20.25 crores.

All sections of Indian industries have become the recipients of loans from the Corporation, the leading borrowers being the food, textiles and paper industries. The loans sanctioned up to June 30, 1956, are as follows :

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manufacturing industries (except everage industries)	Rs. 11.69	crores
es (spinning, weaving and finish- g of textiles)	„ 6.60	„
and paper products	„ 4.21	„
al fibres	„ 1.10	„
er products	„ 15.50	lakhs
industrial chemicals, including tilliser	„ 5.36	crores
able, animal oil and fats	„ 6.50	lakhs
aneous chemical products	„ 41.25	lakhs
and glass products	„ 1.10	crores
ry, china and earthenware	„ 39.50	lakhs
ent	„ 3.40	crores
ferrous metals industry	„ 1.17	„
l products except machinery	„ 1.63	„
inery except electrical machinery	„ 1.08	„
rical machinery, apparatus, pliances & supplies	„ 1.56	„
road equipment	„ 50.00	lakhs
r vehicles and ancillaries	„ 1.37	crores
es	„ 50.50	lakhs
laneous manufacturing ustries	„ 42.80	„
rical light and power	„ 42.75	„
	Rs. 43.21	crores

During 1955-56, sugar and textile indus- received the largest amount of loans. A ble feature in this respect is that loans were nced to co-operative sugar industries in bay, Mysore, Assam and the Punjab. The loans sanctioned to sugar co-operatives in -56 aggregated Rs. 5.50 crores and three applications covering Rs. 1.30 crores are r consideration. In pursuance of the red policy of the Government of India to rage the establishment of co-operative industry, the Central and State Govern- s have guaranteed the loans granted to ugar co-operative during the year 1955-56. The working of the Corporation for the ended the 30th June, 1956, has resulted in ofit of Rs. 32.68 lakhs which shows an ease of Rs. 8 lakhs over that of the pre- year. After setting aside a sum of 10.18 lakhs as provision for taxation, the oration is left with a net profit of Rs. 22.50 . The whole of this amount has, however, transferred to the reserve for bad and tful debts, in view of the anticipated loss account of the Sodepur Glass Works Ltd. Sodepur Glass Works Ltd. was sold last year to a Japanese firm, the Asahi Glass Company Ltd., at a price of Rs. 70.36 lakhs. This entire amount was advanced to the purchaser firm as a loan by the Industrial Finance Corporation. Prior to this disposal, the Corporation had to incur an expenditure of Rs. 40.31 lakhs for the management of the concern. Under the terms of the agreement, the Asahi Glass Works has set up an Indian Company in the name of the Indo-Asahi Glass Company to run the concern.

The Corporation has, therefore, to call upon the Central Government this year to pay it a subvention to enable it to pay the entire guaranteed dividend amounting to Rs. 11,25,500. During the year under review, conditions for loans were liberalised by the Corporation. A measure of great significance is the institution of a separate legal branch of its own, manned by full-time officers under the control of the Corporation in the head office as well as in two of its branch offices. This measure, which has been introduced as an experiment for the present, will be extended to all the branches later on. The measure is designed to quicken the pace of work at various stages in connection with the examination of title deeds and the execution and registration of mortgage documents. This will also cut down to a very considerable extent, the legal charges now incurred by the Corporation and passed on to the borrowers. The terms and conditions incorporated in the mortgage deeds of the Corporation are now considerably simplified and standardised. The previous practice of sending the client's representative all the way to the head office in Delhi to discuss and finalise the terms and conditions of loans has been discontinued. The branch managers have now been authorised to deal with clients on the spot on behalf of the Corporation. The Corporation has also liberalised to an appreciable extent the conditions under which interim loans are granted, particularly in cases where, pending the finalisation of the legal formalities concerned with the execution and registration of the formal mortgage deeds, machinery, etc., ordered by the clients has to be paid for or documents relating to which have to be retired.

When the Corporation was set up in 1948 much hopes were raised that it would undertake large-scale expansion in the field of industrial

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finance. The activities of the Corporation did belie that hope as during all these years the achievement of the Corporation is none too gratifying. The main problem of industrial finance in this country is the lack of underwriting facilities for new industrial concerns. Mainly for the purpose of underwriting so as to promote new industrial enterprises, the Corporation was set up. But by a queer argument, the previous Chairman, Lala Shri Ram, maintained that it was not the business of the Corporation to undertake underwriting business and as a result the scope of operations of the Corporation was much limited. It failed to rise up to the occasion for which it was designed because of a narrow outlook regarding its functions. To remedy the shortcomings of the Corporation, several other institutions have been set up meanwhile, namely, the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation, the National Industrial Development Corporation, and the State Finance Corporations. The activities of these new institutions to a certain extent overlap those of the Corporation.

At the eighth annual meeting of the Corporation, the Chairman has pointed out that both these new institutions have a greater measure of freedom in the matter of financial operations and they enjoy certain special facilities which the Industrial Finance Corporation does not possess. Though the Central Government have so far implemented the policy of utilising the Corporation as the main channel for processing their own industrial loans, it now seems that by setting up the National Industrial Development Corporation, the Central Government intends to make greater use of the latter in the development of new industrial undertakings in the public sector. The NIDC has also been given greater importance in the rehabilitation of some of the old industries in the private sector, as for example, the jute and textile industries.

The programme of overall development envisaged in the private sector during the second Plan period is estimated to involve an outlay of Rs. 720 crores, comprising Rs. 570 crores of new investments and Rs. 150 crores on replacements and modernisation. Of this total estimate of Rs. 720 crores, a provision has been made by the Planning Commission for Rs. 55 crores for the activities of the National Industrial Development Corporation and Rs. 15 crores for the Industrial Finance Corporation. The balance of Rs. 650 crores is to be raised from other sources. The Chairman has stated that certain State Government have sanstioned loans directly to certain industrial concerns and according to a statement contained in the annual report of one of the State Financial Corporations, the State Government concerned have been offering loans at rates of interest which are only about half of those charged by the Industrial Finance Corporation and on the basis of security which are also very much easier than those observed by the Corporation. This is rather a step to bypass the Corporation. To impart greater flexibility in the working of the Corporation the Industrial Finance Corporation Act needs to be amended. Otherwise there will be little expansion in the activities of the Corporation. The Chairman has rightly sounded a note of warning as regards the dwindling resources of the Corporation. The most important factor which is likely to come in the way of expanding the operations of the Corporation to the fullest extent otherwise possible, is the fact that, if it succeeds in investing business at the present rate and dealing with applications for loans at the pace that it has achieved last year, its own monetary resources will soon be tapering off, thereby forcing the Corporation to borrow under conditions which may leave a little margin of profit after meeting tax obligations and its own working expenses. But this is also certain that its own resources, however expanded, are bound to be inadequate to the growing needs of the industries. Sooner or later, it will be compelled to borrow in the market and that is the only way to augment its resources. Alternatively, the Government of India may give interest-free loans to the Corporation for specified period as has been given to Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation.

India's Foreign Exchange Resources

A great deal of controversy has been made over the recent letter of the World Bank President, Mr. Eugene Black on India's second Plan. A cool and dispassionate thinking, however, will reveal that what Mr. Black said was said in good faith and that is admitted by Pandit Nehru. When the World Bank Commis

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visited India, it pointed out several drawbacks in the Government of India's economic policy. Mr. Black's letter to the Union Finance Minister is on the basis of the recommendations of the World Bank Commission. After all, the World Bank is a Bank designed to render financial assistance to the member-countries for industrial development and Black's letter should be treated as a banker's advice to his client. Of course, some of the suggestions of Mr. Black are uncalled for and they better need not have been at all made and to them we shall turn later on. But other suggestions will be admitted as reflecting a correct diagnosis of the Government policy which has been subjected to much criticism even in this country.

On the subject of transport in the Second Plan, Mr. Black has stated: "We are struck by the extent to which the lack of adequate transportation facilities threaten to constitute a bottleneck in the country's economic development. We recognise that substantial resources are already allocated for investment in the railways under the Second Five-Year Plan, and we are not necessarily suggesting for an increase in this allocation. Indeed, in view of the acute shortage of capital for development and the very high import content of railway investmtent, attention should be given first to the possibilities of improving the operational efficiency of the railways and encouraging road transport and coastal shipping." He suggests that transportation could be regarded as a top priority for any Bank financing that might be devoted to the Second Plan. It would be useful if the general problem of transport in India could first be discussed by the Government of India and the Bank.

It may be pointed out here that in 1949, the World Bank granted a loan of $34 million for the purchase of locomotives. Since then the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works has been set up, still there has been shortage both of locomotives as well as wagons. It is also an admitted fact that since the division of the railways on zonal basis, the operational efficiency of the railways has been impaired. The glaring instance of such inefficiency is evident in the allotment and movement of wagons in the matter of coal dispatches, the result being that there have been persistent accumulations at the pitheads with shortage of supply in the retail markets. So, what Mr. Black suggests is that the operational efficiency of the railways can be improved under the existing railway resources and in the immediate future there need be no borrowing from the World Bank.

In its issue of October 19, the London *Economist*, in an article on the World Bank President's letter to the Indian Finance Minister said that if the World Bank "had tried to dictate economic policy to India it would deserve sharp criticism. It would also be acting out of character." It further observes: "An institution founded by Governments and launched with tax-payers' money could not be very easily propagate doctrinaire opposition to all socialist measures; and the Bank which has lent money to Communist Yugoslavia would look silly if it strained at the gnat of India's mild 'socialist pattern' after swallowing Marshal Tito's camel." It must be admitted that the World Bank has no right to call in question the economic policy of any of its member-countries. The determination of the economic policy is the inherent sovereign right of the country concerned and the World Bank would do a foolish act in interfering with the internal policy of a member-Government. But undoubtedly it can suggest ways and means for economic betterment of its member-country and it can also criticise a member-country's plan for which loan has been asked. But it would transgress its jurisdiction if it makes a general criticism of the Government policy on a doctrinaire basis.

Mr. Black in his letter expressed the view that India's interest lay in giving private enterprise, both Indian and foreign, every encouragement to make its maximum contribution to the development of the economy, particularly in the industrial field. The potentialities of private enterprise, he had stated, were commonly underestimated in India and its operations were subjected to unnecessary restrictions. In a country, short of capital with limited resources of managerial and administrative talent, "it is important that the respective roles of public and private enterprise should be fixed entirely on a basis which will ensure the most effective contribution of each to the economic development, and not on any theoretical concept of the role that each should play," Mr. Black said, adding that the Industrial Policy Resolution of

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India of April last, reserved to the State exclusive responsibility for new undertakings in a large number of industries, including oil, coal and other minerals. He further adds: "It seems to me that this policy if rigidly applied, could only result in imposing heavy additional burdens on the already overstrained financial and administrative resources of the public sector and in restricting the rate of public development in these vitally important fields."

As regards the role and importance of the private capital in the development of India's industrial enterprises, we are afraid Mr. Black has made an overestimation of their resources. Ever since the attainment of independence, the role of the private capital has not been up to the mark; it has failed to rise up to the occasion to raise India's industrial potentialities. The indigenous capital has been more bent upon earning windfall profits on speculative deals rather than undertaking risk capital in new ventures. Even the established industries were not being run on a sound basis. The notable example being that of the ship-building yard of the Scindia's at Vizagapatnam. The Scindia were hard pressed in running the ship-building business as the vessels built at their shipyard did not have a proper market. Ultimately the Government of India had to come to their rescue and this private shipbuilding enterprise had to be nationalised. The performance of the private capital in setting up new industrial enterprises is none too encouraging. In 1948, there were 22,675 joint-stock companies in this country with a paid up capital of Rs. 569.6 crores. In December, 1955, their number swelled to 29,948 with a paid up capital of Rs. 1,013.3 crores. That is, in a period of 8 years, the total paid up capital of Indian joint-stock companies increased by only Rs. 443.7 crores, the annual increment in the capital stock of industrial enterprises being Rs. 55.4 crores on an average. This is, of course, a very poor performance and had it been known to Mr. Black, he would not have held a brief for the development of private capitalistic enterprises in this country. Of this amount of Rs. 443 crores, it should be pointed out that nearly Rs. 100 crores are accounted for by State industrial enterprises and another amount of about Rs. 50 crores are accounted for by private foreign capital. Between 1947 to 1955, consent for Issue of Capital was granted for a total sum of Rs. 125.4 crores, of which the industrial issues comprised Rs. 97.5 crores and the non-industrial issues Rs. 27.9 crores.

According to a Reserve Bank study, between 1948 to June 1956, issues of fresh capital amount to Rs. 134.6 crores, of which bonus issues amount to Rs. 53 crores or 28 per cent. The Second Five-Year Plan roughly estimates that new industrial issues during the First Five-Year Plan period, excluding bonus issues, amounted to Rs. 40 crores in the indudstries covered in the Plan, as against Rs. 150 crores of internal resources, giving annual averages of Rs. 8 crores and Rs. 30 crores, respectively. These figures will speak for themselves and the role of the private capital in the fields of industrial enterprises in this country has been very disappointing. That is why the Government of India has to step deeper into industrial undertakings hitherto run by private enterprise which has failed palpably to expand their activities. The new industrial policy of the Government of India is, therefore, a step in the right direction and it has been more than imperative that in view of the failure of the private capital to step up industrial production, the State should undertake upon itself the task of developing new industries with a view to creating new employment opportunities and also to augment the industrial resources of the country. Mr. Black's appreciation of the role of the private capital in the field of industrial enterprises in this country has been evidently mistaken and misinformed.

Mr. Black has also referred to the importance for securing technical co-operation and financial support of foreign private enterprise in carrying out development programme. While welcoming the arrangements made in the Second Five-Year Plan for the purpose, he states: "The Bank hopes that more positive measures will be taken to facilitate foreign investment and that consideration will be given to the suggestions made by the mission (the World Bank Mission which visited India earlier this year at the invitation of the Government of India) in its memorandum." The Bank feels that greater emphasis should be laid in the Second Five-Year Plan on measures to develop overseas earnings. While expressing the belief

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Indian economy has the capacity to deve- the basic strength which would justify a derable increase in overseas borrowings g the next five years, Mr. Black says that IBRD hopes to play an important role in viding external finance for India's develop- t efforts. He has, however, stated that the k's assistance would have to depend on the nt and character of the impact of external contracted from other sources on India's nce of payments as well as on the external ncial assistance which India could obtain hout incurring fixed foreign exchange ations.

A lender is perfectly justified in enquiring the credit-worthiness of the borrower. since the devaluation of Indian currency 1949, India has been suffering from adverse nce of payments position. The overall nce of payments during the First Five-Year is adverse to India to the extent of 506.5 crores; the figures for individual s being, Rs. 3.5 crores in 1950-51, Rs. 232.8 es in 1951-52, Rs. 31.1 crores in 1952-53, 52.1 crores in 1953-54, Rs. 85.0 crores in 4-55 and Rs. 105.5 crores in 1955-56. During Second Five-Year Plan, for the public or a credit of Rs. 800 crores is taken by of external resources. In the first Plan od, a total of Rs. 298 crores of external nce was made available to India for pro- me of development in the public sector, of ch Rs. 204 crores is estimated to have been sed. The balance of Rs. 94 crores will be ilable for utilisation in the second Plan od. In addition, arrangements have been e for credits from the USSR Government the UK Government and British bankers a net amount of Rs. 76 crores (after allow- for repayment of Rs. 20 crores of USSR dit of Rs. 63 crores) to finance the steel jects. As for the private sector, a sum of 22 crores is already made available as the sbursed portion of the loan made by the rld Bank to the Indian Iron and Steel Com- y, the Tata Hydro-Electric Company and Industrial Credit and Investment Corpora- of India. India has already a large external bilities and the World Bank can reasonably n to suggest how India contemplates to her gap in balance of payments position e the Bank makes further advances.

American Views on Second Plan

Dr. W. S. Woytinsky, the noted American economic expert, discusses the targets and ideologies behind the Second Five-Year Plan of India in two articles in the U.S. weekly *The New Leader*.

At the outset of his discussion Dr. Woytinsky notes that while all Asian countries had adopted plans for the development of their national economies, the role of Indian "Plan (with a capital P)" was greatly different. "In India, the Plan is the focus of public life, a part of national faith, while plans in the other Asian countries were little known to the public.

Referring to the overall targets set for the first Plan, Dr. Woytinsky says that "This would have been a fairly modest target even if all these outlays were capital investments (which they were not), but in the early phase of planning, Indian economic experts were afraid of their own boldness." He, however, notes that all things considered, the final results of the first plan "vindicates the caution exercised by the authors of the First Plan."

According to the learned economist, "The main impact of the (first) Plan was not in the accelerated growth of the production but in the change of the attitude of the people, a very important change that is not reflected in the current statistics. The country had become conscious of the Plan and its targets. The sullen passivity of the framers was broken . . ."

The Second Five-Year Plan, according to the writer, was "a very complicated programme;" but in spite of weaknesses, "fundamentally it is sound, not unduly ambitious and has a good chance of success." The extent of the success of the Plan would depend, partly on foreign assistance, that is, on American aid. "At this point," Dr. Woytinsky writes, "Indian economic planning gets tangled with the foreign policy of the United States."

Between 1956 and 1960—that is, during the period of the Second Plan—India expected to obtain $1 680 million from abroad. According to the estimate of the writer even at the beginning, India had $357 million at her disposal, $197 million outstanding foreign credit not utilised during the first Plan period a promise of credit from the U.S.S.R. ($90 million) and Great Britain ($70 million). In addition, India

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hoped to withdraw $400 million from her sterling reserves in London. "All this reduces to $900 million the amount of foreign aid—loans rather than grants—which India needs for the execution of the Second Plan. The gap is not 90 per cent but less than 10 per cent of all planned developmental outlays," Dr. Woytinsky notes and remarks that while the U.S. Government did not need to cover the whole 'gap' it must, if it decides upon helping India, provide aid to India in conformity with the economic status and standard of generosity of the U.S. Government. But such aid should be without string and should be given in friendly spirit and not on any agreement of ousting Russian influence.

Regarding the controversy about the increasing active role of the public sector in the Indian plan, Dr. Woytinsky writes, "Such is the prevailing trend in all modern countries." Indeed, even the U.S.A. was ahead of India in this respect—accounting for 25 per cent of the national income as against only 7 per cent in India. "If India increases this ratio by one point each five years (as proposed in the Second Plan), it will need eighteen five-year periods or ninety years in all to reach the present U.S. 'Socialist pattern of society'," Dr. Woytinsky remarks. However, he considers the direction of governmental efforts to be wrong in India inasmuch as in India the increase of the public sector was not aimed, "in the fields that would bring the greatest advantage to the people—such as, education, health services, and water supply—but in operations in which the replacement of the private management by Government officials promises little or no gain to the national economy."

Saar Treaty

The Franco-German Treaty re-incorporating the Saar in Germany was signed in Luxemburg on October 27 by the French and German Foreign Ministers, M. Pineau and Herr von Brentano. It may be recalled that after the failure of the draft of the European statute for the Saar, rejected by the population of the region in the referendum held on October 23, 1955, the Ruhr concerns demanded that this important industrial region be immediately included in the Federal Republic of Western Germany. The pro-German parties—the Christian Democratic Union, the Saar Organization of the German Social Democratic Party and the Saar Democratic Party won the elections to the Saar Landtag on December 18, 1955, and the Municipal elections on May 13, 1956. After winning the majority of seats in the Landtag and forming a Government of their representatives, headed by Gubert Nei, leader of Christian Democratic Union, the pro-German elements began a persistent campaign for the inclusion of the Saar in the Federal Republic, and supported the Bonn Government in its talks with France. There are many economic and political French monopolies in the Saar and under these circumstances they decided to barter the Saar for maximum economic concessions in the Ruhr.

The Saar provides 6.1 per cent of the total output of the steel and 7 per cent of the coal of the European Coal and Steel Community. It is, therefore, clear that by this treaty there would be further losses for the French in this super-cartel. The chief demands of the French trusts, primarily of Lorraine heavy industry, were that West Germany should consent to the construction of the Moselle canal and guarantee for continued deliveries of Saar coal. The Lorraine iron and steel industry has an important interest in the West German market, as German machine building works are its old clients. Since the Second World War, the Ruhr iron and steel concerns have successfully competed with the French in this field with the aid of high railway tariffs. The cost of transporting Lorrain steel to the sea ports would be reduced by 70 per cent with the building of the Thinoville-Coblenz stretch of the Moselle canal. The cost of sending Ruhr coal to Lorrain would be halved. With guaranteed deliveries of coal the Lorraine trusts can considerably raise their competitive capabilities. The Ruhr monopolies adopted a very hostile attitude towards the Moselle canal project and the West German experts claimed that the canal would not be a profitable undertaking.

These differences were, however, compromised at the Luxemburg talks on June 5, 1956. France has agreed to the political reunification of the Saar with the Federal Republic of Western Germany from January 1, 1957. The economic reunion is to be effected gradually, during a period of three years, beginning with

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ary 1, 1957. France has received the to exploit the Warndt coal mines until , during which period she will extract 66 on tons of coal. The West German Govern- has promised to sell to France an addi- al 24 million tons of coal during this d as compensation for French investments the Saar. West Germany will construct Moselle canal at a cost of DM 550 million, of which West Germany will contribute 300 million and France DM 250 million.

ganin-Eisenhower Correspondence

On October 19, the Soviet Charge d'Affaires Washington handed over to the U.S. Secre- of State a letter from the Soviet Premier essed to the U.S. President. The letter released to the Press by *Tass*, the official et news agency, on the following day before U.S. President's reactions thereon became n.

In his letter, dated the 17th October, Pre- Bulganin referred to the importance of an rican-Soviet accord on disarmament in ral and on banning atomic weapons in icular. He also mentioned the current roversy in the U.S.A. over the suspension ests of nuclear weapons.

M. Bulganin said: "We certainly realize a debate on any problems of international ortance, including those of disarmament, is to take on a form of polemics in the United es today as the election campaign is going We cannot, however, afford to disregard the that in some instances official pronounce- ts are giving evidence of manifest mis- esentation of the Soviet Union's policy on e matters. This is, unfortunately, parti- rly true of the statements made by Mr. les, who is not stopping short of direct cks on the Soviet Union and her peace- ving foreign policy."

Pending agreement on the broader question the prohibition of nuclear weapons, M. ganin continued, the U.S.A. and the S.S.R. might strive toward achieving agree- t on lesser points, such as, the suspension the tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons. re would not be any particular difficulty in ervising the executions of an agreement on suspension of tests of nuclear weapons "since the present state of science no atomic or hydrozen explosion can be carried out without it being recorded in other countries. Would it not in itself be the surest guarantee against any breach of such agreement that undisclosed tests of nuclear weapons are impossible and that, consequently, no government which will have solemnly undertaken to cease tests would be able to break this pledge without having exposed itself in the eyes of the whole world as a violator of the international convention?"—M. Bulganin queried. He assured the American President that if the U.S.A. decided to discontinue atomic tests she would not be alone in doing so; the Soviet Union would also follow suit. To make the settlement of the question of atomic tests dependent upon the agreement on an overall disarmament programme would not be wise, he said.

Premier Bulganin said that the Soviet Government was "prepared to conclude an agreement with the United States of America at once on ending atomic tests. We, naturally, act on the assumption that other nations possessing atomic weapons will accede to such an agreement."

President Eisenhower's reply to the Soviet Prime Minister's letter was made known in Washington on October 21 immediately after it had been drafted and before it was sent to the Soviet Premier. This was a departure from usual diplomatic practice.

President Eisenhower said in his reply that M. Bulganin's letter was an interference in the internal affairs of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Premier's remarks about Mr. Dulles was "not only unwarranted but is personally offensive to me." He said that the Soviet Prime Minister's letter departed from accepted international practice in a number of respects. Yet he had not directed the State Department to return the letter because though he disapproved the Soviet Premier's departure from international practice the president still hoped that "direct communications between us may serve the cause."

President Eisenhower said in his reply to Marshal Bulganin's letter: "The sending of your Note in the midst of a national election campaign of which you take cognizance, expressing your support of certain prominent public figures in the U.S.A. constitutes an interference by a foreign nation with the internal affairs of a kind which if indulged in by an Ambassador would

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lead to his being declared *persona non grata* in accordance with long-established practice."

In a subsequent statement on October 23 defining the official United States position on the tests of nuclear weapons, President Eisenhower said that the U.S.A. would continue tests of nuclear weapons until world peace was assured through "properly safeguarded international agreements."

President Eisenhower said that without a properly safeguarded programme of disarmament, the U.S.A. could not discontinue nuclear tests. The importance of U.S. strength in this particular weapons-field was sharply accented by the "unavoidable fact of our numerical inferiority to Communist man-power."

He said that the continuance of Hydrogen Bomb would not imperil the health of humanity. The American Academy of Sciences had reported last June on the basis of a study by 150 scientists of the first rank, the President said, that the radiation exposure from all weapons-tests to date—and from continuing tests at the same rate—was and would be, only a small fraction of the exposure that individuals received from natural sources and from medical X-rays during their lives. Moreover, radio-active fall-out could not be restricted by limiting tests to the smaller nuclear weapons.

The President said that the Soviet Union was sincere in its desire to stop H-bomb tests. But he could not regard a simple agreement to stop H-bomb test as automatically self-enforcing since it might not be possible to detect small nuclear weapons tests in the Soviet Union because of the vast Soviet land mass. Nor was it possible to state, immediately following the long-range detection of a test, its size and character.

"If your government were to suspend research and preparation for tests—as well as the tests themselves—and resume such preparation only upon knowledge that another nation had actually exploded another H-bomb," the President told his countrymen, "we could find our present commanding lead in nuclear weapons erased or even reversed."

Referring to the Bulganin-Eisenhower exchanges, the *Hitavada* writes in an editorial article on October 26 that while the American President was right in taking exception to M. Bulganin trying to interfere in United States domestic policies his objection was valid only to that extent. From the broad point of view of peace and security, M. Bulganin's proposal deserved serious consideration. Irrespective of who raised the question it was an acknowledged fact that suspension of thermonuclear tests was an essential precondition for the relaxation of international tension.

Referring to President Eisenhower's reply, the *Hitavada* writes: "The objection of President Eisenhower that without inspection and control it is not possible to stop these tests as there was no guarantee that the Soviet Union will not continue experimentation with these weapons is not convincing" on the face of increasing development of scientific knowledge on the subject rendering it practically impossible for any State to explode a nuclear weapon without being detected by others. The newspaper expresses the hope that M. Bulganin's proposal would be seriously considered by the U.S. President after the elections and that the new administration would apply its mind to the need for the suspension of those tests which had been asked for by those who knew atomic matters best—namely, the scientists.

"Humanity has raised this question and wants an answer from the American President," the *Hitavada* concludes.

Events in Singapore

Serious riots broke out in Singapore on October 25 over the Government's action in closing the students' union as an alleged subversive organization. Reports reaching here indicated that seventeen persons were killed and more than a hundred were injured as a result of the clashes between the police and the public. The number of arrests exceeded five hundred. British and Malay troops were used and Royal Air Force planes were also commissioned to frighten away the rioters. A curfew was imposed in the city. The Chief Minister, Mr. Lim Yew Hock blamed the Communists and the Opposition People's Action Party for the troubles.

There was widespread strike as a mark of protest against the government's action and the government responded by rounding up the Left-wing trade union leaders.

The background to these events in Singapore is provided in a dispatch of the *Economic*

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ly's Singapore correspondent in the ber 27 issue of the newspaper. The corres- ent writes:

"On September 20th the newly reconsti- Labour Front Government under Lim Hock, the Chief Minister, suddenly red the arrest of five men and two women threat to the security of Singapore by of their Communist activities' and the ion of two organisations, the Singapore en's Federation and the Chinese Brass Musical Society. At the same time the apore Chinese Middle School Students' n registration was cancelled and its chair- arrested who, incidentally, was also a ber of the Executive of the People's Action y, the principal opponent of the Labour in the Assembly. Every person arrested a Chinese and every person arrested had educated in the Chinese schools' system than Mr. Lim himself.

"As a result of these arrests, which were e totally without warning and at a time Singapore had been more peaceful than many months past, students of two of the ipal Chinese schools, the Chinese High ol and the Chung Cheng High School, k and shut themselves up within the school. Government in reply deregistered the ols and immediately offered to set up new ols at which all the old pupils were red to re-register themselves."

A *Reuter* despatch from Singapore, dated ber 26, describes the situation thus:

"At one of the schools, police claimed that tudent resistance had been broken soon the operation began.

"The students lodged in the building in ce of Government orders to close the ol, jumped from windows of the buildings rds the school gates.

"Two hundred policemen crashed through ricade of tables and chairs erected by 0 students at the Chung Cheng High ol.

"At the Chinese High School in another of the city police used tear gas to dislodge students who then fled through the school

"Police succeeded in splitting about half crowd of 2,000 Chinese students and dispersing them in small groups away from Singapore.

"But the other half linked arms at the roadside and continued to defy police efforts to drive them away.

"British and Malay troops were manning road blocks along the roads leading to the city and patrols of armoured cars and infantry moved into the city outskirts."

The periodical disturbances in Singapore, the *Economic Weekly's* correspondent notes, were only symptomatic of the economic difficulties. "The unemployment, both open and concealed, the political insecurity of the lowly Chinese-born labourer who is denied civic rights and the insecurity even within the family, where marriages need not be registered by the State and can, practically speaking, be dissolved by desertion, prevent the rise of a real civic consciousness," writes the correspondent according to whom the best policy would be to encourage the growth and creation of small territorial communities consisting of the Malayas and the Chinese, unified Chinese-English schools, common state registered marriages; and to accord equal social status to the Chinese children.

Communists Invited to U.S. Elections

Government of the United States invited representatives from several European Communist States to observe the U.S. elections on November 6. The Soviet Union and Rumania have accepted the invitation while Poland and Czechoslovakia have declined. Only Hungary's reply was not received. The expenses of the representatives attending as observers would be borne by the U.S. Government.

This is a step which indicates a new shift in the U.S. outlook towards the Communist world.

Pandit Nehru on Foreign Affairs

We quote the following report from the *Statesman*, to show how little even Pandit Nehru could guess about the impending conflagrations in Egypt and Hungary.

Secret diplomacy seldom gives any outward indications, excepting to the extremely wary, but even then the complacence in Pandit Nehru's remarks ending with "for the present, we stay at home," indicates an optimism in international affairs that seems extraordinary in the light of the events that followed:

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New Delhi, October 25.—Events in Eastern and Central Europe, the Algerian crisis and the latest dispositions in the Suez Canal dispute, including the position of Israel, were some of the subjects covered by Mr. Nehru at a Press conference here this morning.

The Prime Minister, who was suffering from a cold, said perhaps it was not the right time to meet the Press. So much was happening that he might have to face awkward questions.

However, once he got into his stride, Mr. Nehru kept talking for more than an hour and his replies to questions were both frank and often comprehensive.

It was, he said, clear that there was a nationalist upsurge in Eastern and Central Europe. He did not think that it was likely to affect the broad foreign or economic policies of these countries.

There was an intense desire for independence there to fashion their own policies.

Referring to the Algerian arrests, Mr. Nehru said it was impossible for the Algerian question to be settled by force or by an attempt to suppress the nationalist movement. This would worsen the situation and there was already excitement in Morocco and Tunisia, which were hitherto friendly to France.

India's view was that the Algerian people were entitled to full freedom, but at the same time other interests, such as, those of the French settlers there, should be considered.

There were, it seemed to him, occasions in the past three or four months when efforts to negotiate had emerged, but the Suez Canal dispute had distracted attention.

He was not sure of the legal position as regards the reported French decision to search ships, for arms, but this could give rise to friction.

Mr. Nehru's assessment of the Suez situation was that hopes of settlement were brighter today. A negotiating stage had been reached. It was difficult to go back on that.

India had accomplished her part by presentation of the new plan and, "for the present, we stay at home." It was now for the countries concerned to deal directly with each other. There was the proposal for talks to be held at Geneva. No final date had emerged, but the talks must take place soon, he said.

Discussing the contents of the Indian plan, he said that in the ultimate analysis there could be no guarantee other than the normal kind of international guarantees.

His impression was that the broad approach of the Indian plan had the approval of Egypt, but that did not commit her to any specific part of it.

The reaction of other countries was also mixed. No one wanted to commit himself at this stage even if he approved of parts of it. It was, however, clear that Egypt would not agree to any kind of international control of the Canal as that would affect her sovereignty.

Asked about Israel, he said there were differing interpretations of her position. Egypt claimed that the 1888 Convention did not cover a country at war. The question was a legal one and his suggestion was that it should be submitted for decision to "some superior court."

Hungary

The following two news-items and the quotation from Noel Barber's report to the *Statesman* are given below just to indicate the agony that the Hungarians are passing through. The outside world is only getting flashes and glimpses, but even that is horrible:

Paris, October 27.—Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister of Hungary, today telegraphed to Mr. Nehru, asking him to "put an end to the bloodshed" in Hungary.

Mr. Nagy, who is in Paris for a 12-nation conference of European Peasant Parties, wired to Mr. Nehru:

"For some days past Russian troops have been fighting against the Hungarian revolutionary forces and against unarmed civilians. They have massacred thousands of Hungarians who supported by the Army and police forces of their own country, are demanding freedom for Hungary.

"I appeal to you as to one who has always sought peaceful solutions to help to secure an immediate armistice between the belligerent parties so as to put an end to the bloodshed."

Vienna, October 27.—Budapest Radio claimed today that the rebels' resistance in Hungary's embattled capital had been "broken" and many had surrendered.

But heavy fighting was reported to be still raging late today. Usually reliable sources here

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the fighting was particularly fierce in the sector of the city.

A new "national" Government was announced under the Titoist Prime Minister, Mr. Imre Nagy. It dropped 15 outstanding Communists, including four members of the key Politburo, replacing them mostly by Communists uncommitted to either a Titoist or Stalinist line.

The basis of the Government was not broadened except by the inclusion of the Peasant Party leader, Mr. Bela Kovacs as Minister of Agriculture.

This was the third political reshuffle in stormy days.

The Austrian News Agency *A.P.A.*, quoting Hungarian railwaymen, said Hungarian police had shot Erno Gero, the deposed Communist Party First Secretary.

Budapest, October 27.—Tonight Budapest is a city of mourning. Black flags hang from every window. For during the past four days thousands of its citizens fighting to throw off the yoke of Russia have been killed or wounded.

Budapest is a city that is slowly dying. Its streets and once beautiful squares are a shambles of broken glass, burned out cars and tanks and rubble.

Food is scarce, petrol is running out. But the battle rages on. For five hours this morning until a misty dawn broke over Budapest I (Noel Barber) was in the thick of the battles.

It was between Soviet troops and insurgents trying to force a passage across the famous Chain Bridge that links Buda with Pest across the Danube. Two of the insurgents into whose ranks I literally wandered died in the battle, one of them in my arms. Several were wounded. Today as I write this, heavy firing is shaking the city which is still sealed off from the world.

To get here I drove through endless Russian check-points and through fighting that has by now killed thousands of civilians. At least 1,000 were killed in one of the most ghastly massacres I have ever had to report.

It happened yesterday morning when the Russians turned the guns of their tanks on to a crowd of unarmed demonstrators. They mowed them down for 20 minutes.

Today Budapest is a shambles with broken glass, wrecked tanks and cars. Where the trams ran, the insurgents have torn up the rails to use them as anti-tank weapons. At least 30 tanks have been smashed so far, many with Molotov Cocktails. Their burned out skeletons seem everywhere spread on both sides of the Danube.

World Atomic Agency

The text of a 23-article statute for the establishment of a world atomic agency was unanimously adopted on October 23 by a conference of eighty-two nations in New York city. The statute open for signature since October 26 until January 25, 1957, would come into force with the ratification by eighteen countries including at least three of the following States, the U.S.A., the U.K., the U.S.S.R., France and Canada. The agency, when it came into being, would supply fissionable materials to member-States for chemical processing. It would have authority to send inspectors to the countries receiving atomic aid in order to ensure that the fissionable materials supplied by the agency and their bye-products were used solely for peaceful purposes. The controversial 'safeguards' clauses, to which strong exception had been taken by India and some other countries were approved by the conference sitting as a committee by 79 votes to nil with one abstention (Afghanisthan) after incorporating therein a compromise amendment moved by France and Switzerland.

At the final plenary session on October 26, the conference elected an eighteen-nation preparatory commission under the chairmanship of Senator Carols Alfredo Bernardes of Brazil to continue the work until the statute came into force after the required ratifications. The members of eighteen-nation preparatory commission were Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, India, the Soviet Union, Britain and the U.S.A., Australia, Pakistan, Egypt, Argentina, Japan, Peru, Indonesia, Belgium, Portugal, the Union of South Africa.

Feroze Khan Noon's Ravings

Malik Feroze Khan Noon, the present Pakistani Foreign Minister, has long been known for his unusual sense and historical knowledge. It was precisely this Malik who

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"discovered" that the battle of Plassey in 1757 had taken place not between Robert Clive and Seraj-ud-daullah but between Clive and Dupleix —contrary historical evidence notwithstanding. He was not yet a Pakistani when he discovered such a historical truth. It would be idle to expect sense from a man whose knowledge (understanding) of his own country's history betrayed such childishness. Nobody would have cared for whatever he might have to say on any matter had he not been the Foreign Minister of the largest Islamic State. Therefore, some attention has to be given to his utterances.

In a long speech on October 20 at the town hall Malik Feroze Khan Noon said that the "enmity of a powerful neighbouring country had obliged Pakistan to enter into defence alliances to preserve her freedom."

PTI adds: "The Minister, in an obvious reference to India, added: 'We have no desire to attack any country—these pacts are only meant to defend ourselves against the country with which we have great differences'."

On an earlier occasion the Malik had charged India of complicity with France in the matter of Algerian independence and Kashmir dispute. According to the omniscient Malik, India allegedly tried to strike a bargain with France to the effect that France should support India in the matter of Kashmir in the U.N. and that India would help France regarding Algeria.

Mr. Noon had further added: "Muslim world is watching with horror the massacres of Muslims going on, even today, in the so-called Secular State of India."

India sent a strong protest to Karachi against the unfounded utterances of the Pakistani Foreign Minister. As we have already mentioned Mr. Noon's utterances are not worth any attention but his official position makes the formality of a contradiction necessary to some extent. Nothing more, however, is deserved by him since his utterances do not bear any serious considerations and it would be sheer wastage of space to attempt a detailed refutation of his manufactured charges: the facts are too well-known to require that.

The best retort to Mr. Noon has come from his own compatriot—Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhasani, leader of the East Pakistan Awami League and one of the great sons of Pakistan. In a statement issued on the night of October 25, Maulana Bhasani said that Pakistani people "cannot and do not consider India as their enemy" despite mutual differences over Kashmir. Even Kashmir dispute could not also remain unsolved for any great length of time. "We still believe," the Maulana added, "that it is not beyond the ingenuity of the people of Pakistan and India to solve the Kashmir problem in a manner satisfactory to India, Pakistan and, above all, people of Kashmir."

The *Hindu* reports: "While declaring that Malik Noon's remarks at Rawalpindi and elsewhere on Pakistan's defence and other Pacts with foreign countries had come as a 'rude surprise' to him, Maulana Bhasani said. 'Consistency has never been the qualification in him but people expected that as Foreign Minister he will practise discretion. Those who had been studying Malik Noon for sometime past would not be upset over this as only recently he said if Pakistan did not receive sufficient support and help from the Western bloc she would join hands with the Russian bloc," Moulana Bhasani said.

Referring to Mr. Noon's refusal to place the texts of Pakistan's agreements with foreign countries before the National Assembly, Maulana Bhasani said:

"It is an established convention and practice everywhere in the world wherever there is a democratic form of Government to have all pacts and agreements with foreign countries ratified by the Parliament of the country concerned. Debates on foreign affairs are very common features in parliaments of European countries.

"It is, therefore, very surprising and at the same time regrettable that our Foreign Minister, Malik Feroze Khan Noon, tries to defend his or for the matter of that the Government's failure to place all pacts entered into with foreign countries for an examination by the National Assembly by saying that the Constitution does not provide for such action.

"If, as Malik Noon says, pacts, such as, Baghdad and SEATO, contain secret clauses it is all the more important that these pacts should be very carefully examined by the National Assembly. These pacts were entered into by the predecessor Governments. Therefore, people

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ch their representatives in the National mbly have the right to know whether or honour, prestige, and even the very essence independence itself have been bartered away exchange for very paltry benefits—personal general—for the character of the predecessor ernments was never representative."

Congress and Pandit Nehru

Pandit Nehru was in a reflective mood he made the remarks, quoted in the news- appended below. Some salient truths out in them, though the causitive factors not indicated. There are some very charac- tic utterances in it as well, such as that Life and Discipline, which latter term been used by Panditji in its narrowest

The trouble about speeches like the one , is that there are too many points raised no complete discussion of any. As a result leave no impression on the public mind. The roots of the Congress have been weak- that is a fact. And the Congress will perish or become a second "Tammary organisation, historical necessity or not, the disease is eradicated. But how?

Jaunpur, October 28.—Mr. Nehru said here that the idea of relinquishing office as Minister which had occurred to him four ago was still in his mind. "I feel that er I remain Prime Minister or not, I can serve my country."

He added: "About four years ago while the Congress Presidentship I decided main Prime Minister. But I do not like that nobody could do my job except my-

Mr. Nehru was addressing over 30,000 es and visitors at the open session of 7th U.P. Pradesh Congress political con-

He said that the Congress had become weak it was the duty of Congresssmen to then it. He regretted that the situation out of the States reorganization had out of the hands of Congressmen. This, , indicated that the roots of the organi- had weakened.

Mr. Nehru said: "It is a historic necessity the Congress should exist and discharge responsibilities laid on its shoulders without faltering. Its history is associated with the history of the nation. Therefore, it must be revitalized."

Discipline and organization were necessary for the Congress but they should not stifle the life of the organization. "Life is more important than discipline. There could not be discipline for the dead."

Congressmen were suffering from a fear complex—always afraid of losing seats. This was an unhealthy state of affairs, the Prime Minister said. He added: "Let us at once shake off this fear and think of losing all seats. This will give us strength."

The Congress had decided to bring in Socialism. But how many Congressmen understood this term? If the significance of Socialism was fully understood, then in the selection of candidates progressive elements in the organization would have been encouraged and preferred by those making the selections.

How many Congressmen realized that they were living in an atom age? he asked. How many ever thought about the atom bomb? Other political parties appeared ahead in this respect.

Mr. Nehru said the Community Project administration was in touch with at least 100,000,000 people through its development block link. It was bringing about a revolution in the countryside and doing good work.

The real problem facing the country was the question of stepping up food production which was not possible through small holdings. There was the urgent need of developing agrarian co-operatives. Mr. Nehru regretted that Congressmen today were not bold enough to emphasize such new things as agrarian co-operatives for fear of losing the sympathy of the electorate. They should abandon this fear and boldly assert what was right.

Mr. Nehru said: "The poverty-stricken condition of the kisans touched me. I do not want to say that nothing has been done for them, but it will take years to really improve their lot."

Mr. Nehru strongly deprecated communalism and warned Congressmen against developing communal tendencies. The door of the Congress, he said, must remain wide open for all if the organization was to be kept alive, but Congressmen should be on their guard

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against being influenced by Hindu Sabha or R.S.S. workers when they joined the Congress.

He referred to the agitation relating to the publication of the book, *Religious Leaders*, and said that the book doubtless hurt the feelings of Muslims but interested parties and students of Aligarh had taken advantage of the situation and fomented communal feeling which was wrong. He asked what had Congressmen done on these occasions. There was no trace of them at the time to control the situation.

The whole world was looking at India. Foreign deputations and delegations were visiting the country every year. Some, however, came with happy intentions, some with motives. But on the whole, the impressions they got were good. Dr. Appleby, who had strongly criticized the Administration, had in his recent report all praise for India. India was progressing and this was accepted by foreigners, but the people here did not appreciate the progress.

India's Changed Map

The political map of India underwent its second great change since independence. The first was occasioned by the integration of princely States with India. The passage of the States Reorganisation Acts occasioned the second redrawal. India's administrative units came down from 29 to 20 including the six Centrally-administered territories. Except those six States, the other fourteen States would be equal in all respects. In area, Bombay was the biggest and Kerala the smallest of the States.

The new States, after reorganization, were as follows:

A. States

Name	Capital
1. Mysore	*Bangalore*
2. Rajasthan	*Jaipur*
3. Kerala	*Trivandrum*
4. Andhra	*Hyderabad*
5. Bombay	*Bombay*
6. Madhya Pradesh	*Bhopal*
7. Punjab	*Chandigarh*
8. Orissa	*Bhubaneswar*
9. Assam	*Shillong*
10. West Bengal	*Calcutta*
11. Bihar	*Patna*
12. Uttar Pradesh	*Lucknow*
13. Madras	*Madras*
14. Jammu and Kashmir	*Srinagar*

B. Centrally Administered States

1. Delhi	*Delhi*
2. Himachal Pradesh	*Simla*
3. Tripura	*Agartala*
4. Manipur	*Imphal*
5. Andaman and Nicobar Islands	*Port Blair*
6. Lacca Islands, Minicois and Amindivs	

India's First Music University

India's first Music University was inaugurated on October 14 at Khairagarh in Madhya Pradesh by Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The University grew out of the Indira Sangeet Vidyalaya established in 1944 by Rani Padmavati Devi of Khairagarh in memory of her deceased second daughter, Rajkumari Indira Devi. After the merge of Khairagarh with Madhya Pradesh, the school was converted into an academy in July, 1955. The magnificent contribution of the Rani Padmavati and of Raja Bahadur Birendra Bahadur Singh of their palace worth about Rs. 10 to 15 lakhs made it possible to convert the institution into a University. India's newest University would be known as Indira Kala Sangeet Vishwavidyalaya.

In an editorial comment in the issue, dated the 11th October, the *Hitavada* writes that music and musicians had always been held in high esteem in India. The cause of music had suffered during the days of British rule. But some of the princely States had helped keep alive the great traditions of Indian classical music. A welcome trend was noticeable in the opening of faculties of fine arts and music in various Indian Universities and it was to be hoped that the Indira Kala Sangeet Vishwavidyalaya "would flourish into a great institution and attract students from all corners of India," the *Hitavada* concludes.

It must be noted, however, that a music "University" is a very ambitious project. Hitherto the institutions that have taught or dealt with the subject of Music and Fine Arts, have done so within very limited and distinctly stereotyped scope. In order that this new University may justify its name, it will have to take a catholic view and widen the field.

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INDIA'S ROLE IN WORLD PEACE

By SAILA KUMAR MUKHERJI,
Speaker, Legislative Assembly, West Bengal

subject of world peace with reference to a ticular country related to its foreign policy. the first speech of the Prime Minister of the public of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru said:

"A country's foreign policy ultimately emerges its own traditions, from its own urges, from its objectives and more particularly from its recent ..."

In one of his early addresses to the Parlia- President Rajendra Prasad said :

"While aggression has to be met and evil cannot condoned it has to be remembered that war itself evil which brings greater evil in its train. It is policy of my Government to maintain peace and dship with all nations of the world and to help very way possible in the maintenance of world . The Republic of India inherited no enmities or tional rivalries with other nations and my ernment intend continuing a policy directed rds securing peace in the world and avoiding any ment which leads to hostilities with other ns."

Based on these two fundamental policy- ing utterances let us analyse how far India played in the past its role in world peace hopes to play in future a similar role. What India's own traditions and what are her urges ? To understand these two aspects of foreign policy of India we must have to tra- e through a long course of history and leg- running to an ancient period for over 5,000 s. Fortunately for her it is her pride and vilege to have inherited treasures in art and rature emanating from ancient times which till today honoured, adored and studied and ered by the people of India. Without going er back into pre-historic days it would be venient to examine this aspect of the ques- tracing our tradition for 2,500 years from time of the appearance of Gautama Buddha the Indian scene. A prince amongst men, sidered by many thinkers to be the greatest of the world, has left immortal teachings the guidance of humanity. These are not confined within the narrow geographical limits of the territory of India. This spread thousand years after his death beyond the borders of India to distant lands as far back as China, Japan, Korea, Ceylon, Indonesia, Burma and other far-eastern countries. What message did they carry ? Could anybody find in the volumes of Buddhist literature any idea of man's hatred against man, of nation's hatred against nation, of the mutual rivalries and jealousies between border States and border nations? On the contrary, they have tried to establish the principle of the universality of humanity, the oneness of the world, the removal of barriers between race and race and between man and man.

Like Buddha his another contemporary, the great Mahavira, in India about the same time, preached the famous religious principle of Jainism, which is nothing but a branch of Hinduism, based his whole doctrine and philosophy on absolute non-violence and love, discarding all evil means to gain right ends.

Coming back to 1,500 years after Buddha in India what do we find amongst the great teachers, Chaitanya, Kabir and Nanak. They appeared on the Indian scene at a time when the political power of the State was weak, when society owing to its internal weakness through various historical reasons was deviating from the path laid down by their great *sastras* into mere rigid formulas, and spiritual teachings were forgotten and men became concentrated on doctrines, dogmas and ritual observance as the sole aim of religion. During this decadance Messiahs like Sri Chaitanya, Kabir and Nanak and others appeared in different parts of India and spread their message of universal brotherhood, love and non-violence, the everlasting strength of solidarity of the people, and the strength of attaining the highest spiritual aim, *summum bonum* of Indian conception, *viz.*, the soul force and power of the mind is more powerful than the brute force of

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the power of the senses and body. In the end of the nineteenth century the great Indian saint Vivekananda carried to the Western world starting from his Chicago speech and various utterances the eternal spiritual message of India of harmony of religions. Did he claim any physical gain for the Indian people from the people of the West? Through his soul-stirring speeches he wanted the West to understand the spirit of the East, and to throw light to the world amidst darkness prevailing, so that through this prophet of universal brotherhood and harmony of religions preached by his master Shri Ramakrishna the world may be rid of strife and tussle in the name of religion and other material ideologies. Did not Rabindranath, the greatest philosopher and poet of the twentieth century, establish 30 years ago at Santiniketan, the Visva-Bharati or International University for advancement of world peace and fraternity and interchange of respective cultures? Every Hindu has a conception of divinity which transcends beyond the personal, the sectarian and territorial limits. He does not think of God as a God of the Hindu only. A Hindu conception of Goodhood embraces universal Godhood. In every Hindu sacrament from pre-nistoric Vedic times down to this date during births, marriages and funerals and other religious ceremonies all functions end with a prayer for universal peace. In our ancient scriptures, in our great epics and in mythology we think and pray to universal motherhood and fathernood of God. These fundamental and traditional characters of the Indians were not perhaps made adequately known to the civilized world due to India's foreign bondage. Therefore, from our ancient traditions and from our urges we are wedded to the principle of world peace, fraternity and universal brotherhood.

Now let us analyse our immediate objectives particularly in the light of our recent past. Let us analyse what part during the last nine years young India has played in the international sphere and for the promotion of world peace.

The question of world peace from the standpoint of Western mind has developed since the First World War and has further developed after the termination of the Second World War. During the First World War, statesmen of victorious Allied powers repeatedly asserted that war had been fought to end war and with that noble objective the League of Nations was ushered into existence so that world peace may be secured and world war may be avoided. We are all aware how the League of Nations came to a miserable failure and the very sponsors of the League of Nations were at loggerheads for self-interest, for respective positions of power and military strength. The Second World War started within 20 years. In the Second World War, too, the belligerents, particularly the Allies, during the deliberations about war policies, conceived the idea of a world organisation to prevent war through a machinery known as the United Nations Organisation and the Charter of the United Nations was ushered in San Francisco in 1946 under the auspices of the five big nations of the world. India after independence pledged herself completely to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations as she believes in the Charter because if properly worked it has got the potentiality of preventing war and establishing world peace. India as a member of the United Nations from the very beginning of her independence has played not an insignificant role in her deliberations. Her fundamental policy has been an independent line of action of non-alignment with any of the power blocs of the world. This non-alignment may not be called peaceful neutralism, but is an active and positive policy of peace and not a negative one of doing nothing and sitting on the fence and watching both sides. A foreign policy for world peace, international co-operation and brotherhood cannot after all be completely divorced from her own needs. India knows that she is an undeveloped country. Economically she is a poor and weak country and she needs a spell of long peace in the world not only for her own development, but for the development of all the under-developed countries of Asia, which was along with her under foreign domination and under the grip of Western imperialism for nearly two centuries. Therefore on the very eve of independence in 1948 she sponsored the Asian Conference in Delhi. The speeches delivered there by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru show that such a conference was held not with the object of forming an Asian block, but to understand each other's difficulties and to frame a policy of mutual co-operation for

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al strength to secure world peace placing nce on the United Nations' Charter. That y has been followed up continuously and inated in the famous Bandung Conference nations of Asia and Africa in 1955. But t from these friendly gatherings and policy-ing conferences, the active foreign policy taken by India for the cause of world e and lessening international tension lead-to war should be examined.

Let us stage by stage measure the steps n by India in her relations with the coun-of the world. The first question of India's ng the Commonwealth was a unique event he history for world peace. India has ed following the teachings of Gandhiji that the British transference of power India's ions with Britain has been most cordial not use India is toeing the line of the British, due to historical and economic associations g the last 200 years India has joined the monwealth with an independent outlook y because she believes that this association mocratic countries with her past connec-would help her to exercise the influence e cause of world peace. The very fact during her entrance into the Common-th she insisted that she would be the first ublic joining the Commonwealth without allegiance to the British Crown, is a proof ive of her independent and courageous y and the British and the rest of the Com-wealth countries had to change the Com-wealth structure to make it fit to admit to the Commonwealth. Since India's into the Commonwealth other countries oured people of Africa and East Asia, h were under the domination of British rialism, are also one by one joining the monwealth as independent countries, such Nigeria, Gold Coast, Malaya, Singapore, ritius and other places where the British e are gradually transferring power to these e. During the successive Commonwealth rences India has played an independent in the deliberations and discussions and Commonwealth deliberations and the mbo Plan emanating out of the Common-h discussions had helped to develop the r-developed countries of Asia without any attached. As Pandit Nehru has recently

"Commonwealth has a unique advantage to establish the right to disagree on the basis of substantial agreements for the mutual benefit of the adjoining countries."

India's next stand for the purpose of world peace is that she has a set idea against colonialism and racialism. Although she has succeeded in her policy in the United Nations on the question of racial discrimination in South Africa, South African Government is flouting the entire decision of the United Nations so far as the solution of the racial questions are concerned. India may not successfully act for lessening the racial tension in South Africa, but in her effort she has the support of the rest of the world, which is no mean achievement for a newly independent country and she will not rest until the last vestige of racial discrimination goes out of the world. With regard to colonialism India's boldest stand has been in regard to the countries of Asia and Africa. With regard to Indonesia she made a courageous stand by not allowing the Dutch planes to land in the country and this gave considerable strength to the Indonesian people. On the question of Korean war which was almost on the brink of bringing a Third World War, when China was forced to give military help to North Korea when 38 deg. Parallel was crossed, India exercised all her tremendous influence by discussions and deliberations to bring the Korean armistice to the United Nations and she had to play a part by sending her army in Korea not for war, but peace in that disturbed land. The action of her army in Korea has brought unstinted praise from the world. Although in the beginning India was terribly misunderstood by America and although America tried her best to keep out India as a non-belligerent country to be included in the political conference relating to Korea, still with the opinion of the rest of the world when the question of prisoners of war was a stumbling block, India was asked to take a leading part in solving that deadlock. Recently when events in Indo-China were almost threatening towards a Third World War, she played a gigantic role for bringing peace and armistice in the disturbed land, which was fighting for the last ten years or more and she is the Chairman of the neutral nations' supervisory commission on Indo-China

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still working for bringing peace in Vietnam, Combodia and Laos.

In her foreign policy with China, India has played her trump-card by solving dispute with China through agreement containing the five principles of peaceful co-existence, which she has laid as an example of world peace. China follows an ideology, which has not been recognised by the United Nations nor is that ideology followed by India. She has played a great role in respect of the demand for China's membership to the United Nations. Through India's efforts 18 small nations, which were not members of the United Nations, have recently been admitted as members and India's efforts will soon succeed when China will be admitted also as a member and India's mission for world peace will get adequate strength. The five principles of peaceful co-existence for the first time agreed in the international field between India and China have gradually been agreed between India and other Asian countries, such as, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, and Western countries like Soviet Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, and other countries are following up the line of India's policy with regard to world peace. This is India's greatest achievement, for by the high moral principle she has, without economic and military strength, been able to gradually influence the world opinion for maintaining world peace.

The role played by her accredited representative in the United Nations on the question of disarmament and on the question of avoiding nuclear tests of Atom and Hydrogen Bombs has been universally appreciated. Her scientist, Dr. Bhava, was the first Chairman of the world scientific conference for the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and for banning Hydrogen and Atomic bombs. India has never claimed that she aspires to the leadership of Asia. She knows that if her policy is sound, if she can develop her potential strength—economic resources and talents—she will be reckoned as a great world force for peace, prosperity and development. Naturally all Asiatic countries are looking upon her for guidance. Her greatest triumph in the cause of peace has been the successive visits of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to China and Russia whereby the two countries with vast population and with vast potential strength, economic and military, and having complete ideals, have been able to admire and respect India's foreign and economic policy. By making those countries sign and agree with the principles of Panch-Shila, which contain the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in respect of each other's domestic and other affairs, India has taken a very big step towards lessening international tension. But she is not yet out of difficulties. Both America and England do not fall in line with India's policy of not supporting military pact because they believe in the marshalling of forces backed by their position of strength to bring world peace. As India holds diametrically opposite views that such military pact only creates suspicion, hatred and fear, she has strongly opposed Baghdad and SEATO Pacts and America's military aid to Pakistan being inconsistent with her policy of world peace.

During his recent visit to Western countries Prime Minister Nehru has been given ovations and his discussions about his country's policy with West Germany, France and other countries have not been unfruitful and have led to world peace. As in the East there are local areas of tension so in the West the great local area of tension has been the division of Germany into East and West. On the question of unification of Germany Pandit Nehru has been trying to play India's role so that tension may disappear, and the threat of war and use of force may be replaced by methods of discussions and deliberations. That is India's sole object. It cannot be said that India has completely succeeded in avoiding the Third World War, but the steps she has token one by one during the last seven years have all gone towards relieving world tension. The recent question of nationalisation of Suez has been another theatre of tension and we all hope that India will play her consistent role in relieving the tension between the Western countries and the East successfully to the mutual interest of everybody because her vital interests are concern over the international waterway for the very sustenance of her foreign trade, both export and import. In other words for her very economic need India is vitally interested as an Asian power on the successful solution of the Suez Canal issue and her countrymen will watch with interest the part she is going to play on this question.

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Therefore, to summarise the seven years of spective view gives us a picture that we acquired more friends than we had seven ago. India's voice is now heard with and admiration by the rest of the d. Nearer home on the question of relation- with Pakistan and Portuguese India, she shown tremendous patience to solve all lems peacefully so that she herself may not ilty of taking means which are inconsistent her loudly-proclaimed policy. She is fol- ing the lessons of the teachings she received attaining independence by the peaceful ods of non-violence. She will rather wait finitely for the solution of the problems of Pakistan and Portuguese, who are trying to gain by threat and force. For this, India's actions may be questioned in some quarters in the domestic sphere, but outside India for her patience and restraint she is admired.

Therefore, in short, in infant democracy with numerous problems, some never faced by any country in the world, after 200 years of foreign domination, economically and militarily weak, India has with head erect stood up with glory and honour for establishing friendly relations with all countries of the world and for maintaining world peace.*

* Address delivered at the Indian Club, Colombo (Ceylon) on the 12th October, 1956.

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A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PADMINI LEGEND

By Prof. K. R. QANUNGO, M.A., Ph.D.

PUT warrior's heroism and the hallowed ory of the sterner virtues of Rajput women performed *Jauhar* thrice at least in medieval s have made the fortress of Chitor a place of rical pilgrimage in India. There the pilgrim istory visits Rani Padmini's "ancient palace of nificent dimensions" standing on the bank of nk, and particularly a small double-storied rising from the middle of a tank. This renovated by Maharana Sajjan Singhji. We it on the authority of M. M. Gaurishanker that "even now people call this place mini, and the tank as *Padmini ka talao*."[1]

But who was Padmini? We read in our l history that Padmini was the wife of Bhim h, uncle of Rana Lakshman Singh Sisodia. was on the authority of Tod's *Annals and quities of Rajasthan*. But our children dis- the statement as their text-book gives Ratna h, the son and successor of Rawal Samar h of Mewar, as Padmini's husband. This ision was due to the fact that by the time Tod te his history, the very name Ratna Singh had peared from the books of the *Bhats*, and n from their memory a century before Tod, ing only Ratan's imaginary better-half, the lled queen Padmini. And this is to be noted that this Padmini was not the Padmini of Jaisi's poem, *Padmavat;* because Jaisi writes that Padmini Padmavati was the daughter of Gandharvasen of Simhala island, whereas Tod makes her, evidently on the authority of the Bhats, the *daughter* of Hammir Singh Chauhan of Ceylon.

Rawal Ratansi, son of Rawal Samar Singh in whose time Chitor was invaded by Sultan Alauddin Khalji,—was discovered for authentic history about half-a-century after Tod, by Kaviraj Shymaldasji, the author of *Vir Vinod*. This new discovery was on the authority of *Ekalinga Mahatyam* and the Kumbhalgarh inscription (1460 A.D.) of the reign of Maharana Kumbha, which are the nearest contemporary Rajput evidence of Alauddin's conquest of Chitor (August, 1303 A.D.). But these authorities tell us nothing about any wife of Ratna Singh. And of Ratna Singh's activities, we get only "tasmin gate," *i.e.*, "after his death," when the defence of Chitor was taken up by Lakshman Singh (known also as Bhad Lakhamsi). Kaviraj Shyamaldasji's researches also spotted Bhim Singh as the grandfather of Lakshman Singh (Chirwa Inscription), correcting Tod's error of making Bhim Singh, an *uncle* of Lakshman Singh. As a compromise Shyamaldasji, therefore, got the Padmini of the Bhats of Mewar remarried to Ratna Singh, and left the

1. Ojha: *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 486.

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legend undisturbed further. Since then no historian suspected the historicity of the Padmini legend till V. A. Smith, with the unerring instinct of a historian, suspected the whole affair to be a myth, without, however, mentioning the grounds of his doubt.

This challenge apparently disturbed the mind of the late historian M. M. Gaurishanker Ojha, the greatest authority in Rajput history in the present age. He criticised Tod's account threadbare, and examined the historicity of Jaisi's poem, *Padmavat*, with which the story of Padmini and Ratna Singh originated. He comes to the conclusion:

"...Col. Tod has written this story on the authority of Bhats of Mewar, and the Bhats have taken it from *Padmavat* . . . Such being the case, Tod's statement lacks conviction. If there is any basic fact (lit. root; *jad*) behind the statement of *Tarikhi-Ferishta*, Tod and *Padmavat*, it is this that Alauddin captured Chitor after a siege of six months, that its ruler Ratna Singh was killed in this fight with Lakshman Singh, and that his queen Padmini died in the fire of *jauhar* with several other ladies".[2]

In commenting upon the historicity of Jaisi's poem, *Padmavat*, Ojha further remarks:

". . . In the absence of history people accepted *Padmavat* as a history. But in truth it is only a story in verse, like a modern historical novel, the structure of which rests upon these historical facts that Ratansen was the ruler of Chitor, Padmini was his queen, and Alauddin was the Sultan of Delhi, who wrested the fort of Chitor from Ratan Sen (Ratna Singh) by fighting . . ."[3]

With due respect to the revered memory of Ojha, we may be permitted to point out that Ojha has not been perhaps exact on the following points:

i. Ratna Singh or Ratan Sen was killed in this fight not *with* Laksman Singh but *before*, as Ojha himself elsewhere says on the authority of Kumbhalgarh Inscription.

ii. Alauddin wrested the fort of Chitor *not* from Ratansen but from Lakshman Singh.

iii. "Padmini was his (Ratansen's) queen," has not been proved by Ojha to be a *historical* fact, and yet he speaks in the indicative mood about the so-called Padmini palace and Padmini tank of Chitor.

(2)

A perusal of Ojha's learned history roused my curiosity about the historicity of Padmini, and I began studying all the available evidence, historical and literary, about the heroine of Jaisi's poem, Padmavat, and the nature of poem itself. I published about fifteen years back one paper in Bengali, in the *Prabasi* with the conclusion that there is not even tolerably reliable evidence of the existence of Padmini as a historical personage of flesh and blood, and that Padmini was purely a poetic creation of Jaisi, whose literary genius practised a bluff on credulous chroniclers and the Bhats of Mewar of later times.[4] But a historical heresy once in possession of man's mind is very hard to kill, and there is no dearth of die-hards in the ranks of modern historians who would cling to the historicity of the Padmini legend desperately.

The latest and most tenacious champion of the historicity of the Padmini legend is my distinguished pupil, Dr. A. L. Srivastava, with whom I have agreed to disagree without bitterness on many a finding of Medieval history. He writes :

". . . . arguments of modern scholars (who have rejected the Padmini episode) are based on a superficial reading of Khusrau's work and are fallacious.... It seems the women performed *jauhar* after Rana Ratna Singh's arrest, and *then* the Rajputs fell on the invaders and rescued the Rana."[5]

This is not getting at authentic history, but creating a new *history* (?) altogether. How many absurdities are packed up in one sentence? It gives a lie to the whole trend of Rajput history, and to the character of Alauddin Khalji who was treacherous, but not foolish, and from whose clutches no important victim had ever escaped alive. What could have been the meaning of rescuing Ratna Singh and for whom, if Padmini with the families of Rajput warriors had already burnt herself to death? Dr. Srivastava has similarly pushed himself into a tight corner by too startling and confident a guess:

". . . . Jaisi wrote out a romance, the plot of which is derived from *Khazain-ul-Futuh* . . . . the story that Padmini was coveted by Alauddin and was shown in a mirror to the lustful Sultan . . . . is probably based on historical truth . . . ."[6]

Let us turn to the works of Amir Khusrau.

(3)

Amir Khusrau, the Parrot of Hindustan, was hismself present with the besieging army of

2. *Ibid*, ii, 494-95.
3. *Ibid*, ii, 491.
4. *Prabasi*, Falgoon, 1337, B.E.
5. *The Sultanate of Delhi*, 238.
6. *Ibid*, 236-238.

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uddin at Chitor. He wrote two *bona fide* ories of Alauddin's reign; namely, *Tarikh-i-* and *Khazain-ul-Futuh*. Both the works are ilable in English translation. *Tarikh-i-Alai* is ently earlier in date and written in a paratively sober style; wheras *Khazain-ul-* h is an artificial embellishment in a grandiolo- nt style containing, however, more facts about uddin's buildings, etc. *Tarikh-i-Alai* gives us date of the Sultan's departure from Delhi, e sorties of the Rajputs, date of the fall of itor (August 26, 1303), escape of the and his eventual submission. It should remembered that Amir Khusrau though an witness, does not give us an account of daily ts, but only a summary of all the incidents ing to Chitor and the Rajputs of Mewar till end of Alauddin's reign in a single passage. *ain-ul-Futuh* gives us the same facts in a e involved style, regarding the siege of Chitor. the course of his English translation of *ain-ul-Futuh*, Professor Muhammad Habib of rh threw a guarded hint that the insertion the Quranic allusion to Hudhud, the legen- y bird who served Hazrat Sulaiman Nabi as captain of birds of the sky, and had once n absent to bring to Sulaiman the news of the utiful queen of Sheba, to which the poet pares himself to fit in with his praise of uddin as "the Solomon of his Age"—perhaps des to Padmini by a metaphor. This is, how- , the limit of literary criticism.[7]

The next nearest contemporary historians Ziauddin Barani, the author of *Tarikh-i- Shahi*, and Isami, who wrote *Futuh-us- din* in verse in the Bahmani court of Gulbarga. ani does not make any reference to Padmini, nor add anything to the facts mentioned by Khusrau. Nor do we find any mention or hint in Isami's history in verse about Alauddin's infatuation for any lady of Rajputana. He mentions eight months, in place of six months of Khusrau as the duration of the siege of Chitor. If it is argued that Amir Khusrau could not be expected to mention Alauddin's lust for Padmini, a flattering courtier as he was, the same argument does not hold water in the case of Barani and Isami, who could have no earthly motive in hiding such a sensational topic. If our masters failed to discover any history behind Hudhud in the raphsody of Amir Khusrau, we at this distance of time cannot make ourselves ridiculous by making Solomon's Hudhud yield a Padmini for Alauddin and Ratansen. As regards Khusrau's statement, "the Rai fled and afterwards surrendered himself", we have it from Rajput sources that this Rai could not have been Ratansen, the alleged husband of the non-existent Padmini, but some one else of the Sisodia family. This prince was Ajaysi, son of Chitor's defender Lakhamsi. He was wounded in the last fight with his brother Anantsi. Ajaysi became the Rana of his ancestral fief of Sisode. This might be due to Ajaysi's submission to Alauddin.[8]

About half-a-century after Jaisi's *Padmavat*, Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, writes, 'Sultan Alauddin Khalji, ruler of Delhi, heard that Rawal Ratansi, chief of Mewar, possessed a most beautiful woman (*Padmini-i-darad, i.e.*, a woman of the Padmini class)'.[9] This mention of a woman of Padmini class in the harem of Rawal Ratansi by Abul Fazl is a landmark of the wide and sweeping publicity of Jaisi's *Padmavat*, which had already begun to assume the authority of a historical romance in Rajputana. It is clear that the Bhats took the clue of Padmini and Ratansen from Jaisi's *Padmavat*, and supplied information to the Delhi Secretariat for the use of the royal historiographer. Abul Fazl's notice of the Subah-s of the Mugal Empire is

7. In deference to my esteemed elderly friend ssor Habib, and my own pupil Dr. Srivastava, I consulted a MS. of *Khazain-ul-Futuh* in the now University Library. I did not trust my own ledge of Persian against theirs, and so read the ge with the best masters of Persian available in now. I referred also the relevant passage to Profes- Wahid Mirza, Head of the Department of Arabic, now University, who has made a specialised study Khusrau's works. Professor Wahid Mirza wrote to in reply: " . . . the question to be decided is her it contains a veiled hint to Padmini. I am ned to think that the presumption is unwarranted. As a matter of fact I have failed to find any allu- to Padmini not only in this description of the est of Chitor, but in any composition prose or by Khusrau" (Letter, 18-1-56). This should, I stop any further controversy over Padmini under shadow of Hudhud.

8. Ojha: *Rajputane-ka-Itihas*, ii, 512.

9. *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii, 269. Jarret has made here a correct translation of the word, *Padmini*, which, may however, disappoint a student of *Kamashastras*. According to the *Kamashastra*, *Padmini* is one of the four categories of women, the other three in order of merit being *chitrini*, *samkhini* and *hastini*. This passage cannot be twisted to yield "a wife of the name Padmini" without making it un-Persian; because *Padmini-e-darad* is as good as *Iraqi-e-darad* (so and so possessed an Iraqi horse). We shall notice later the use of *Padmini* in this sense in Rajput ballads and *khyats*.

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much less historical than the old district gazetteers of British India, though prepared in the same way.[10]

Abul Fazl's worthy contemporary Nizamuddin Ahmed, was of too austere a type of historians to indulge in rhetoric and unhistorical romance. He dismisses Alauddin's conquest of Chitor in one sentence without taking cognizance of Abul Fazl's statement in the *Ain*. We are helpless against the stubborn logic of those who would argue that if Mir Qasim and Gurgin Khan were historical personages, where is the proof that Bankim Chanddra's Dalani Begum was not?

(4)

Ferishta, a younger contemporary of Abul Fazl, was a much-travelled man gathering the then current popular stories to supplement history. He seemed to have had visited Rajputana, where he picked up confused stories about Alauddin's siege of Chitor. He writes:

"...At this time (704 A.H.|1304 A.D.) Rajah Ratansen of Chitor,—who had been in captivity since the capture of his fort by the Sultan—fled away by a strange device. Alauddin having heard of the graces and unique beauty of a *daughter* of the Rajah, promised to set him free, if he would give that *daughter* to him. The Rajah under cruel torture in the prison sent for his daughter for surrendering her to the Sultan. The kinsman of the Rajah decided to administer poison to the princess for the sake of honour of their family, when they heard of this insulting proposal. The princess hit upon a plan to rescue her father and save her honour... (*Here follows the doli story as given in Jaisi's Padmavat*) ... The Rajah escaped from the town (Delhi) with his companions, and fled into his hilly country, where his relations had been hiding. Thus the device of the resourceful princess got the Rajah out of his captivity. The Rajah at once began ravaging the tract of country in the possession of Muslims. Eventually the Sultan having found it futile to hold Chitor ordered Khizr Khan to evacuate Chitor and hand it over to the Rajah's nephew."[11]

Ojha in his comment on this passage of Ferishta says that on comparng the story of *Padmavat* with Ferishta's narrative, it becomes clear that it is based on the story of *Padmavat*, and that Ferishta has given it a historical character, by making some additions and alterations; *e.g.*, Padmini is spoken of as *daughter* in the place of wife of the Rajah.[12] But this passage should not have been so summarily dealt with by the veteran historian. In all fairness and courtesy to an eminent medieval chronicler though uncritcal, it is only reasonable to hold that Ferishta has not *invented* anything, and that he has honestly reproduced the story as narrated to him by his informants in Rajputana, where gossips and facts in the melting pot seem to have been still in a fluid state.

It is to be noted that Ferishta does not mention Padmini by name either as wife or daughter, though the rest of the story down to the Rajah's escape is taken from *Padmavat*. We also owe to the historian to account for his "*additions and alterations*" and trace their possible sources. And this lands us into a digression into the story of Alauddin's earlier conquest of Ranthambhor and the poetic legend of Hammirdev Chauhan's fictitious *daughter*, Devala Devi.

(5)

Two years before the siege of Chitor, the fort of Ranthambhor, fell to the arms of Alauddin after a long siege (1301). The heroic defence of Ranthambhor by Hammir Chauhan inspired two pseudo-historical poems, *Hammir Raso* (in Hindi) and *Hammir Mahakavyam* by Nayachandra Suri (*cir* 1336 A.D.). These were written within forty years of the fall of Ranthambhor, and they furnish best examples how rapidly history was smothered under the multi-coloured weeds of poetic fancy, and of the Hindu tendency to cut their own nose to spite the Muslim. According to these two works, almost identical in substance, Alauddin demanded in marriage Hammir's daughter, Devala Devi, for his son Khizr Khan. To save her father's kingdom from inevitable ruin, the heroic princess appealed to her father to sacrifice one daughter and "hand her over to the Saka ruler" (*Sakendraya pradehi mam*). At this Hammir's wrath flared up; the warriors wore the *kesariya*, and the fire of *jauhar* consumed women and children within the fort.

But what might be the real cause of

10. After Jaisi's *Padmavat* written in the reign of Sher Shah (1540 A.D.) Hussain Ghaznavi wrote a Persian poem, *Kissa-i-Padmavat*, and Rai Govind Munshi narrated the story of Padmavati in Persian prose (1595 A.D.). This shows that the story of *Padmavat* was already too well-known to be missed by Abul Fazl, who cannot, therefore, be taken as an independent authority for the legend.

11. Briggs, i, 262-63 (Italics are mine).

12. Ojha; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 493.

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...din's attack on Ranthambhor? *Hammir* ... says that Alauddin sent an envoy named ...allan to Hammir with this insulting message. ...Muslim envoy went, no doubt to Ranthambhor ...we learn from a fairly contemporary Muslim ...rian, Isami. But this envoy was sent not by ...uddin but by his general Ulugh Khan, ...demanded in a letter the surrender of two ...ellious Mongol chiefs, and not any princess. ...gh Khan wrote to Hammir that as he counted ...Rai among one of his well-wishers, it was ...proper that he should harbour the Mongol ...s who ought to be expelled from the Raja's ...tory. Hammir held a consultation with his ...ir, and sent a reply to Ulugh Khan in polite ...uage saying that it was impossible for him ...surrender the Mongol chiefs, who for fear of ...had sought refuge with him.[13] There is not ...single Indo-Persian chronicle, written within ...hundred years of Alauddin's conquest of ...thambhor in which a daughter of Hammir ...res as the cause of quarrel, though Ziauddin ...ni puts such courage and self-sacrifice by a ...ti princess of the Punjab, whom Sultan ...asuddin Tughlaq sought a bride for his ...her Rajjab, father of Firuz Shah Tughlaq. ...s it stands to reason for treating Devala Devi, ...aughter of Hammir Chauhan as a creation of ...e literary imagination innocent of history.[14] ...Rajput fancy could create Devala Devi within ...y years of the fall of Ranthambhor, it is no ...der that in far-off Awadh, Jaisi created a ...mini for Ratansen, one hundred and thirty ...en years after Alauddin's sack of Chitor. So ...appears that by the time of Ferishta, the ...put tradition took the beginning of the legend ...Padmini from *Hammir Raso*, its middle ...tion of *doli* story from Padmavat, and the ...cluding portion from some *khyat* about Ajaysi (son of Chitor's brave defender Lakhamsi), whom Ferishta has confused with Ratansen. "The nephew of the Rajah," mentioned by Ferishta was Maldev Sonigara (brother of Kanhar Dev of Jalor; *Nainsi*), who was the "sister's son" of the ruler of Mewar.

It is to be noted that Tod has mentioned Padmini as the *daughter* of Hammir Singh Chauhan of Ceylon, on the authority of the Bhats of Mewar. In popular ballads, Hammir Chauhan of Ranthambhor figures as a haughty warrior, implacable and uncompromising where honour was concerned as the saying goes:

Tiriya tel Hammir hath na chare duji var.

So it is evident that Hammir, a popular hero, displace Jaisi's fictitious king, Gandharvasen, father of an equally fictitious queen Padmini by the time Tod wrote his history. At any rate, the variants of the story of Alauddin's sack of Chitor in the works of two historians, Abul Fazl and Ferishta, who wrote about the same time, point to the fact that the Padmini legend had not crystallised in Mewar, and that two poetic heresies remained strangely confused in popular memory till the end of the sixteenth century. We need not follow Muslim chronicles beyond the time of Ferishta, in search of the historicity of Padmini.

(6)

Now the question is what about Ratansen? He presents another difficulty. History and legend reveal not one Ratan but four Ratansens converging on Mewar's brave fight against Alauddin's imperialism. These are:

i. Ratna Singh (Ratansi), son of Rawal Samar Singh (Kumbhalgarh Inscription).

ii. Ratansen, son of Chitrasen and husband of Padmini (Jaisi's *Padmavat*).

iii. Ratna, son of Khem of Dhundher tribe (who gave the name of Dhundher to the tract, now known as Jaipur territory). He died fighting in defence of the lower town of Chitor, along with Bhim Singh of the fief of Sisode and grandfather of Bhar Lakhamsi (*vide* Ojha, ii, 473, 478).

iv. Rana Singh (son of Hammir Chauhan of Ranthambhor), who was given shelter at Chitor by Bhar Lakhamsi (Lakshman or Laksha Singh). *This was the real cause of Alauddin's attack on Chitor* (*vide* Surajmal's *Vamsabhaskar*, ii, 1686).

It is evident that the Bhats of Mewar found Jaisi's Chitrasen, father of Padmini's husband Ratansen, as inconvenient for the geneology of the rulers of Mewar, and they had forgotten the parentage of all other Ratansens. So in their memory, all the four Ratansens became merged

13. *Futuh-us-Salatin*, Persian text, 261-64.

14. In a paper contributed by me to the Journal of ...iya *Sahitya Parishad* several years back, I dis...ed the historicity of Amir Khusrau's Deval Rani. ...the views on Deval Rani have been summarised and ...ected to scrutiny by Sri K. M. Munshi (*Glory ...was Gurjaradesha*, Part II, Appendix VIII). I ...ched the same conclusion independently as that of ...Jagan Lal Gupta, who in a luminous and well-...mented paper in Hindi appended to the Persian ...of *Deval Rani wa Khizir Khan*; namely, that ...Deval Rani is altogether a fictitious character. ...Sanyogita, the Lady of Qanauj, in Chand Bardai's ...Prithiraj Raso may soon find the same fate as Padmini ...Deval Devi at the hands of historians, whom poets ...head as herd of wild elephants sporting havoc with a ...in the pond of poetry!

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into one Ratansen only. They tagged on the second half of the story of the *Padmavat* to their own tale, and gave new fathers one each to Padmini and Ratansen of Jaisi. Thus, Padmini became the daughter of Hammir Singh Chauhan of Ceylon and Ratansen was given Ajaysi, son of Lakhamsi, as his father, though Ajaysi was born several years after Ratna Singh, son of Samar Singh, the ruler of Chitor.

About fifty years after Ferishta, Muhnot Nainsi began collecting materials for a grand history of the Rajputs. He was in the service of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur and served in the Deccan against Shivaji. Mainsi writes :

"Ratansi, *son of Ajaysi and brother of Bhar Lakhamsi*, died in the affair of Padmini (*Padmini ke mamle*) by fighting with Alauddin. In fact the Badshah had once marched away from Chitor. But Ratansi, *son of Lakhamsi*, called him back from Pur (a parganah of Chitor). Twelve sons of Lakhamsi led sallies from the fort by turn. *Jauhar* took place on the thirteenth day. Lakhamsi, Ratansi and Karan Singh descended from the fort and died fighting valiantily ...."[15]

This bundle of confusion about two Ratan Singhs gives us definitely one important fact, *viz.*, one Ratan Singh, who was not surely a son of Lakhamsi, was in the fortress of Chitor, pretty long after the other Ratansi, who had died "in the affair of Padmini." A clue to this second Ratan Singh is afforded by the account of the siege of Chitor by Alauddin, in the work of the Bundi poet Surajmal Mishan, who wrote his stupendous history, the *Vamsabhaskar*, within twenty years of the publication of Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* and about twenty years before Kaviraj Shyamaldasji, the author of the well-known Mewar history, *Vir Vinod*. Surajmal is the first historian, who totally rejected the Padmini legend, sixty years before Vincent Smith suspected its authenticity, though Shyamaldasji and M. M. Ojha with strange consistency chose to cling to the shadow of this charming piece of falsehood.

The author of *Vamshabhaskar* says that Lakhamsi prepared for war and made up his mind "to sacrifice his kingdom and life for the sake of him, whom he had given shelter." We learn further from the same authority that Alauddin, enraged by this hostile act of the ruler of Chitor, ravaged the country and stopped supplies to the fort, the afflicted people raised the cry of lamentation at which some of the soldiers within the fort pressed the Rana hard to surrender Ratna Singh, son of Hammir of Ranthambhor.[16] But *Dharma* was dearer than life and *bhum* to a true Rajput. Lakhamsi died according to this authority, with twelve sons, eight brothers, two grandsons, and two other heroes, Hinglu Hada (Ahada ?) and Ballan. About the fate of Ratan Singh, son of Hammir, Surajmal says, "Some say that the son of Hammir was sent away to some distant place (*kaddi kahun dur*) ; some say that he died fighting heroically in the company of the Rana and his relations."

(7)

Apart from Alauddin's general scheme of conquest and aggressive imperialism, we find in the story of the fight of a son of Hammir, indirectly supported by the testimony of Muslim chronicles, a plausible cause of Alauddin's in-

15. *Vide* Nainsi's *Khyat*, i, 21 (Nagari Pracharini Sabha translation). Here is a confusion enough to confound the historian. The learned annotator of Nainsi's *Khyat* takes it for granted that Ratan Singh in this passage means Ratna Singh, son of Rawal Samarsi. But the express qualifying phrase, *Bhar Lakhamsi ka bhai*, goes against such assumption. Ajaysi, whom the annotator identifies with Ajaysi, son of Lakhamsi,—might be a mistake for Jaisi, who was on the authority of Ojha, the *father* of Lakhamsi.

How is it true that in the same passage occur two Ratansis, one as *brother* and another as the *son* of Chitor's defender, Lakhamsi? Who might be this Ratansi, *son* of Lakhamsi, who is said to have brought back Alauddin from Pur, and why? It is surely not to give Alauddin a glimpse of Padmini. If he were a traitor, why should he again fight and die along with Lakhamsi?

Two Ratan Sings, were, in fact, involved in the siege of Chitor, one having been the son of Samarsi, the other, a son of Hammir Chauhan of Ranthambhor. Hammir at the last stage of the siege of Ranthambhor had sent away one of his sons, Ratna Singh, to take shelter in Chitor. This induced Alauddin to turn against Chitor, two years after its capture. This second Ratan Singh, son of Hammir died in the last attack on Alauddin's army before Chitor, according to one version of the bardic source. (see *Vamsabhaskar*, ii, 1695).

16. *Hammir Raso* of Jodhraj (Third edition, Nagari Pracharini Sabha) says that on the eve of his last fight with Alauddin, Hammir sent away his trusted lieutenant Chaturang with five thousand troopers, to escort his only surviving son, Ratan, to Chitor; two others having already died in battle.

At any rate, the flight of Ratan, son of Hammir, is an unassailable historical fact. We get a hint about it from the brave Mongol Chief's defiant reply to Alauddin before Ranthambhor that even if the Sultan would spare his life he would die fighting for Hammir's son (Barani).

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...ion of Chitor, in pursuit of a political fugitive. ... very fact that Surajmal gives all that he ... read or heard about Ratna Singh, son of ...mmir, indicates his rare intellectual honesty. ... is too much to presume that Surajmal was ...quainted with the story of Padmini, which ...gh an exotic growth had taken deep root in ... soil of Rajputana, centuries before him. ...sides, there is ample evidence to show that ...ajmal was acquainted with Tod's Annals. So ...ajmal's rejection of the Padmini legend is very ...berate, and significant too. M. M. Ojha has ...ply side-tracked Surajmal's version of the ...tor affair, which even if incorrect ought to ...e been noticed by him for refutation.[17] ...ajmal, though incorrect in many details, has ...de one positive contribution to the episode ... Alauddin's invasion of Chitor, namely, the ...t of Hammir's son for shelter; wheras the ...tribution of Ojha has only a negative value ... the form of a luminous criticism that has ...orated everything about Jaisi's *Padmavat* ...pt Padmini and Ratansen. Ojha has ...iously confined himself to more reliable ...sian sources, which do not give any positive ...nd for Alauddin's wrath against Mewar ...pt its independence. So he had to tolerate ... existence of Padmini to explain the episode; ... this is on no better authority than a mere ...lar tradition about Padmini's palace and ..., which itself had originated with the grow... popularity of Jaisi's poem in Rajputana. ... great historian admits that Jaisi's *Padmavat* was a poem of Sufi mystical allegory, in which Padmini stands for Human Intelligence (*buddhi*), and yet he believes that she was perhaps a queen of Rawal Ratansi, son of Samarsi.

(8)

Though the foregoing historical criticism may have shaken the faith of a few about Jaisi's Padmini having been ever a mortal of flesh and blood in the seraglio of Chitor, it will not at any rate satisfy a type of intellectuals under the powerful spell of Jaisi's poetic genius. Poets and novelists take out an ounce of history, to manufacture a pound of lifegiving elixir for our society, by their creative genius, against which the narrative genius of the historian, contend in vain for ascendancy over man's mind. In Ancient India, the Spirit of History assumed the ascetic garb of religion and morals, or a guise of political philosophy; in the middle ages that of royal scarlet of horror and woe rendered picturesque by the jewelled hems of love and loyalty strung with romance and legend remote from facts; in modern times only it has descended on *bona fide* edifice of History. In all ages and in every clime legend swelled by swallowing up distorted facts and gave birth to poetry of the Heroic Age; and poems like those of Homer created History for succeeding generations of childish curiosity and credulity.

It is within the range of experience of archaeologists that those who go in for collecting local tradition are themselves responsible for creating more legends in the very locality for subsequent visitors. The historicity or otherwise of the Padmini legend, therefore, hinges on the controversy whether Jaisi really picked up some older legend current in his time somewhere in India, or is it that Jaisi's own knowledge of history and poetic genius made his love-epic of Sufistic mysticism, *Padmavat*, the fountain-spring of the Padmini legend of later generations with whom it became serious history.

Pandit Ramchandra Shuklaji in a very learned literary criticism of Jaisi's *Padmavat* comes to the conclusion that the first half of the story is pure imagination; but the second half, *viz.*, from the Brahman traitor Raghav's arrival in Delhi down to Padmini's self-immolation, is based on historical facts. His authorities are some of those that we have already discussed and dismissed. But Shuklaji, too, is perturbed

17. Ojha has been uncharitable to Surajmal ...an. He says, "Surajmal was a good poet, but not ...holar of history. So he has in that work taken ...ent history from the Khyats of the Bhats." ...putane ka Itihas, ii, 558, fn. 2). This is no fault but a positive merit of Surajmal's ... as a store-house of bardic tales, which now one can ...ect to scrutiny. Tod himself drew as freely from ...Khyats, and that is no reason to denounce his work ...unworthy of notice by future historians. Dr. M. ...Sharma, the author of *Bundirajya ka Itihas*, has ...raised the worth of Surajmal's work correctly, ...ause he cared to read it. Surajmal might be in... ...ect in many details; but he has given us at least ... important fact from Rajput sources about the ...cause of Alauddin's wrath against Chitor, *i.e.*, the ...t of Hammir's son; whereas Ojha has cautiously ...ited himself to Persian sources and failed to dis... any positive ground for Alauddin's invasion. It ...rious that Ojha has been at pains to dispute with ...ajmal that a minor character Hinglu was not a ...t but a Ahada Guhilot hailing from Ahad in ...ampur, and he died a century after Alauddin's ...ve of Chitor, and yet he did not care to test ...ically the incident of the flight of Hammir's son.

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over Simhala (Ceylon), the traditional abode of demons and dark-skinned people, where a beauty like Padmini could not possible be born. "If we accept, Simhala as correct," says Shuklaji, "this must be some place in Rajputana"[18] His hint has seriously been taken up by some of the *Charans* and young scholars of Rajputana, and they have at last come upon the historic site of Pugal in the Rajputana desert as the birth-place of Padmini, saying that Pugal changed into Simhala in popular tradition of later times! But where is Padmini herself? We ourselves have come across more than one woman of the *Padmini category* in *geets* and *khyats*, but none bearing a personal name of Padmini to square with the heroine of Jaisi's *Padmavat*.[19] Similarly, Ratan Sen and Chitor have been discovered outside Rajputana and nearer the abode of Jaisi in Awadh. Prof. R. C. Majumdar has brought to light a Sanskrit manuscript, *Ratansenakulavali*, according to which Ratan Sen of Chitaur fought many a battle with the Muslims, and his son, Naga Sena became the Raja of Prayag (Allahabad). Naga Sena defied the authority of the ruler of Delhi. Naga Sen's son Totha Rai, out of fear fled to Riddhikota, in the Nepal territory.

This "Chitaur" could not be the famous Mewar capital in Rajputana, but a place somewhere near Allahabad. The official name of Mewar's capital was also Chitrakut, and an equally well-known Chitrakut is there in the Banda district of U.P., the latter having been apparently "Chitaur" of this *pothi*.

Ramchandra Shuklaji further contends that in Northern India the story of Padmini Rani and Hiraman (parrot) is narrated in the countryside almost in the same form in which Jaisi has cast it; and that as Jaisi knew history, he has given such names as Ratansen, Alauddin, etc. But where is the proof that its story had its origin earlier than the time of Jaisi? In East Bengal every villager, Hindu or Muslim, know much more about Alauddin, Padmini and Hiramon Parrot than his counterpart, anywhere in India. If we did not know that this was no old legend, but one picked up from the highly popular *Padyabati Pothi* of the Bengali poet Alawal of the Arakan Court, where he translated *Padmavat* into Bengali in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, we might as well argue that Jaisi had travelled to Bengal, the land of mysticism and magic, where he must have picked up the essentials of his famous poem! It is Jaisi's poem that gave birth to such stories everywhere, and not *vice versa* as Shuklaji argues. Another argument of Shuklaji is that Jaisi knew the story of Alauddin very well, and as such Padmini cannot be a fiction. We may also add that no Muslim before Jaisi had known the Rajput and Rajputana better. And yet it is exactly here that the trouble lay in store for us. Had not Jaisi given us more than the usual proportion of fact and fiction to make a poem or a novel, "historical," we would have taken Jaisi on his own word that his poem was no history, but at best a story (*kahani*) wholly allegorical. It is common knowledge that one who knows history can only spring a surprise on unwary students of history, and herein lies the skill of Scott or of Bankim Chandra and Rakhaldas Banerji in our country.

A wild goose chase through literature and history for Padmini Rani betrays only a lack of humour and promises no better results than a search by ardent Sanskritists for Chandragupta Maurya's mother, Mura, born thirteen centuries after in the commentary of Dundiraj.

Jaisi wrote "to *amuse* the young and old but to *enlighten* the wise!" We have nevertheless allowed ourselves to be befooled for full four centuries. Let us now heed the warning of Jaisi, who foresaw such a plight for us. We have no reason to believe otherwise, and so "Padmini is Intelligence, the offspring of our heart's heart," whose charms and mysteries are so alluring as those of the landscape of Simhala (*not* Ceylon). But Padmini has proved a *Maya* (illusion) to modern historians. The poet has summed up the only unassailable historical fact about his poem at the close of the narrative:

Jauhar bhoyi sab istiri, purush bhaye sangram;
Badshah garh chura, Chitaur bha Islam.

[*i.e.*, Women burnt themselves in the fire of *Jauhar*, men perished in battle. The Badshah sacked the fort, and Chitor became Islam.]

18. Introduction, 34-31 (Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Banaras).

19. To quote only two: i. *Pingala-putri padmini, Maravani tini man* (*i.e.*, A Padmini, daughter of Pingal the ruler of Pugal), whose name was Maravani (*Dhola Maru ra Duha*, text, 2). ii. "With a *padmini* woman the marriage of Khut, son of Nagahi (Mata), took place" (Nainsi's *Khyat*, ii, 248).

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HOUSING IN INDIA

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A., M.Com.

e Indian Nation dwells in cottages. Accord- to 1951 Census there are 558 089 villages, the average population per village is 529. e number of occupied houses in the villages 541 lakhs so that each village on an average prises 97 occupied houses and each rural sehold on an average consists of 5.5 persons. contrast to this the total number of towns 3108 with an average population of 20,510 sons per town. The number of occupied ses in the towns is 103 lakhs so that each n on an average comprises 3,413 occupied ses, and each urban household on an average sists of 6 persons.

The average population per house was 4.9 1911 as against 5.2 in 1901. 5.4 in 1891 and in 1881[1] and 4.9 in 1921 (1921 Census, 46) and 5.0 in 1931[2] and 5.5 in 1951. The rage number of houses per sq. mile was 7 in 1881, 33.9 in 1891, 31.6 in 1901 and 8 in 1911, 36.1 in 1921, 39.3 in 1931, and 8 in 1951. The following Table gives the ber of persons living per house :

Persons Per House in different Provinces[3]

inces	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951.
m	5.5	4.8	4.6	4.6	4.7	4.9	
al	6.3	5.2	5.2	5.3	5.1	4.7	
r	6.4	5.7	5.3	5.2	5.1	5.2	
bay	5.6	5.4	5.1	4.9	4.9	5.1	
P.	4.5	5.0	4.8	4.9	5.0	5.0	
P.	5.4	5.7	5.5	4.6	4.6	4.8	
B.	5.5	5.2	5.1	4.6	4.5	4.6	
as	..	5.3	5.4	5.3	5.1	5.1	
sb	..	6.6	6.2	4.5	4.5	4.8	

The following Table gives the average ber of persons living in each house both in an and rural areas:[4]

Average No. of persons per occupied house

Zones	Rural	Urban	Total
North India	6.0	8.0	6.3
East India	5.3	4.5	5.3
South India	5.5	7.0	5.8
West India	5.4	6.0	5.5
Central India	5.5	8.0	5.2
N.-W. India	6.7	7.0	6.8
All India	5.4	6.1	5.5

It is estimated that of the 541 lakhs occupied houses in India's villages, not more than 2 per cent are *pukka* or brick-built houses, and not more than 7 per cent are well-built *kutchcha* houses, namely, houses with walls of mud, wood, or bamboo-matting, roofs of thatch, tiles, or corrugated iron sheeting and with doors and windows of some kind or other. The rest are just huts, hovels, or shacks, hardly deserving the term *houses*. The vast majority of these hovels are ramshackle one-room affairs, with low ceiling barely permitting an adult to stand erect, and with floor areas of anything between 80 and 120 sq. feet. Their only opening is usually a doorway so low that you cannot enter without stooping, and there are no windows or other apertures to admit light and air. Even the doorway is often covered up with a piece of matting or screen to secure privacy and protection.

On an average, four to five persons live in each of these hovels. They are born there; they eat, live and sleep there and they die there. All their personal belongings usually consisting of a few pieces of rags which serve as clothing, a mat or a cot to sleep on, and a few earthenware cooking utensils and perhaps one or two brass vessels are also kept there. Bathrooms are unknown, although the average Indian villager habitually, and as part of his religious practice, takes a daily bath at the village well or in any nearby pond, spring, river or waterway. A tiny tinshed in the yard or a covered recess on the outside wall of the hut usually serves as a kitchen, though in cold and rainy

1. *Census of India*, 1911, Vol. I, Part I, p. 47.
2. *Ibid.*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 37.
3. *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. I. Pt. I, p. 33; for 1921, p. 62; *Ibid* for 1931, p. 37.
4. Calculated from the figures given in the of India paper No. 3 (1953)—Summary of graphic & Economic data—1951 Census, pp. 8-9.

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weather cooking may have to be done inside the huts. Latrines and privies are a luxury, reserved for the well-to-do, while for the vast majority of the population, the fields and the wide open space take care of the daily necessities. The lack of running water offers a formidable obstacle to any desire for "family planning" on the basis of contraceptive technique.

Housing conditions are very unsatisfactory in villages in large parts of India, especially in regions where there is high rural density. In rural areas, the usual type of houses has a court-yard but no windows. The material used for construction is mud with a thatched or occasionally tiled roof. A separate latrine for a house is rare. Food is usually prepared and eaten in the court-yard, occasionally a room may be set aside as the kitchen. It is a common practice for the villagers to permit cattle, goats and other domestic animals to share the available living space in the house with human beings. The villages are scattered over a wide area and communication between houses is often very difficult. Indeed, many houses are completely isolated for long periods during the monsoon.

In the East Punjab, where the standard of farming and living is the highest in Northern India, the mud huts of the peasants show a terrible congestion. Such huts are "low-roofed, windowless, airless and miserable abodes." Dr. Lucas remarks:

"Of course for nine months of the year the entire family practically live out of doors and the houses are used only as store-rooms and shelters in case of storm. In the winter nights of December to February they are so ill-clad that a closely-shut mud box is their chief protecton against the bitter cold."

In the villages in the eastern districts of U.P., which have been intensely surveyed, the average number of persons living in such mud boxes varies from 8 to 12 and inmates are found to sleep along with cattle and other livestock. In many villages of Oudh, *e.g.*, in Jaunpur, the huts generally consist of only one dingy room with kitchen, dormitory, parlour and in many cases cattle-shed combined.[5] In the Hatwa village, a hut measuring 7 ×13×5 ft. was found to be occupied by five persons and a goat and the inmates were thin, diseased and dirty.[6] Similarly, in the village Sheikhdhir (Bahraich), it was found that two bullocks, a fishing tackle and four members of a Guriya caste labour family were packed into a dark and stinky house measuring 14×14×7 ft.[7] Too often a village family has for home a dwelling which is scandalously below its needs, besides being leaky and unhealthy.

Again, in the rural areas of Bengal houses are generally built with mud walls or occasionally with bamboo-matting. Windows are provided but they are insufficient in size. Latrines are rarely found. A common feature in the province is the *doba* or tank attached to each house or a group of two or three houses. The villages are scattered over a wide area and communication between houses is often very difficult.[8] Thus in large parts of Northern India the homesteads are seen to be huddled together at all angles in order to utilize the space as far as possible while the streets are narrow and tortuous and sometimes impassable owing to the collection of refuse-water from the house-drains and the excreta of village cattle. The growth in number of 'city servants and village residents,' and the increase of bovine population have aggravated the effects of congestion in rural areas.

"To many peasants," observes Dr. Mukerjee, "the huts are simply places where one can stretch his legs and sleep in the night. and in several instances the loss of privacy blunts all sense of shame and decency. Men and women, young and old, sometimes may be seen packed together along with cattle and goats in winter, and home, that should radiate noble, social and aesthetic influences, is a den of misery and disease where people breed and die like fruit flies."[9]

In Madras, the houses of the labourers are usually built of mud and has a roof of palmyrah thatch. In front there is a verandah or *pial*, and the interior consists of a single room. The dwelling of the average ryot is also usually built of mud but the roof is thatched with bamboo and straw or is sometimes tiled. The *pial* is raised higher above the ground and the

5. B. Misra: *Over-population in Jaunpur*, p. 55.

6. Mathur: *Pressure of Population in Gorakhpur*, p. 48.

7. A. Lorenzo: *Agriculture, Labour and Market Gardening in Oudh*, p. 69.

8. *Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee*, Vol. I, p. 138.

9. R. K. Mukherjee: *Food Planning for 400 Millions*.

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or consists of four or five rooms opening a verandah which surrounds a small court-. One of the rooms is used as a kitchen, as a store-room for grain and other pro- and the rest as sleeping apartments. The are also tethered in the court-yard at though usually they are lodged under a ing roof outside the walls of the house. The es are ill-lighted and ill-ventilated and ow openings are either too few and narrow tally absent. What is reckoned as a house ensus purpose is not a house in the sense it provides the accommodation, floor space living room reasonably required for its tes. 90 per cent of the rural houses are for human habitation. The flooring is , the walls are deeply indented, light and ractically absent, roofing low and flimsy n short all the conditions exist which make kness and disease.[10]

us, it will be seen that the existing housing ions are, generally speaking, extremely isfactory in rural areas. The growth of ng accommodation has not kept pace with crease in the population and the over- ling is therefore a common feature. In ion, the requirements of sound hygienic ruction have largely been neglected, while ate of insanitation that exists in the towns he countryside helps to reduce still further value of home as the place which pro- reasonable satisfactory living conditions e maintenance of the health of its inmates. r housing has a profound influence on the of the people. Specific reference may be of the three groups of diseases, namely, culosis, venereal diseases and bowel com- s, such as, dysentery, worms and typhoid, cidence and the spread of which are pro- ly affected by the housing conditions of munity.[11]

The unsatisfactory state of rural dwellings due to several causes. First, most of the es are fairly old. Moreover, the new houses ot required to conform to any regulations. dly, in many cases the dwellings are too ed to enable the common services, such ater supply, drains, electric lights to be provided on an economic basis. Thirdly, the present state of rural housing seems to be mainly due to the low income level. With the poor income of the agriculturist in general, there is little margin for him to make an adequate outlay on proper housing.

The level of health services is unsatisfactory even in urban areas and the position is much worse in rural areas. The space between the houses is narrow and full of depressions which allow water to stagnate and offers a suitable breeding ground to the bacilli of innumerable diseases. All these contribute towards the regular visitations of malaria after the rains, and cholera and plague during the winters. Sanitary reforms, village planning and housing schemes are practically unknown in the rural parts of the country.

A Housing Policy for Rural India

It is clear that the sanitary and housing conditions of the agricultural workers and the peasants are deplorable, and their improvement is an urgent duty incumbent on the Government. An attempt should, therefore, be made to revive the healthy, beautiful and picturesque village sites of ancient India. This will require the planning of village streets and lanes with reference to the important buildings and village meeting-places; the extension of congested village sites by acquiring land from the landlord on payment of such compensation as is within the means of the villagers; the controlling of the contsruction of model houses in the interests of public health, safety, adequate lighting, ventilation, repairs and protection against fire; the development of the means of communication to distribute more extensively the population over the country and to bring about a closer contact between agriculture and industry, rural and urban life; the disposal of waste and sewage, and the provision of education, marketing, recreation, etc. This programme will have to be taken up under the supervision of the resident organiser and the Panchayats.

The main factors involved in the promotion of large-scale housing schemes are: (1) the availability of land; (2) the provision of streets, water supply, drainage and other utilities to serve the common purpose; (3) the production of building materials of the required quality at

S. Y. Krishnamurthi: *Rural Problem in* p. 410.
Report of the Health Survey and Development ee, Pt. I, p. 138.

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reasonable prices; (4) cost of the execution of the schemes and their maintenance, when completed. A housing programme can only be carried out successfully if the Government, the local authorities and the improvement trusts, and the village panchayats are prepared to enter the field with large-scale housing schemes of their own, and to stimulate the co-operative and building societies and private interests for more satisfactory performances, by financial and technical assistance and the rigid enforcement of better standards. Government and public authorities can perform these functions: (*i*) The planning, execution and regulation of housing programmes including the participation by local authorities and improvement trusts in house construction and maintenance; (*ii*) the grant of financial aid by long-term loans at low rates of interest, or grants-in-aid; (*iii*) the prescription and enforcement of standards; and (*iv*) the promotion of housing research.

The following are some of the suggestions for improving the housing conditions:

1. Accommodation space and the height of the house according to the size of the family should be fixed. A house has on an average 5 inmates which may be assumed to consist of four adults and one child. At the rate of 100 sq. ft. for each adult member and 60 sq. ft. for each child, the minimum floor space for a dwelling house may be fixed at 460 sq. ft. This will include all occupiable floor-area including verandahs.

2. The minimum floor area in any living or bed room should not be less than 120 sq. ft. The height of these rooms should not be less than 9 feet from floor level. The floor level of the rooms should be generally at least 18 inches above the level of the adjacent street.

3. The health of the inmates of dwelling houses is very much dependent on adequate ventilation of rooms and proper circulation of air within rooms. Thorough ventilation and free passage of air should be ensured in the living and bed-rooms, and as far as possible windows and ventilators should be provided on opposite sides of the rooms. The aggregate area of the openings provided by windows and ventilators should be at least one-sixth of the floor area of each room.

4. A small compound attached to the house is necessary. An independent open bath and a latrine should be provided at a corner of the compound screened from the view of the living rooms and sufficiently away from the well if the house is to have its own water supply. On one side of the compound may also be erected cattle-shed.

5. The use of single-roomed tenement by a family should be condemned. No house or portion of a house intended for occupation by a family should consist of less than two living rooms with a separate kitchen, a bathroom and a latrine, and in the warmer parts of the country, a verandah. One-room tenement should be restricted for occupation by single persons and should be adequately provided with common kitchen, bath and latrine accommodation.

6. The house should be so constructed as to give protection against rain and fire and may be suitable for all seasons. The walls, floors and roofs of houses should be so constructed as to prevent dampness and also provide insulation against the easy transmission of heat, cold and noise. In the designs, as few opportunities as possible should be given for the harbourage of vermins.

7. It is better to have a common protected source of water supply for a group of houses forming the hamlet or village.

8. Disposal of house drainage will depend on the arrangement for drainage for the particular schemes of housing as a whole. Subject to this, suitable arrangement must be made in each house for leading off all domestic sullage and refuse by the provision of a sanitary type of drain. At a convenient place in the compound, rubbish-bins of suitable size and design should be provided on low masonry platforms about 2 feet by 1½ feet.

9. The Government should also consider the desirability of arranging for mass production of standard fittings for village houses and for their sale to villagers at controlled rates and if necessary on an instalment basis. Some of the articles suggested are door frames and doors, window frames with bars or expanded metal or wire mesh for protection, fire-places and chimneys, wall-cupboards, planks for shelves, squatting slabs for bore-hole latrines, hand-pumps and ventilators.

10. The lodging of agricultural workers, whether voluntary workers or those supplied by employers, in the stables or out-houses, should

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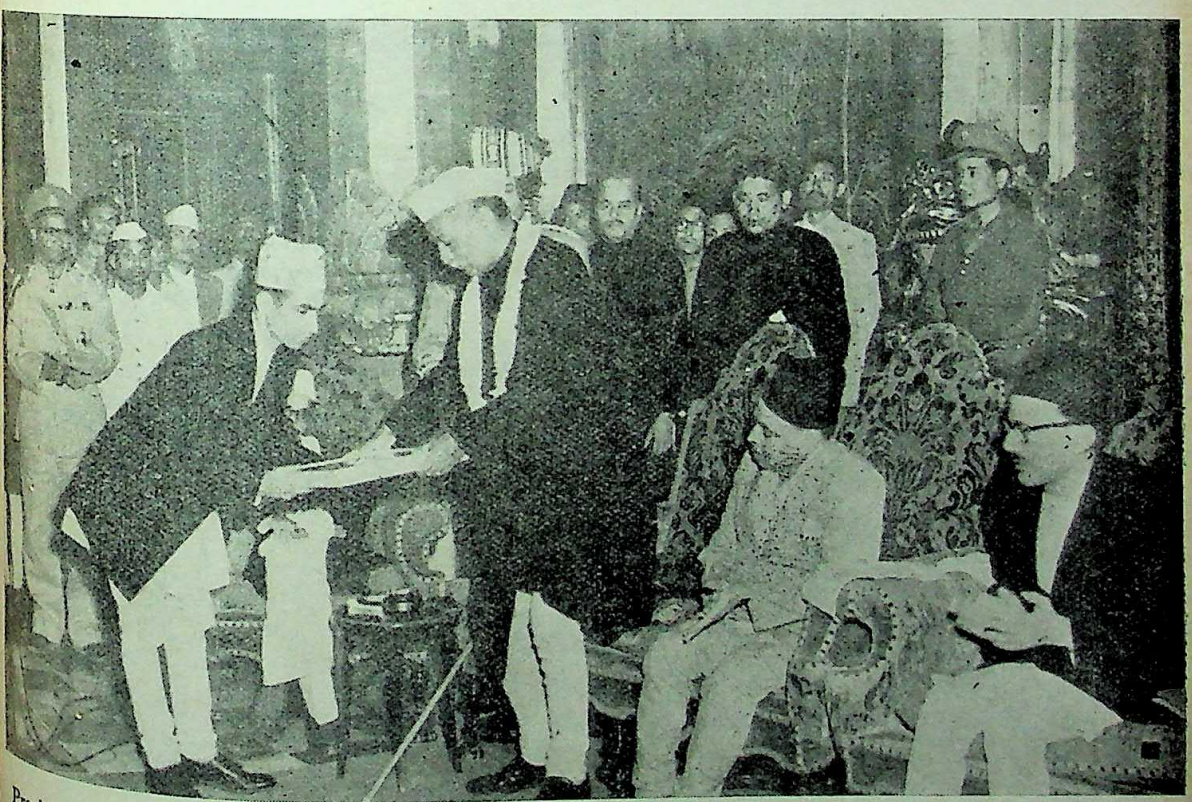
His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, being explained the working of the radio-activity counting machine at the National Chemical Laboratory, Poona, on October 27. 1956



President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, receiving an address of welcome from the Chairman of the Nepal-India Friendship Association at the reception held in his honour at Singh Durbar, Kathmandu on October 24, 1956

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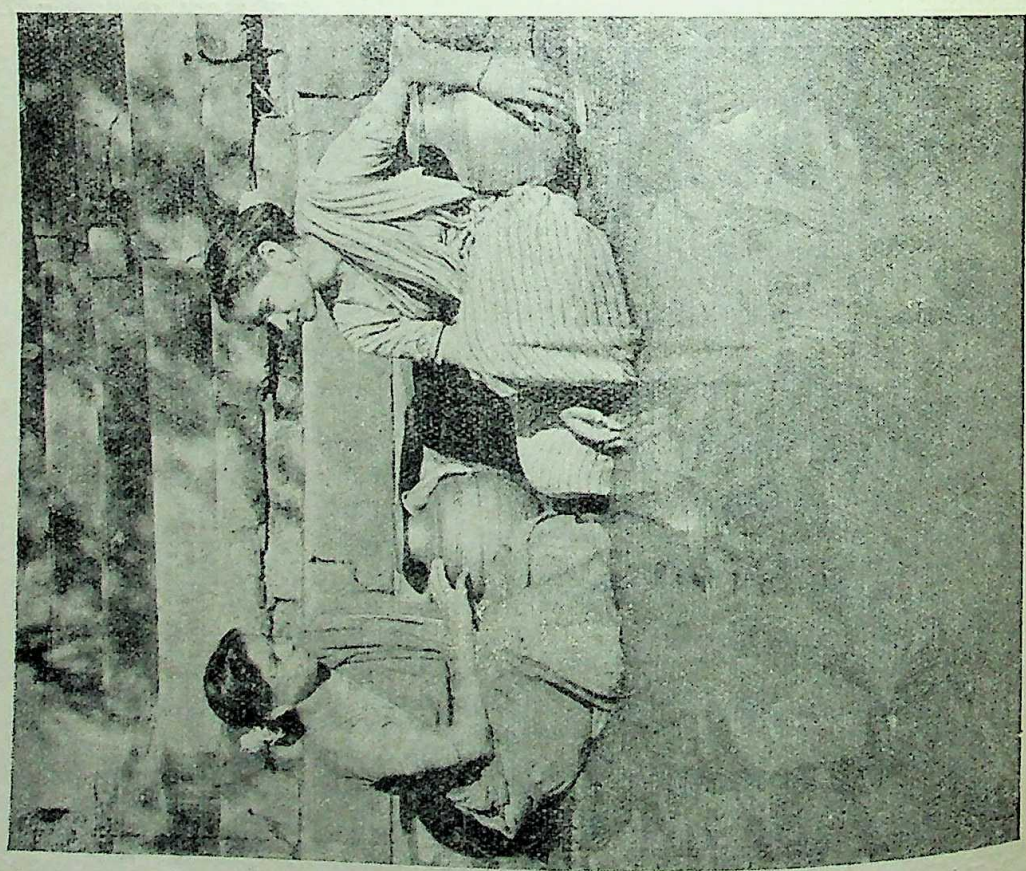
Husband and wife

Photos : Ramkinkar Sinha



Two friends

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prohibited, the degree and nature of the ...tion that must be insisted upon being that ...e and men should not sleep together. ...ther, a tenant should not be ejected from ...residential house in the village merely ...use he has been ejected from his holding in ...village.

It must be remembered that no schemes ...rural housing will be successful which ...s not seek the co-operation of the ...e and the Employers' and Workers' ...nisations. In India, in the absence of ...g workers' organisations, only State ...Co-operative Housing policies can be ...ssful. The All-India Co-operative Plan... Committee has recommended that a co-...ative housing society may be organised for ...oup of villages, that after construction the ...e may be taken over by the society which ...be responsible for the collection of rent ...the occupier members and that option may ...iven to them to purchase the houses; that ...value may be determined with reference to ...local market rates and that payments may ...made under the hire-purchase system over ...riod of 20 to 30 years.

The landless agricultural workers who do ...own any land in a village cannot afford to ...anything more than huts with mere mud ...s and thatched roofs without any help either ...the Government or the landlord. The ...er landlords in rural parts must be treated ...par with industrialists of the urban centres ...they may be persuaded to make a contri-...on to the housing of the agricultural work-...and other poorer classes of the village com-...ity and may be given similar facilities for ...truction of houses as those given to the ...strial labour.

A comprehensive survey of housing condi-...s at present obtaining in rural areas should ...mediately taken up. Such surveys have ...made in some of the European countries ...U.K., France and Finland. A representa-...village in specified villages may be chosen ...the purpose and an intensive study may be ...e of the habitable nature of the houses in ...n. Such a survey will furnish the data ...ssary to determine (*i*) how many or what ...entage of houses are already in a fit condi-..., (*ii*) how many require modelling, and ...how many require to be demolished, al-together and rebuilt. A comprehensive view of the magnitude and nature of the problem may be thus obtained. A plan can then be drawn up to tackle the problem in a systematic way having regard to the various aspects which have a bearing on the problem, *viz.*, the agency best suited to execute the plans, the financial implications and the method of financing the operations and so on.

It will be interesting to note that the building of a new farm house, as is the belief of rural folk in America, is one of the most important episodes in life, and it should be given long, careful and prayerful study. It should be built in keeping with its surroundings and the tastes and requirements of the people.[12] Therefore, in evolving a Housing Policy of Rural India, we require not only a system of planned housing and zoning of settlements, but the close co-operation of the State and the workers' organisations for the enforcement of protective and constructive measures by legislative enactment.

Urban Housing

In urban areas housing conditions present the most shocking contrast as between the rich and the poor. In the following paragraphs the housing conditions of industrial workers in some important industrial centres are described:

'Chawls' of Bombay

In Bombay, the majority of the workers live in *chawls* (blocks of flats erected for the accommodation of a large number of families).

"Many of these *chawls* have tall narrow frontages and extreme depths, with the consequence that the rooms, especially those in the middle and on the ground-floors, are denied both sunshine and air, lavatory arrangements are frequently inadequate and crude, and the air is filled with an indescribable stench. As though this were not sufficient to poison the atmosphere, there is the common practice of throwing all the household rubbish and filth into the gullies. Much of this stagnates, and with the liquid sinking into the soil when the drains are in a bad condition, the net result is better imagined than described. It is to such a life that the worker and his family (if he has one) are condemned. To minimise discomfort the windows of the room opening on the gullies—the only outlets to the open are kept practically always shut. Where the lavatories are not

12. Waugh : *Country Planning*, p. 79.

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detached from the main building, of course, nothing can keep out the stench."[13]

Often in one room of these *chawls* measuring 15 ft. by 12 ft., five to six families are found living, preparing their food separately. During night, clothes or sacking are flung on bamboos hung from the ceiling to partition the room for different families. And as the Royal Commission on Labour remarked :

"In the majority of cases these *chawls* are impossible of improvement and therefore fit only for demolition."[14]

An enquiry conducted by the Bombay Labour office in 1938 revealed that, of the families covered, 91.24 per cent live in one-room tenements and that the average number of persons residing in each such tenement is 3.84. The approximate floor space available per person and tenement is 26.88 sq. ft. and 103.23 sq. ft. respectively. The average monthly rent is Rs. 6-14-4 for one-room tenements, the figure varying between Rs. 5 and Rs. 9 for 79 per rent of the total number of families. One-room tenements constitute 81 per cent of the total tenements in the city, 74 per cent of the population of which dwell in these tenements.[15]

A considerable majority of workers, therefore, live in *chawls* privately owned. Most of these *chawls* are built of cheap material and almost 60 per cent of them have plinth below 1 ft. According to the Bombay Labour Office Enquiry conducted in 1938, the average number of persons per tenement was 4.05. Sometimes more than 10 persons live in one room measuring 12 ft. × 10 ft. Very often more than one family live in one room. The floor is mostly *kutchcha* and the roofing is either of corrugated iron sheet or of country tiles. Generally there is no lighting arrangement. A few *chawls* have common taps and some have tube-wells. Bathrooms are not provided at all. A large number of *chawls* have not provided for latrines and even where they exist they are in a most insanitary condition. Everywhere rubbish, dirt, stinking water are found, keeping the whole area unhealthy and insanitary.

13. B. Shiva Rao: *Industrial Worker in India* (1929), p. 106.

14. *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour* (1931), p. 273.

15. *Bombay Textile Labour Enquiry Committee Final Report* (1940). Vol. II, p. 273.

'BUSTEES' OF CALCUTTA

While in Calcutta one can admire the luxurious buildings around Calcutta, one will be horrified to look at slums known as *bustees* where a considerable majority of the workers live. These *bustees* are constructed by private landlords, often mill-Sirdars. Every available foot of land has been utilised for building huts, dark, damp and leaky. The degree of overcrowding and congestion that can be seen in *bustees* around Calcutta are probably unequalled in any other industrial centre of the country. The huts are mostly kutchcha with roofs of thatch, corrugated iron sheets or tiles. The height of these huts is not more than 8 feet. A large number of huts have plinths below the ground level. The size of the room does not exceed 80 sq. ft. and still several families (up to 12 persons) will be found living in one room. The same room serves the purpose of kitchen and store-room. Most of these huts have no windows and even if there is any, it is kept closed to secure privacy. The Administration Report of 1869 of the Corporation of Calcutta described the *bustees* as follows:

"A *bustee* or native village generally consists of a mass of huts constructed without any plan or arrangement, without roads, without drains, ill-ventilated and never cleaned. Most of these villages are the abode of misery, vice and filth and the nurseries of sickness and disease. In these *bustees* are found green and slimy stagnant ponds, full of putrid vegetable and animal matter in a state of decomposition and whose bubbling surfaces exhale, under a tropical sun, noxious gases, poisoning the atmosphere and spreading around disease and death. These ponds supply the native with water for domestic purposes, and are very often the receptacles of filth. The articles which feed these tanks are the drains that ramify over the village and carry the sewage of the huts into them. Their position is marked by development of rank vegetation. The entrances to these *bustees* are many, but are not easily discoverable, whilst the paths are so narrow and tortuous that it is difficult for a stranger to find his way through them. The huts are huddled together in masses, and pushed to the very edge of the ponds the projecting eaves often meeting one another, whilst the intervening spaces, impervious to the rays of the sun, are converted into urinals and used by both sexes in common. In these huts often live entire families, the members of which occupy the single apartment of which it is not infrequently composed, and in which they feed and sleep together, the wet and spongy floor with a mat spread on it serving as a bed for the whole family."

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though the condition was described three ers of a century ago, still, it is deplorable, hange has taken place in the condition of *bustees*.

The quarters built by employers are also y unsatisfactory. The houses are built to back, usually of brick-walls and have brick-paved or *kutchcha* floor, the roofs either of beaten *soorki* or asbestos corru- sheets. Generally these rooms have no ows and are damp, dark and dirty. Such s are also quite inadequate in number. ately, however, some employers have con- ed quite good houses for their employees. Birla Jute Mills have a colony providing g for 43 per cent of the employees. The m Chand Jute Mills have also recently ucted some good flats for their employees. Bata Works at Batanagar have provided g for some 4,000 of their employees. There quarters for bachelors as well as for es. Most of the houses are lighted with icity and have decent sanitary arrange- s. There is also adequate arrangement for supply.

'Ahatas' of Kanpur

The Kanpur Labour Inquiry Committee in report points out:

Most of the workers have to live in slums locally as *ahatas*, where small dingy rooms are let out orbitant rents. Most of these *ahatas* are ely insanitary and over-crowded and lack ade- sunshine and ventilation, to say nothing of light and conservancy. Quite a number of huts low the street-level. The condition under which women and children in their thousands (about souls) live in their *ahatas* are indescribable. The within each tenement where the worker lives his family, often numbering eight to ten per- s smaller than the space we usually have in our oms. An animal, especially if it be a horse or , is given more room than the poor tenant. A visit to these areas is for a stranger a posi- y risky undertaking—a sprained ankle is almost a ly, while a broken neck by stumbling into a well or a goodly-sized hole, would not be an ibility. Even the elementary services of public s is denied to these people. As for drainage water supply, such luxuries are thought to be ities. The underground rooms, in which nds of Kanpur workmen live reminded one of embers of the Committee of the "dug-outs" of during war-time. While the slum-dwellers should be somewhat protected from shot and shell in the event of an aerial bombardment, they are but easy victims of those ever-active enemies of mankind, namely, the germ and the bug. These have wrought havoc, especially amongst the ranks of infants, the young and the women. The rate of infant mortality in Kanpur is still appallingly high. The paradox of the situation is that the *ahata*-owner, who has done the least for his tenants, stands to gain the most at the time of acquisition of land either by the Municipality or the Improvement Trust. The entire situation is iniquitous. It should not be permitted to continue a day longer than possible. Little wonder that the so-called agitator in Kanpur has such widespread and wholehearted response from the labouring classes. The wonder is that they have kept silent for so long."[16]

In 1938-39, an official inquiry was conducted which covered in all 1,421 families living in *ahatas*. It was found that 64.6 per cent lived in one-room tenements, 32.3 per cent in two rooms, 3 per cent in three rooms and only one per cent in more than three. The average size of these rooms was 11.4 ft. × 8.5 ft. × 10.2 ft. and the area on an average was 96.9 sq. ft., with a capacity of 988.4 cubic feet. Sanitary conditions were conspicuously absent. All these facts throw a flood of light on housing conditions in Kanpur.

'Cheries' of South India

Worse than the *bustees* in their planless confusion, squalor and insanitation are the *cheries* of such South Indian towns as Madras, Madura, Coimbatore, Tuticorin and Cochin. Where the *panchamas* dwell filth and dirt are even more marked. Each single hut, as in Bengal, is made of mud and thatch or of old kerosine tin plates and the entrance to it is an aperture rather than door. The average size of the hut is here reduced to 8 ft. × 6 ft., and the materials used are flimsier than those used in Northern India, yielding more easily to rain and storm which are frequent. Inside each hut, complete darkness reigns supreme even in daytime, while there is overcrowding of the worst kind. Mahatma Gandhi's description of the *cheries* of Madura may be given here:

"One *cheri* I visited is surrounded by water and drains on all sides. In the rainy season, it must be a place unfit for human habitation. Another thing is, it is below the road-level and all these places are flooded during rains. The cottages in all the three

16. *Kanpur Labour Enquiry Committee Report*, (1938), p. 78.

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cheries are built anyhow. There is no lay-out of the streets or lanes, and cottages in many places have no vents worth the name. In all cases without exception they are so low that you cannot enter in and get out without bending double. And in all cases, the upkeep of the place is certainly not even to the minimum sanitary standard."

In the city of Madras there are about 200 such *cheries* of which more than half are owned by private individuals, 26 by the Government, 25 by the Corporation and 27 by Trusts. In these are quartered about one-third of the population of Madras. A survey has revealed that 35 *cheries*, where about 15,000 persons live, are not provided with Municipal water supply. 134 *cheries* occupied by 183,000 persons have only 460 water taps. Only 12 *cheries* have an adequate supply of taps. In respect of latrine accommodation, 72 *cheries* have none at all while 109 have 121 latrines with about 1,200 seats.

'Dhowrahs' of Mining Areas (*Coal-fields*)

Dhowrahs or mines quarters are built usually by colliery proprietors from the point of view of the minimum permanent labour force required by them.

In the colliery *dhowrahs* 85 per cent of the miners' families are living in one-room houses and 10 per cent in two-room houses, 3 per cent in three-room houses and only 2 per cent in four-room houses.

A *dhowrah* is often occupied by 12 to 15 persons. New relations are brought in and especially in winter some of the worst forms of over-crowding are met with. Miners and loaders of the same village, caste, or gang prefer to live together in the rooms of the *dhowrah*, while those who work on different shifts deliberately choose to occupy one set of rooms alternately.

Only at some of the bigger collieries are some latrines provided for the *dhowrahs*, but these are grossly inadequate in number. Miners, especially the children, ease themselves too near the quarters and pigs do the work of scavengers.

In the *dhowrahs* for which piped water supply is provided the taps are too few and distant. It is found that in four collieries, there is only one tap provided for 75 to 80 *dhowrahs*.

'Bustees' and Barracks of the Plantations

In the plantations the usual housing accommodation adopted is of the *bustee* type, long lines of barracks with iron roofs and brick-walls, or bamboo huts with thatched roofs, are built usually along the banks of streams or small channels and the usual defects of congestion, lack of light and ventilation, and insanitation are met with. There are also hamlets consisting of small groups of separate huts scattered over the cultivation on high and low grounds, the coolies building their huts on receipt of advances from the garden.

The lanes are narrow and crooked and littered with garbage and washings, and with the excreta of cattle and goats which are frequently found here. There are no separate cow-sheds, an adjoining room serving to shelter the animals.

The huts are built at all angles in short or long blocks as space permits and also back to back. The danger of fire-outbreaks is serious in summer; while during the rains the pathways to the *bustees* become small channels and there being no plinths water flows into the huts when their inhabitants are compelled to go without cooking and perch themselves on earthen-ware vessels, their only belongings.

In the Darjeeling tea-estates and in the plantations occupying hill-sides, as in Coorg and Travancore, the lines of labourers' huts are similarly located on sites lying on the banks of streams, and the dangers of water-logging or inundation are equally recurrent. Bathing and washing arrangements are seldom met with in the plantation-*bustees*, although piped water supply is found in a number of gardens. There is hardly any latrine accommodation in a plantation. The labourers use the field and the jungle for nature's call.

The sudden outbreaks of cholera in an epidemic form and the prevalence of hookworm disease testify to the dangers of the lack of provision of latrines and sanitary bathing and washing places for the labourers. Where the *bustees* and their surrounding areas are not adequately drained, malaria and pneumonia become endemic causing a heavy mortality, especially among women and children.

Small employers are generally incapable of providing houses to their workers. Moreover,

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houses built by the employers are likely to of high rent, whereas the workers need cheap healthy houses. The responsibility of the is, therefore, two-fold: Firstly, it should are a housing plan, lay down the type and of the houses to be constructed and the to be charged. This plan should be cuted by the employers and special housing rds which should be constituted in each strial centre. Secondly, the State should the employers and the housing-boards in uiring suitable lands near the mills for ding houses, by enforcing the Land Acqui- on Act in their favour.

There are certain important problems con- ted with housing. The *first* is that the rent the workers' quarters should be within their ns. A living wage at least must be paid to workers and the rent of the houses must be that they may afford to pay it out of their es. Secondly, such amenities of life as dis- saries, markets, schools and post offices st be available near the labour-colonies. rdly, there is the question of cheap convey- e. The employers should provide cheap bus- vices to bring to and fro the workers from r dwellings to the mills. Fourthly, some reasonable principles, preferably according to the period of services put in, should be adopted by the employers for making allotments of the houses amongst the workers. Lastly, for effecting a long-term solution of this problem, the State should prohibit further starting of industrial concerns in areas which are already over-crowded and where housing is already a serious problem.

To conclude, we might say, improved housing is the first step towards an improvement of the standard of living, behaviour and morals of the industrial worker. With all this will come the conquest of the preventable disease and mortality, the improvement of health and morality and the improvement of health and output. The problem of housing is undeniably the most central and the most urgent for the efficiency and the well-being of the Indian working class. For those who assert that India cannot afford to spend more money for industrial housing, there can be only one answer that she can no longer afford to delay such expenditure.[17]

17. R. K. Mukerjee: *The Indian Working Class*, (1951), p. 321.

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EXTENSION OF THE CITY

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walk through the Strand Road in the rush hour or eep into the slums makes one feel about the ediate necessity of the expansion of the city. In article an attempt has been made to analyse ly the cause and the magnitude of the problem to put forward a suggestion towards its solution.

According to 1951-Census, the population of Cal- stands at 2,548,677 on an area of 32.32 square . It means a density of 88,953 persons per sq. probably the greatest in the world. Comparison other cities of India may be useful for the study:

TABLE 1

	Population	Area (sq. miles)	Density per sq. mile
Calcutta	2,548,677	32.32	88,953
Bombay (greater)	2,839,270	210.90	13,463
Delhi	1,191,104	39.52	30,139

Even the average figure of 88,953 persons per sq. mile does not reveal the true picture. There are 3,615 *bustees* in Calcutta, which have 21,556 huts and 155,624 living rooms where live 617,374 souls, almost a quarter of Calcutta's population. The condition of the other residents of the city is no better than the *bustee*-dwellers. The following table will clarify the position:

TABLE 2

Year	Total Municipal premises	Population per Municipal premises
1921	50,004	20.6
1931	64,890	16.8
1941	76,555	27.5
1951	82,313	31.0

The number of living rooms, as counted in December, 1950, was 710,579. So the average number of persons per room with a population of 2.55 millions works out at 3.6. This is a high figure even for a modorate 144 sq. ft. floor area, which is also not very

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common in Calcutta. Similarly, acute is the problem of traffic congestion in the streets. Widening of some streets is an urgent necessity.

Census figures indicate that certain localities have reached the saturation point and possibly cannot accommodate more persons.

TABLE 3

	Percentage variation.				
Locality	1941-51	1931-41	1921-31	1911-21	1901-11
Bara Bazar	−1.4	+192.1	−43.3	+ 8.1	− 3.4
Colootola	+0.1	+ 83.9	+27.2	+32.5	− 9.6
Muchipara	−0.3	+ 69.8	+15.7	+10.0	− 1.2
Taltola	−1.6	+ 83.2	+21.4	− 1.4	− 0.4
Beniapukur	+0.6	+ 88.4	+15.8	+ 0.5	+24.1

For certain reasons, 1941 Census figures seem to be exaggerated and unreliable.

The above figures all point out to the same problem—how to find out the living accommodation for the existing population without touching the question of the daily passengers.

There are three ways to reduce the density of the city population or to provide more accommodation: (a) by shifting a portion of the population from the city, (b) erecting sky-scrapers and (c) integrating new lands with the city proper. It may be relevant to discuss the merits of the three ways.

It is the employment opportunities which bring here the immigrants in thousands. The location of multiple industrial units at Calcutta is due to the interaction of some factors, *e.g.*, port, transport and market facilities. Unless these facilities are available elsewhere and that the possibility is distant, the prospect of migration of industries from Calcutta, particularly of the industries under private management, is remote. The factories outside Calcutta are located chiefly within the 30-mile radius of the city and they are intimately linked with it. These factories are promoting settlements in between those centres and Calcutta and stretching lengthwise the ribbon of our ribbon-shaped city which is undesirable for reasons more than one.

The development of cottage industries at least can check the migration of surplus rural hands to Calcutta and cannot cause emigration from the city. For obvious reasons the commercial core of the city will remain the commercial nucleus of not only the State but of Eastern India as well. Nearly four-fifths of the city's population is engaged in commerce (756,168), production other than cultivation (547,262), transport (287,681) and other services (934,810). Comparable opportunities are not likely to be available outside Calcutta and the prospect of emigration is not at all bright. This is evident from the table below:

TABLE 4

	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911
Immigrant	1389028	690550	378776	371575	397274
Emigrant	44536	26591	22301	46000	34000

This meagre emigration, too, according to the version of the Census authorities, "predominantly represents those whose parents were on short or periodic visits to Calcutta on business." All these show the reluctance of the permanent settlers to leave the city and hence the poor response for Kalyani. It may be relevant to mention that it is the density which is alarming and not the total population of the city. As regards total population, Calcutta is much behind the great capitals and cities of the Western Europe, U.S.A., China and Japan. So it will be improper to believe that the reduction in density will come through emigration from the city.

Sometimes it is suggested that the solution lies in erecting sky-scrapers. But it is not within the means of the average people to bear the financial burden of building such mansions and if the State does not take up the enterprise it will only promote capitalism. Capitalists can only build such sky-scrapers and the common people can only hope to enter those houses as tenants. Moreover, the construction of the sky-scrapers is associated with vital points, such as (1) the soil conditions and its capacity of carrying loads, (2) wind pressure on the structure, (3) water supply and sewage disposal, (4) fire protection and (5) traffic problems. Again, the attempt to accommodate more people on a limited ground will result in increasing the density which is already alarming. So the suggestion is not practicable.

In the light of the above-mentioned arguments it may be concluded that the way to reduce the density lies in the horizontal expansion of the City, *i.e.*, by integration of the new lands with Calcutta proper. But to what direction Calcutta will expand to the north, south, east or west? The writer, on consideration of different aspects, is of the opinion that the best chance lies in the east. Reclaimed Salt Lake area integrated with the city will solve the problem. The reasons for such choice are stated below.

Enclosed between the Kristopur canal in the north and Tolly's *nala* in the south, Salt Lake area is divided into two halves by the storm water channel and jointly measure 37* sq. miles. If this 37-sq. mile area is amalgamated with the city, the density will be reduced to less than half of the present. Even the reclamation of only the northern Salt Lake area (19 sq. miles) will considerably reduce the overcrowding in the houses and streets. The shape of the City, after the incorporation with this area, will be corrected and the task of the Corporation will be easier in providing civic amenities.

To make the area suitable for habitation, the surface level will have to be raised by 4 ft. to 6 ft. It

* The figure is from the Corporation, Government figure differs from it. On the Indian map prepared by the Government, the northern Salt Lake area measures 18 sq. miles and the southern one 15 sq. miles.

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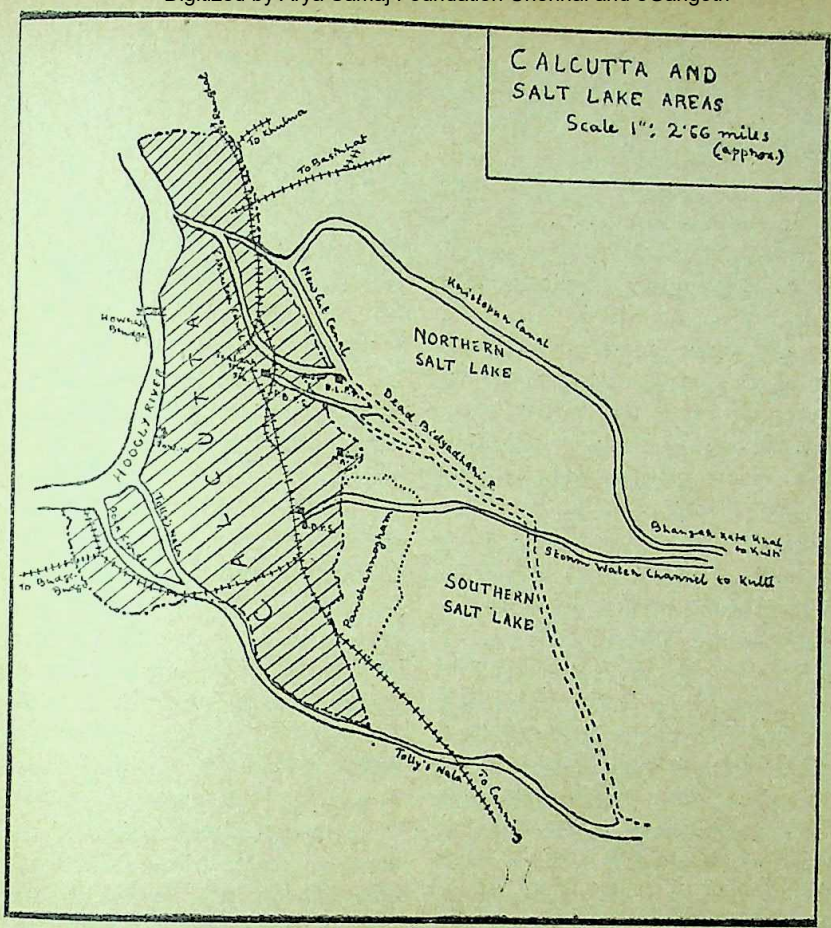

as the surface level of the built-up area will be ft. At present the altitude of the Salt Lake area s between +3 ft. and +6 ft. There are two ways aise the level: (*a*) by dig and fill method, (*b*) transporting material from outside.

Dig and fill method means excavation of half the n different parts for giant tanks and filling the of the area by the material thus derived. Large on of Dhakuria was built up in this way. Pre- ly it has been estimated that it will cost nearly and a half crores of rupees to build up the ern Salt Lake area by this method.

The alternative way is to bring soil from outside. Government proposes to bring here the soil that is dredged from the Hooghly bed by hydraulic force. 30-sq. mile area is to be raised by 4 ft., 223.20 cubic feet of soil is necessary. But this huge should not be a cause for disappointment. It been estimated that before the execution of the C. project, Damodar alone used to contribute y 340 million cubic yard of silt and sand to the gly basin. There are other tributaries too. And most serious problem that the Port authorities is the silting up of the Hooghly Channel. So the ation of the reclamation work will serve the le purpose.

The position of the Salt Lake area is advantageous spect of providing civic amenities. One of the basic necessity of man is water. At present tap-water supply system of the Corporation is a centralised one, Tala tank in the north is the sole distributing centre. Although at present water-scarcity prevails all over the city yet it is South Calcutta which suffers most. As the distance from the Tala tank increases, pressure falls due to friction. So, further extension to the south will make the situation worse. If more main pipes are to be taken to the south to ease the problem, it will be a heavy financial burden on the municipality. The chief difficulty in the way of decentralising the distribution system is the increasing salinity of the Ganges water downwards of Palta. Hence, installation of pumping machinery in the south has its own difficulty. On the other hand, proximity of the Salt Lake area to the Tala tank is a good advantage.

Proper drainage of the area is the second most desired civic amenity. At present only the city proper gets the benefit of the underground drainage system. The following table shows the drainage of Calcutta:

TABLE 5

Storm Water

Location	*Served by*	*Area in acres*	*Total discharge in Cusecs*
North Calcutta	Palmer's Bridge Pumping Station	4800	1260

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South Calcutta	Ballygunge Drainage Pumping Station	6400	1120
Tangra Area	Point 'A'	878	171
South Maniktola	Dhapa Lock	1477	193

The diameter of the underground drains and the capacity of the pumping stations are the two factors which determine the proper drainage of an area. It has been observed during the recent cyclonic rains that it is beyond the capacity of P.B.P.S. or B.D.P.S. to drain storm water excess over normal. Water-logging of some streets even during a normal shower is a common sight. So if the underground network is further extended to the north and south without the installation of new pumping stations, the situation will deteriorate. The position of the Salt Lake area by the side of the storm water channel is advantageous in respect of the installation of the pumping machinery as well as for implementing decentralised drainage system to enforce efficiency.

The time needed to reach the nucleus of the city, *i.e.*, Dalhousie Square from the two extremeties, Cossipore in the north and Tollygunge in the south, is nearly double the time that is taken to reach the heart of the city from Maniktola, Narkeldanga and other eastern areas. So the extension to the east will bring economy in time and fare. The ramifications from the railway lines proceeding to Ranaghat in the north and Canning in the south from Sealdah will serve the area very well. Moreover, Sealdah Railway Station is proposed to be shifted half-mile further east from its present position. So the position of the Sealdah Railway Station, due to the integration of the Salt Lake areas, will be nearly central and the divergence of the traffic in all directions will remove congestion in one or two directions.

One of the chief causes of the increasing lungs diseases is over-crowding in ill-ventilated houses or in the houses negatively placed in respect of the prevailing winds. The following table shows the actual percentages of days on which wind blows from a particular direction:

TABLE 6

N.	N.-E.	E.	S.-E.	S.	S.-W.	W.	N.-W.	Calm
10	3.5	5.5	9.5	19	18.5	5	7.5	21.5

It appears that the prevailing winds on majority days are from the South, South-east and South-west. Undoubtedly the south is placed in the best position but the location of the Salt Lake area is not unfavourable. Slums and closely spaced buildings of different sizes cannot enjoy the breeze from the south due to blocking. No such obstacle stands in the way of the breeze that blows over the Salt Lake area. On this newly-developed part municipality may strictly impose its building rules, may bring uniformity in shape and size of the houses to be built, so that, even when developed, free passage of air will not be checked.

Nearly half the population of Maniktola, Entally, Beliaghata, and Tangra are *bustee*-dwellers. If the slums are to be removed, settlement of these *bustee*-dwellers in the immediate vicinity will prove an advantage.

If the Government or C.I.T. takes the charge of the distribution of the land, it is hoped, that land price will be moderate. An opportunity will be opened for the lower middle-class people and the wage-earners to own a piece of land.

The idea of the reclamation of the Salt Lake area is not a new one. As early as 1865 Salt Lake Reclamation Committee was set up to devise ways and means. Various committees were formed since then for the same purpose. But it is the present State Government which has taken it up earnestly and, it is understood, the reclamation work will be started soon. The Government will at first reclaim the northern Salt Lake area. But the Government's aim is to reclaim only 4 sq. miles for habitation and to keep the rest of the areas as 'polders.' This very limited addition to the city will not be able to produce any remarkable result. Moreover, the difference in level between the area to be built up for the city extension and the rest of the area will cause flow of drainage water from that zone to polder areas which will create an unhealthy environment. And for the drainage of the polder areas and to guard against possible flood water it will have to depend on the embankment and pumping arrangements, the maintenance of which is costly. In view of these considerations it may be suggested that the reclamation of the entire northern lake area for habitation and building it up to a uniform level will bring greater benefit.

The objective of the article is not in any way to support more immigration to Calcutta or to seek space for the future immigrants. Extension is the urgent need to provide living accommodation for the existing population, to increase the ratio of the street area to total area, to remove the traffic congestion and to transform the unhealthy environment into the finest spot of the city.

It may be hoped that the days are not far away when the present-day abode of the blood-sucking but musically-humming mosquitoes will be changed into an integral part of the city. And the light peeping through the trees of the shady avenues of a not very distant future is visible.*

* Tables 1, 4, and 6 are taken or prepared from the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, 31st Anniversary Number. Tables 2 and 3 are taken or prepared from the *Census Report* on Calcutta City, Vol. VI, Part III. Table 5 is taken from the map "Calcutta and Its Environs of Calcutta Corporation." I am indebted to Sri A. N. Banerjee, retired Outfall Engineer, C. C., for information and Sri N. C. Chatterjee of the Geography Department, Presidency College, for suggestions on the construction of the map.

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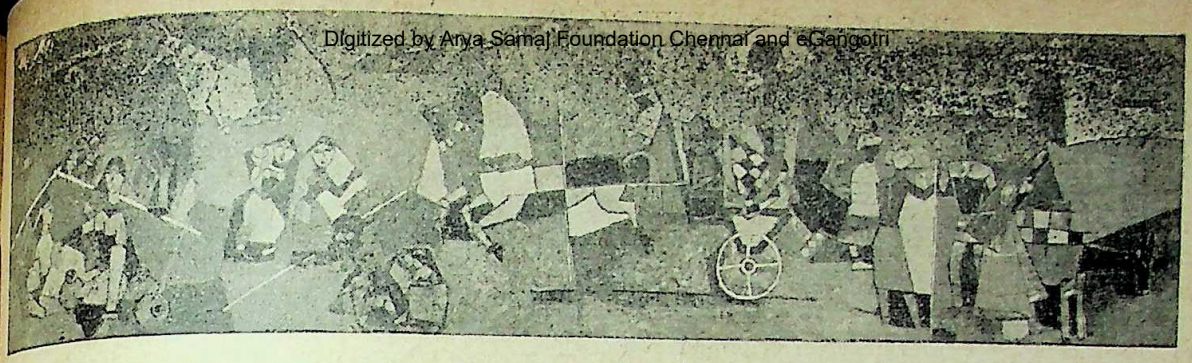

Fig. 1 Village Scene
By Maqbul Fida Husain

INDIAN PAINTING AT THE VENICE INTERNATIONAL

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

International Exhibition of Art, held at Venice, y second year, popularly known as the "Venice Annual," has justly become an institution, where s of all countries and all nations send their s of art for appraisal by an universal or inter- nal standard. We do not know what is the tution of the Judging Committee and what are accepted standards and canons for judging the tions which come from all parts of the world his modern international forum for appraisal of respective merits. Until a few decades ago, the critics and connoisseurs of the West were unable appreciate any merits in the productions of the of Eastern countries and the finest masterpieces Chinese and Indian art were looked upon as freaks siatic barbarism, unworthy of the label of "Works Art." But since the beginning of the twentieth ry and a few years earlier, serious attempts have made in Europe and in America to understand liberal spirit the Eastern point of view, to ise the art of oriental countries by a critical sis, the peculiar forms of expression, their niques and modes of revelations judged from their point of view through the phases of evolutions e context of the art-history and traditions of rn schools of art through their own national sophy and their different attitudes towards life. rder to set up a just and fair standard of judging s of Oriental Art, the Western connoisseurs and tors of art set about in a serious manner to t and study masterpieces of Chinese, Indian and Eastern Art. For this purpose, a museum of Eastern Art was set up at Cologne, a department Chinese, Japanese and Persian Art was opened in British Museum and the most distinguished and entative collection of Indian Art was installed e Boston Museum of Fine Arts in the United . So that there is now a trained group of lists in all phases of Eastern Art, competent to ate the exotic arts of the East and to critically appraise their modern expressions. But, in the present context, it is necessary to enquire if the Venice Judging Committee had included a few, at least, of specialists and connoisseurs in the schools of Asiatic Art. But a more pertinent enquiry would be: Is there a definite policy on the part of the Exhibition authorities to encourage the exhibition of works bearing the unmistakable marks and characters of the nation exhibiting in the different sections assigned to different nationals of the world in the Venice Bi-Annual? The Venice authorities would be perfectly

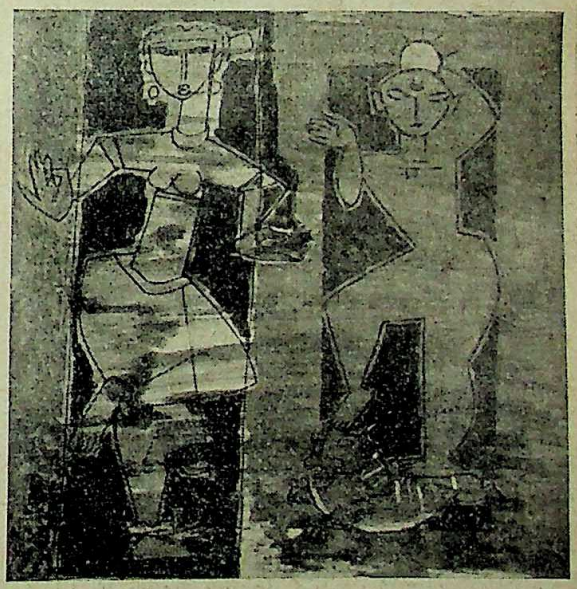

Fig. 3. Two Women
By Maqbul Fida Husain

justified in maintaining a perfectly neutral attitude leaving each national to exhibit any kinds of Art, national, nationalist or anti-national in complexion, the object of the international show being to present the actual tendencies now predominating in the current productions of contemporary Art, say from China, Japan, and India. We have no materials to judge of

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the nature of the contributions of China and Japan to this world-famous Exhibition which opened its 28th Show a few months ago. We are, therefore, confined to an appraisal of modern paintings, which were sent to Venice from India. No one expected that any of the works of the senior artists now living would be represented in the show. So that we do not complain that no works of Nanda Lal Bose, Asit Kumar Haldar, Kshitindra Nath Mazumdar, Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury or even of Jamini Roy, were represented in this international assembly of modern Indian paintings.

Fig. 4. The Red Chapel
By Sayed Haider Raza

We reproduce here seven of the Indian paintings which elicited praise from the international critics at Venice. The artists who earned praises are Dinkar Kowshik, (represented by two specimens), Maqbul Fida Husain, (represented here by three pieces), Padamsee Akbar and Sayed Haidar Raza (each represented by one example). We do not know if Amina Lodi, Rathin Maitra, or Subho Tagore, was represented in the Show. If not, then, one would be entitled to comment that the best phases of "Modernistic" Indian painting were not presented in the show. Apparently the Bombay group was adequately represented. It may be, by accident or by deliberate gesture of exclusion, the Santiniketan group was not represented. But we have no right to complain, as we do not know if any committee was set up in India to make a representative selection of "modernistic" and contemporary paintings from India. It is unfortunate that no accurate information is available and we do not know if the Indian Ambassador in Rome took any interest in this representation of contemporary Indian painting at the Venice Show. Our regret is all the more when we find that American nationals took their part very seriously and have published a magnificently printed and lavishly illustrated brochure, setting out the contribution made to the show by modern American artists, with an Introduction written by so famous an art-historian as Lionello Venturi. Our Ministry of Foreign Affairs and/or the Lalita Kala Akadami apparently did not do anything to sponsor

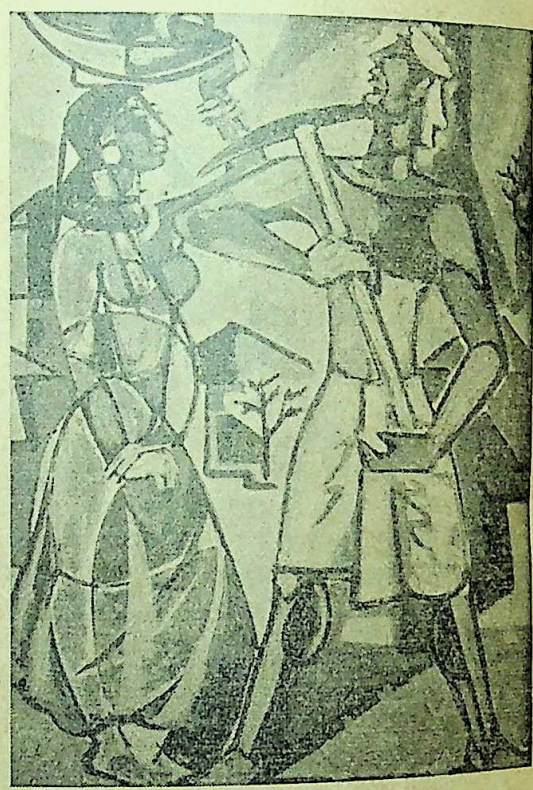

Fig. 6. Labourers
By Dinkar Koushik

the cause and claims of modernistic Indian painters in the Venice Show. It is quite possible that the Bombay Group had elected to send their paintings on their own initiative without caring for any official help or backing. This must be regarded as a piece of good fortune, as we have been repeatedly told that Indian paintings sent abroad, under diplomatic auspices, through official Indian channels, never receive any independent criticism or review, but unstinted diplomatic praises which can never be accepted as accurate and sincere appraisals. We are happy, therefore to find that the few Indian artists who sent their pictures (even if they did not fully represent all the leading artists of modern India and all phases of the modern trends in painting) have earned praises judged by the international standard. This must be to us a

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ter of great gratification, as it must be taken to ance the prestige of India in the field of Art.

From the national point of view and from the nt of view of the great traditions of Indian Art, ing through the corridors of time, one might say, re is nothing 'national' or characteristically *Indian*

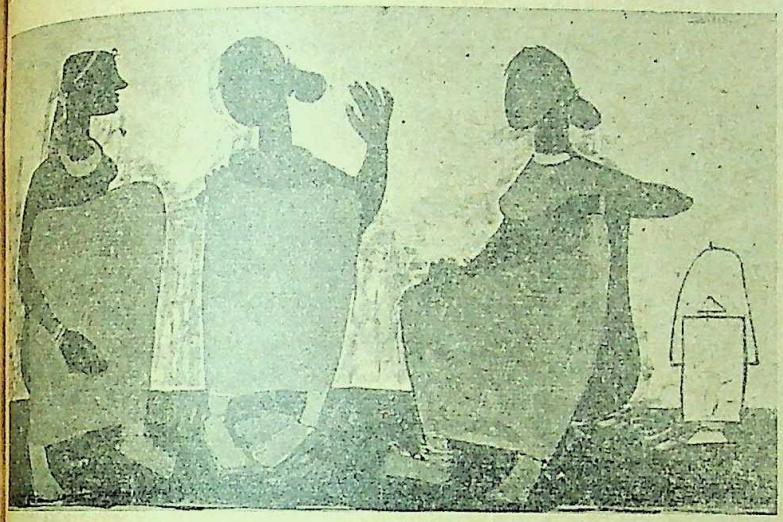

Fig. 2. Three Women
By Maqbul Fida Husain

the seven pieces of *Indian* paint- which earned praise for India Venice. For, there are thousands responsible critics who still ertain the superstition that Art nothing if not national and if does not reflect the national it expressed in the language l vocabulary of the art of a ion. Even the most fanatical nents of modernism in Europe e been able to outgrow or diate the manners and manner- s of old masterpieces, as they e repeatedly revealed the so- ed old outworn formulas of r El Grecos, Duccios, and ntine Icons. And it has been inently said by a modernistic e, "Revolution is one of our dest stereotypes in disguise," "there is nothing more out-of- than the *moderns*!"

Rightly or wrongly a few group of contemporary ters in India have chosen to repudiate the age- g traditions of the great heritage of the language Indian painting and slavishly accepted the so- led International Esperanto, borrowed from the dernistic language of Post-Impressionism and ism and a host of other "isms," unintelligible and ptable to most of the educated Indians of the modern age. They are trying to express themselves in a pictorial language which has not grown out of the soil of Indian social and spiritual life. Yet, one cannot quarrel with those who repudiate their own nationality, their Indian citizenship and their great artistic heritage. They cannot complain if sincere nationals look upon them as "outcasts" of Indian culture or rebels from Indian spiritual standards.

Even if the seven specimens we have chosen for illustration, do not pay any manner of homage to the techniques, manners, and mannerisms and to the best traditions of Indian Art, we must concede that each of them is a work of Art, judged by the modern canons of Europe. And even if we cannot accept them as genuine productions of Indian Art we cannot deny the praises due to them as vigorous and able essays in line and space-compositions, revealing a wonderful sense of rhythm, balance and harmony. If there are no "reasons" in them, there are enough

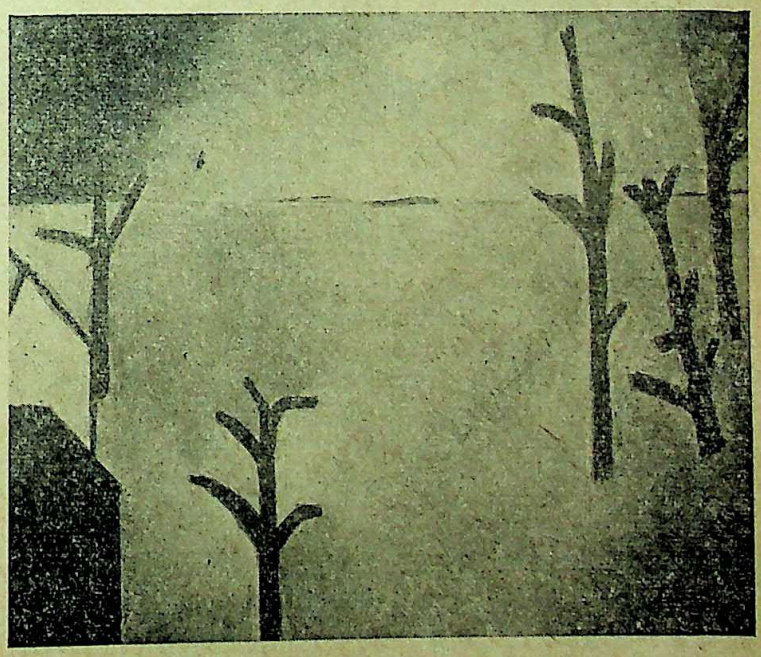

Fig. 5. Landscape
By Padamsee Akbar

"rhymes" in them, which sing out in an exotic melody. Poor in *content*, they are rich in *form*. If they have no serious message or even any substantive story-values, they are full of excitements and agitations reflected from the flutter of the hearts of the artists.

Let us comment on the pictures one by one. Of the four artists, Maqbul Fida Husain appears to be the more versatile, having chosen three divergent

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manners in his three different compositions. In the *Village Scene* (Fig. 1) all the varied and exciting elements of village-life have been translated and

Fig. 7. Woman with bird
By Dinkar Koushik

transcribed in a series of mosaics, and space-compositions carefully balanced and consummately woven into a convincing epic, a moving tapestry in which the flavour of Indian life is not obliterated by the Cubistic formula. It is a clever interpretation of Indian life couched in an exotic language. The *Three Women* (Fig. 2), summarily rendered in three black but vigorous silhouettes, is a masterly reduction of a fully comprehensive realistic impression into an essential formula, which, ignoring all details misses nothing. The third picture *Due Donne*, two figures, (Fig. 3), is a still more masterly reduction to essentials the artist's impression of a *Deva-Dasi* dancing before the image in a Hindu temple.

Sayed Haider Raza, a resident of Paris, studying Art under a Government of India scholarship, is a landscape artist, here represented by *The Red Chapel* (Fig. 4), has been recently praised in the French journal *Prisme Des Arts*, but he does not appear to have yet developed any originality, still confined to repetitions of familiar formulas. Padamsee Akbar, very familiar in Calcutta exhibitions, is here represented by a moon-lit landscape *Paesaggio II* (Fig. 5) almost imitating the brevity of Japanese *Haikai* poetry without its flavour or fascination. It is a mere dry and deceptive formula with all lyrical flavour cruelly pressed out and banished. The subtle gradation of light is very commendable. Of this group, Dinkar Koushik easily outstrips the others both in his vigorous and realistic visualization, analysis of spaces and a true presentation of types, emphasized but not obliterated by his Cubistic formula. His *Lavoratori* (Labourers) (Fig. 6), has all the merits and charms of 'academic' painting, translated into modernistic conventions. His *Women with Bird* (Fig. 7) is a masterly presentation of a *genre* theme with all poetical and lyrical elements intact, not submerged under the daring *bravura* of his modern technique. These are talented artists who have stepped across the geographical boundaries of Indian painting, yet still claiming to be Indian painters. They have yet to answer the relevant query of an eminent French critic, "Art in *India*, should it be *Indian* or should it not be so?"

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A NEW LOOK AT ASIA

pectant hush fell over the auditorium at the Spring ...ing Girls' High School in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. ...e school principal introduced her guest, colorfully ...ed in a brilliantly patterned sari, an enthusiastic ...l of applause filled the crowded assembly.

Miss Indira Nalin, a dynamic educator from Bombay, the first Asian lecturer to participate in the new ...stant teacher program of the National Council on ...n Affairs. Two other graduate students, Melencio ...Cua of the Philippines and Pak Kun of Korea, and ...ted Burmese lecturer Daw Mya Sein went to other ...delphia public schools as guest lecturers. The ...am is one of the many activities sponsored by the ...cil to promote a better understanding of Asia in United States.

Indira Nalin of India, lecturing to a class at the Spring Garden Girls' High School, shows her large purse as one example of Indian handcrafts

The Council was formed in the summer of 1955 by group of Philadelphia citizens who were interested in ...n affairs. They recognized a growing interest in ...s throughout America and felt that there was a need ... greater knowledge of this important area of the ...d. In addition, they recognized that many of the ...0 Asians studying in the United States are parti...rly well qualified to interpret their countries to ...ricans.

Dr. Norman D. Palmer, professor of political science ...the University of Pennsylvania, who has taught in Asia, is President of the Council's Board of Directors. The Executive Vice President is Dr. John F. Melby, a former U.S. foreign service officer in Asia. Mrs. Elinor K. Wolf, the Secretary-Treasurer, and other members of the Board also have had experience and interest in Asian affairs. The International House of Philadelphia has made space available for the Council's headquarters.

The Council co-operates with such groups as the Far Eastern Association and the Conference on Asian Affairs, and with scholars, educators and others who are interested in Asia. It sponsors meetings for representatives of these groups and serves as a clearing house for the activities planned at the meetings.

Such a program of Asian education could be limitless in scope, embracing primary, secondary, college and adult

With the help of a student in Spring Garden Girls' High School, Indira Nalin of India shows the class how to wear a *sari*

education levels. The Council decided that the place to start was in the primary and secondary schools, where it found less work being done and where the attitudes and opinions of tomorrow's adults are being formed.

The first efforts were concentrated in the Philadelphia area. Council members felt that if they could show a program in operation in their own city the idea would spread to other areas.

Teacher placement is one phase of the experimental program begun in Philadelphia. Several Asians who are studying in the United States were selected to partici-

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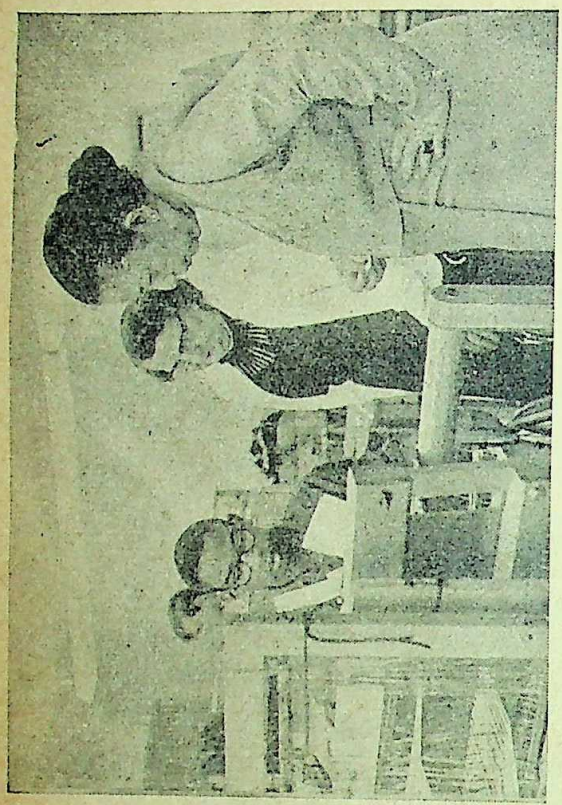
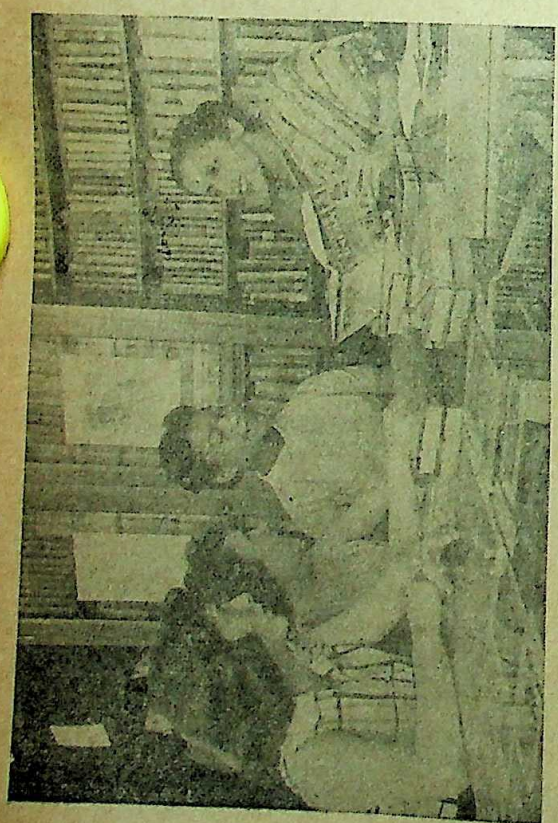
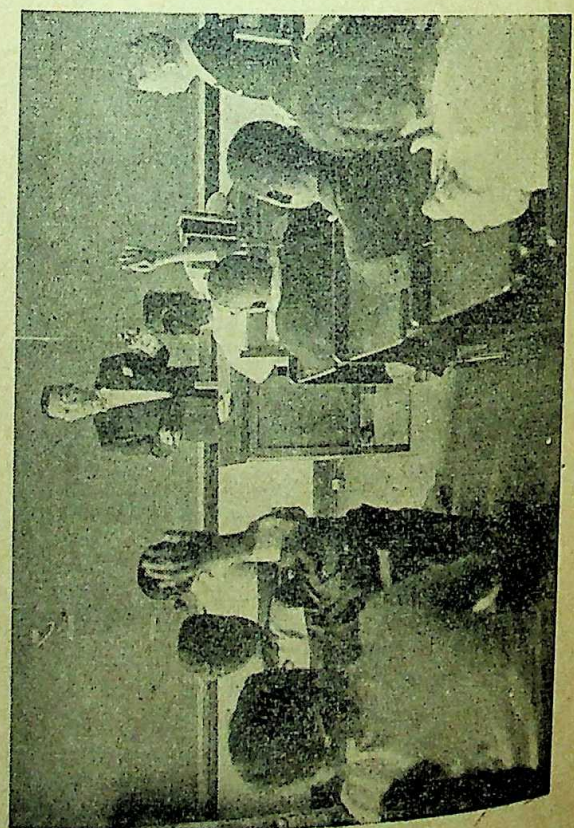


Daw Mya Sein (*right*), the well-known Burmese lecturer and historian, visits a weaving class at Widener Memorial School for handicapped pupils

An American pupil demonstrates to Daw Mya Sein, how the folk will hold a vegetable or fruit firmly in place so that it can be cut or peeled with one hand



Indira Nalin answered as many questions about India on an informal basis as she did in her class talks at the Spring Garden Girls' High School



Melencia Cua answers students' questions at the Audenreid Junior High School during his informal lecture on the Philippines

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While they are in America to advance their edu- they can, at the same time, contribute to America their rich background and knowledge.

They teach regular classes. as would American but with a difference. Asians talking about stimulate greater interest in the subject and bring authoritative knowledge to the young pupils. This

An American pupil demonstrates to Daw Mya Sein, how the fork will hold a vegetable or fruit firmly in place so that it can be cut or peeled with one hand

fore his class lecture at the Andernreid Junior High School, duate student Melencia Cua shows the pupils a Philippine shirt made from pineapple fibre

the Council has placed Asian students in teaching ns in both public and private schools in several can cities.

The value of this approach is indicated by the over- ing success of the consultant teacher program. Council, the Philadelphia Board of Education, and Asian lecturers all felt that the program should be ed.

After their visits to the Philadelphia schools, the participants were asked to write frank reports of experiences and to suggest ways of improving the am.

Melencia Cua, for example, was a lecturer in five nt schools. Finding varying degrees of understand- nd background in each of them, he recommended easygoing approach" on the level of the student's standing.

He also reported great advance interest in his visit. school had a long list of questions on the Philip- prepared for him to answer. Another was devoting annual international project to a study of the pines.

In one school he was asked to hold a student press ference. The young newswriters questioned him for ftee minutes to get information for their special ational issue of the school publication. This group also wanted to begin a "pen-pal" exchange of letters with Filipino students.

Pak Kun was a lecturer in one school, where he spoke to various classes. He told the students about the customs, religion and culture of Korea, as well as the history of his nation in its relationships with others of North Asia.

In reporting to the Council, Pak Kun emphasized the "scope and intensity of the student interest in Asia," and the teachers' "good understanding of recent Asian history." He told also of the school's gift to his country. The students voted to use their special class funds to ship a large collection of books to the Seoul University research library.

The Korean lecturer made thoughtful recommendations to the Council for its Asian studies program. He suggested that a course in Asian history should be offered in American high schools or that Asian material should be integrated more extensively into related courses.

He felt that American teachers can do a good job of presenting factual knowledge to the pupils. The role of visiting Asian teachers, he said, should be to present a picture of Asian customs, traditions, way of life, and thinking that they cannot get from an American, regardless of academic background.

Daw Mya Sein visits a sculpture class at Widener Memorial School

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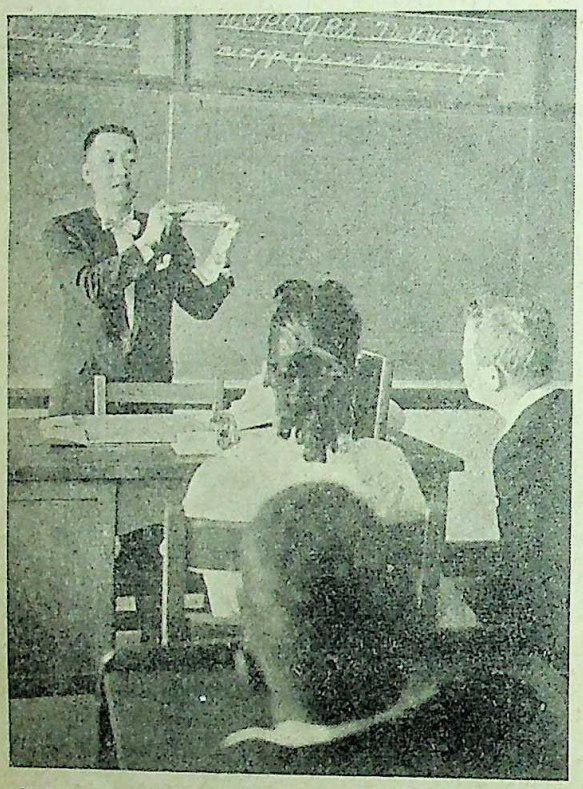
Daw Mya Sein, an historian and lecturer from the University of Rangoon, spent three weeks in the Philadelphia schools. Like the other consultants she spent part of her time with faculty members, helping them to evaluate and improve their presentation of Asian studies. And as she told the students about the history and customs of her own country she brought the entire Asian area close to the minds and hearts of her young listeners.



Brightening his lecture on the Philippine economy Melen ia Cua shows the class a peso, explaining its value in terms of an American dollar

Indira Nalin found "an eager interest in India" at the Spring Garden Girls' High School, where she spent two weeks. During the first days she was a guest in various classes, met informally with faculty members, and later was introduced to the entire school assembly.

By this time the interest of both faculty and students had reached such a high point that she was unable to fulfil every request to speak. Teachers and pupils were stopping her in the halls or library to ask if she would talk in their classes on various aspects of Indian life. Thus she was able to base her lectures on topics suggested by the teachers and students.

As a result of this experience, the Indian educator confirmed the desire of American educators for more intensive Asian studies in the schools, and the American teachers agreed with her that Asia should be interpreted by Asians as well as by Americans. Miss Nalin also suggested that visiting Asians could do their best work if they were familiar with the methods of teaching in American schools.

She included in her report some of her interesting personal experiences during the two weeks. She was asked to pose for the art class, helped to arrange a special Indian exhibit in the library, and was invited to be a guest on the annual senior class trip to Washington.

Riding on the train with the class, she was constantly surrounded with a group of enthusiastic girls who were eager for answers to more questions about

Korean educator Pak Kun, who is working for his doctorate at the University of Pennsylvania, tells a tenth grade history class at West Philadelphia High School about the geography, climate and customs of his native land

India. They also asked her to join in their singing of familiar American songs and wanted her teach them some Indian songs.

The experiences of the four lecturers proved the value of this two-way exchange of knowledge. They expressed an awareness that they, too, had gained from their school lectures. Faculty and school administrators who were their hosts unanimously approved of the experiment and said that the visiting Asians had enriched the backgrounds of the teachers as well as their pupils.

The consultant teacher program is but one activity of the Council on Asian Affairs. Many others are planned or under way.

There are plans, for example, to make known to American teachers the vast amount of Asian research that has been done in the United States. Bibliographies, new

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films and study outlines will be made available. It planned to co-ordinate the experiences of the many seminars for teachers, to improve existing seminars to encourage the start of new ones.

At the suggestion of the Council, American textbook publishers are enlisting the help of Asian scholars to improve the quality and content of Asian information in American school books.

The Council plans to work closely with those developing public school curricula, and to stimulate secondary school interest in Asian studies it has urged that the College Board Entrance Examination include more Asian questions. It also is encouraging school magazines to publish more articles on Asia, as has been done by *Scholastic* and *Current Events*.

Another successful Council project is the assembly of "teacher packets," containing pamphlets and illustrated articles on Asia. Half of the material was written by Asians, and the rest by Americans. Embassies of the various Asian countries have co-operated in furnishing some of the materials.

American teachers have shown great interest in using this authoritative material for their classes. Most of them had not known such material existed or where it could be obtained.

The National Council on Asian Affairs has a wealth of ideas for further expansion of its activities. Interest and support is coming now from educational leaders and groups all across the country. The program gradually is becoming nation-wide in scope.

Those working closely with it already can see encouraging results. But with any education program the true results lie in the future. The affection and understanding of Asia now building in the minds of American children is a foundation for peace in the years to come. —*USIS*.

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SHRINES OF ART IN INDIA

Genesis and Evolution of Museum Movement

In the beginning, it was the enthusiasm and love for art of enterprising individuals and private institutions that accounted, in the main, for the rise of different museums that now enrich the Indian contemporary scene with the best treasures of the past.

The genesis of the museum movement in India can be traced to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, founded by that brilliant scholar Sir William Jones in 1784. Comprising of two sections, one of archaeological and ethnological material and the other of geological and zoological, the Society's museum grew rapidly and in 1839 the Court of Directors of the East India Company sanctioned an amount for the maintenance of the museum and also authorised the Government of India to make other grants from time to time for special purposes.

The Museum of Economic Geology at Calcutta, opened in 1840, was also at first housed in the Society's museum but later removed to the premises of the Geological Survey of India and was finally brought to the Imperial Museum, which was then newly established after protracted negotiations between the Society and the Government.

As early as 1819, efforts for forming a museum had been made in Madras, and the Madras Literary Society, the auxiliary of the Asiatic Society of London, desired to have a museum of Economic Geology in 1828. In 1843, the Society requested the Government for the formation of this Museum and the Court of Directors of the East India Company agreed to the formation of a Central Museum at Madras. The formation of local museums at Bangalore, Bellary, Coimbatore, Cuddalore, Gotacamund, Secunderabad, Mangalore and Tirchirapalli followed.

The idea of a museum at Bombay originated in 1848, and the collections got together in connection with the great Exhibition at London in 1851 gave it an impetus, and in 1857 (thanks to the efforts of Dr. Buist), a Museum of Economic Products was established. The museums at Lucknow and Nagpur were established in 1863. The Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore came into existence in 1865. The year 1874 saw the creation of the Mathura Museum. The next year saw the birth of the Museum at Raipur. In 1888 the Rajkot Museum was formed and a few years later the Museum at Srinagar. The foundation-stone of the Baroda Museum was laid in 1887.

Official Encouragement

The celebration of the Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1887 ushered in a new era in the rise of museums in India. Several museums were started at this time such as the Victoria Technical Institute at Madras, the Museums at Jaipur, Udaipur, Rajkot, Bezwada and the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta.

But the greatest impetus for the development of museums in the country was during the time of Lord Curzon, whose interest was in no small measure followed up by the enthusiasm of Sir John Marshall, the then Director General of the Archaeological Survey.

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The Museums established at Ajmer, Baripada, Chamba, Jodhpur, Khajuraho, Gwalior, Bijapur and Dacca within a space of ten years, owe their existence to the keen interest evinced by Sir John Marshall, who was also responsible for the Archaeological Museums at Sarnath, Nalanda, Taxila and other sites, and the Central Asian Antiquities Museum at New Delhi. The Museums at Malda in Bengal, at Pagan and Mandalay, at Bijapur and Bombay, in the Taj at Agra, at Dhar and at Peshawar were at the instance of Lord Curzon. The creation of the Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay was thought of in 1904, but, with liberal grants secured both from Government and large-hearted donors like Currimbhoy Ibrahim, the building was completed in 1914.

Flying Celestials
Early Western Chalukya sculpture (c. 6th century A.D.) from Bijapur

In the wake of this creative activity several States, with collections brought together by their respective departments, established museums of their own. Thus came into being the Museums at Indore, Hyderabad, Himatnagar, Jamnagar, Kolhapur, Padmanabhapuram and Rewa between the years 1921 and 1947.

Private Initiative

The Museum of the Bharat Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandal at Poona sprang up through the enthusiasm of a society and some individuals. Again, it was originally the museum of the Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti of Gauhati, that has now developed into a provincial museum. It is interesting that a Historical Society of a College could build up the nucleus of a provincial museum, but so is the case with the Provincial Museum of Orissa at Bhuvaneswar, which grew out of the Museum of the Historical Society of the Ravenshaw College. The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Museum, opened in 1910, is another case of this kind.

Through the efforts of Rai Krishnadasa, the Bharat Kala Bhavan, a fine museum of art, was established in 1919 at Banaras. The Municipal Museum at Allahabad in no small measure owes a debt of gratitude to the enthusiasm and the collections made by Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas. The Museum at Madanapalle in the Theosophical College owes its existence to the personal collections of Dr. J. H. Cousins, and similarly the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute in St. Xavier's College owes its material to the efforts of Rev. H. Heras, S. J.

There is practically no college of importance in India without the different departments having a museum of their own to promote the study of different scientific subjects. There are museums for engineering and the different branches of medical science.

There is a fine group of museums attached to the Forest College at Dehra Dun with separate branches for silviculture, timber, minor forest products and entomology. The building of museums of the Forest Research Institute and colleges at Dehra Dun is one of the best not only in India, but in Asia.

There have been cases also of museums developing purely by industrial institutions. The Lord Ready Maharastra Industrial Museum at Poona, which dates back to 1888, was born out of an exhibition of Indian arts and manufactures held in Poona and has grown into an admirable museum of its kind. A remarkable museum of recent origin is the Calico Museum of Textiles established in 1949 at Ahmedabad by Mr. Gautama Sarabhai.

Another important phase in the growth of museums, specially in the South, is the springing up of small, but interesting museums in the larger temples. Of these temple museums, mention must be made of the Rajaraja Museum in the Brihadisvara temple at Tanjore, the Museum of the Srirangam temple and that of the Minakshi-Sundereswara temple of Madurai, the first containing a remarkable collection of sculpture in stone and metal and the rest a collection of splendid ivories.

Role of the Archaeological Survey

In the earliest stages of the museum movement the nucleus of collections have mostly been geological or biological. It is with this material that the principal museums of India started functioning. But with the formation of the Archaeological Survey of Northern

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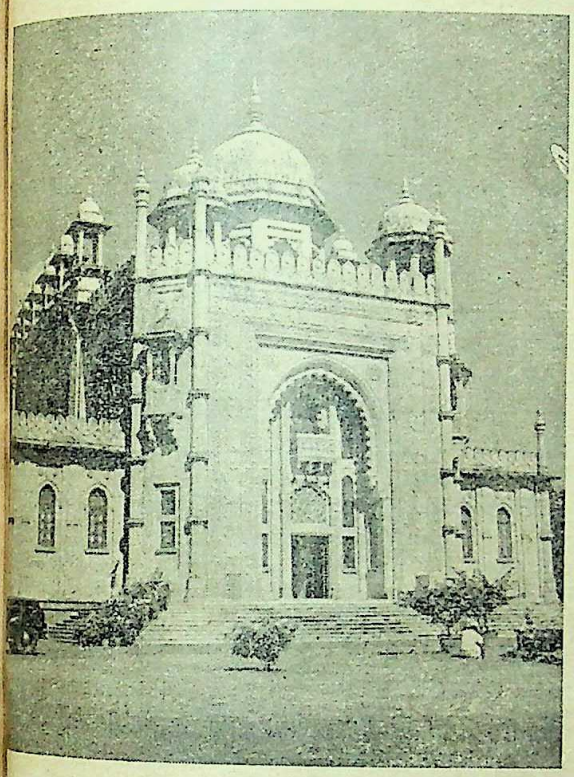
dia by Lord Canning and the appointment of General ningham as the Archaeological Surveyor, the place archaeology in museums came to be felt.

With equal anxiety for the the proper emphasis on seum development in the Department, Sir Mortimer Wheeler constituted a Museums Branch in 1945. The mation of the National Museum of India at Delhi in 49 opened up new vistas.



he Building of the National Art Gallery, Madras

The National Gallery of Modern Art in New Delhi a museum devoted to the modern phase of Indian as the scope for its collections. The National seum has a rich collection of paintings of Mughal and Rajasthani schools and is now building the collection of copies of ancient frescoes portray- the different phases of art from the earliest paint- at Ajanta to the late mediaeval paintings of Vijaya- r period to make the story of Indian paintings com- e in its galleries in a magnificent new building ly coming up on Kingsway in New Delhi.

Material from archaeological sites has been freely ributed among the museums by the Archaeological ey, and it is thus that items from Mohenjo-daro ctions are found in almost all the principal seums in India. The Patna Museum was enriched by finds at Basarh and Pataliputra as well as by the thar bronzes, the Lucknow Museum by the antiquities excavations at Bhita, Saheth Maheth, Sankisa, etc. both directly and indirectly, the building up of seums in India was accelerated by the enterprise and encouragement shown by the Archaeological Department.

II

Among the large number of museums that today exist in this country, those that were the last to be organised have had better facilities in the matter of their buildings. The earlier ones are at a disadvantage, having been housed in buildings that are quite antiquated

Abhisarika Nayika
Kangra painting (c. 18th century A.D.) kept at the National Museum of India

and unsuitable, judged by modern museum standards. Any large, easily available building was considered fit for housing a museum, making impossible attractive display of even the best material. The Lucknow Museum is a case in point, where the defect is aggravated by the location of the Museum in two different buildings separately situated.

In the case of some of the museums, which were more recently created, it is indeed gratifying to note that fine new museum buildings amply compensate the few years of cramped existence in inadequate old structures. The Municipal Museum at Allahabad has now an excellent, well-planned building in place of the dark old rooms it so long occupied in one of the dilapidated wings of the Municipal building. The new building of the Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum in the Banaras University, which has just been completed, is another fine structure. An excellent building has

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recently been completed for the occupation of the museum at Raipur.

The Mathura Museum, which was originally started in an unsuitable building, is now housed in a well-planned structure with ample scope for future expansion. The Bombay Museum was well-planned, and has been particularly fortunate in the matter of its building. The Madras Museum, well laid out on spacious grounds, has got the finest block in the latest lay-out for the Archaeological Galleries.

Museum Planning

Planning for museum building is most essential and without well-lit suitable galleries even the best material cannot be effectively presented. Moreover, a museum is primarily a growing institution and requires ample space for expansion. The Indian Museum, for example, which is the finest in the East, not to talk only of India, is unfortunately housed in an old inadequate building, and lacks the space around it for further growth.

In a properly planned museum, there should also be room for a decent laboratory, for chemical treatment of the museum material, in addition to the galleries, working place for the staff and storage capacity for reserve collections. Ideal provision for this has been made in the Madras Museum, where in addition, they have a Museum Library, which serves the public besides benefiting museum research.

It is the Madras Museum, again, which probably provides the best school services. It is a museum where school children pay frequent visits and gather first-hand knowledge of things that they may have read about in books. University students, however, are able to make the best use of the material kept in museums. In this respect, the Archeological Section of the Indian Museum is a valuable source of information to the students and teachers of several universities, and specially that of Calcutta.

Research Publications

Research publications form an essential aspect of museology. It is due to the indefatigable work of Dr. Gravely that the Madras Museum leads today all the other museums in the matter of research publications. Thanks to the efforts of Dr. M. Goetz, the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery has a bulletin of its own, which has been regularly publishing interesting papers on the material in the Museum and has recently prepared a handbook of its collections. The Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay has also started a bulletin of its own. The Indian Museum, which has had several valuable publications to its credit in the past, has recently revived this activity. As for the Indian Museum, the earliest publications pertaining to the different sections were issued by the Museum itself, as for instance, the Catalogue of Mammals by Dr. Anderson, the interesting work on Coins by J. C. Rodgers and others. Most of the books and pamphlets, including the records and memoirs of the Indian Museum, however, are publications by the Geological, and other Surveys. The two volumes of "Guide to the Archaeological Section" like several other publications dealing with the material in the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, are publications by the Archaeological Survey.

Though the Art Section of the Prince of Wales Museum has several interesting publications on Art, probably no other museum except the Central Asian Antiquities Museum has published anything on the material contained in the Art Section of that Museum. Recently, however, the Indian Museum has published an attractive book on the early works of the great Indian artist, Abanindra Nath Tagore.

A Curator's Job

And now, a few words about curators. The living voice of a museum is its curator. The growth or decay of a museum depends mainly on the energy, enthusiasm, knowledge and equipment that the curator possesses, and the sympathy and co-operation he is able to receive from the management and the public. It may be realised that the curator of a museum, in addition to his duty as the custodian of the material, has numerous other and equally exacting functions to discharge. He has at once to satisfy the scholar and the layman, bringing to bear on his work both scholarship and practical experience of a variety of visitors' needs. The duty of the curator, in short, is to present the museum in an ideal setting, as a befitting home of the Muses, and a temple of learning for the visitors.

—*PIB.*

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MY PILGRIMAGE TO HELSINKI, USSR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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BY SACHIN SEN GUPTA

II

LENINGRAD

NGRAD, the city of the mighty Czars, is simply lovely. and nature have joined hands to make it almost dreamland. Its colourful settings take its visitors' ds back to its colourful history. The Winter ace and the Hermitage through their architectures art collections and grandeurs reveal chapters of sian history full of brilliant achievements as well dark episodes of exploitation and oppression. The one-piece marble column in the square represents solidarity of the will of the reigning powers as as the skill of the peasant-born architecht and craftsmanship. The square itself which had a d-bath on what is now known as Bloody Sunday inds one that the will of a ruler however hard and gant might it be and whatever cruelty might a perpetrate to perpetuate a tyrannous rule, is bound break into fragments to be mixed into the rust e the determined will of the people, solid like one-piece marble column in the square, works to t itself. The descendants of the very people whose d was made to flow in torrents over the cobbled of the square had entered the Winter Palace from very square itself and succeeded to close for ever chapter of tyrants' rule, the last of whom had his earlier days splitted the blood of their patriotic humanitarian but helpless forefathers.

The *Aurora* still kept afloat on the blue waters the Neva did full justice to her name by radiating first glow of hell-fire across the Neva right into room where the reactionaries had assembled for last time to decide what steps should be taken to off the waves of the people's Revolution. ory has numerous names of battle-ships that had ied conquests far and wide, that had carried galley-es as well as captured rulers and emperors; but so glorious as the *Aurora* which carried ation and victory to a people, disregarding the mand of her feeble commander. The crew of the ra could read the writing on the wall as did read revolutionaries who had beseized the Palace. ory to man was the writing. And from the moment first shell was fired from the *Aurora* the man's h onward to victory started in Russia, and since the people there have been marching onward from ry to victory to demonstrate to the world what the ry of man really means. It was demonstrated during ld War II when Leingrad suffered terribly but not succumb to the Hitlerite onslaught, stood un-quered, and proved how ridiculous was Hitler's to hold victory banquet in the halls, of the ia Hotel. Hundreds of thousands of the citizens Leningrad starved to death to prevent Hitler from ing the victory-banquet in their city which had for the first time brought victory to man in Russia. Victorious stood Leningrad, the people's will proved too strong for the Nazi warmacht.

And then the Smolensky. It was a palace too. A palace where pride of wealth and birth and prejudice against the people were zealously nurtured and instilled into the tender minds of the future mothers of Russia's rulers and nobles. It was a palace of spurious culture. But how fatefully it fell in the hands of the revolutionaries and how wonderfully was it converted into a real palace of a culture that helped to grow what the world took to be the spirit of Russia.

In an unostentatious little room of the palatial premises lived Lenin and his wife in those days when the vanquished power had not vanished altogether. That little room had been partitioned into two halves by a wooden screen; one half to be used as Lenin's office and the other half as the bedrrom for the comrade-consorts. On two opposite walls of this office of one of the greatest architects of the modern world we found fixed the world-famous two decrees, The Decree on Peace, and the Decree on Land. They were preserved in original as were they initially drawn up, penned through, and corrected, by the handwriting of Lenin himself. Those two decrees alone bore in them the spirit of New Russia—the spirit of peaceful reconstructionn. The history of the Brest Litovsk Treaty was known to us. We also were aware of the vituperations flung against Russia by her former allies in World War I. Few of us realized that Russia made that treaty not to escape an unwanted war but with the definite objective of her own rehabilitation as well as to eradicate the possibility of any future war by providing the world an example of a society which for its growth and fulfilment needed no war of conquests nor any exploitation.

That Russia had been consistently striving since 1817 to give the spirit behind the decrees a material shape could be noticed in the new social order she had founded, and by her persistent attempts to bring the four powers into agreement both before and after World War II. I have already referred to the repeated attempts of Litvinov, Stalin and Molotov. The Decrees I witnessed in the small room of the Smolensky written by the supreme architect of New Russia. Lenin himself convinced me that the desire for peaceful reconstruction of Russia as well as the determination for the elimination of the root causes of War from the social orders of nations were born of a spirit that sought to imbue man in different ages, since the birth of civilization, but, unfortunately, repelled by the weilders of powers and upholders of individual interest at the cost of the common man.

Attempts to make this spirit a guiding force to

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lead the new generations on, culture has been saturated with it. Young generations are being given a connotation of the culture in this respect that it means wilful surrender of individual interest to the growth of the community. Within the bounds of a country and in the fields of its social and political activities it means communism. But when it is projected to other countries it is bound to be international communism unless necessary stress is laid on international peace. When that stress is given, co-existence of systems cannot escape attention. And co-existence of systems demands free existence of a system that a country has developed. No plea for international communism may therefore be reasonably put forward by those communist countries who have come forward to enunciate and to lend support to Panchashila.

Does not Russia believe any more that international communism is an integral part of her plan for world communism? There is Lenin's admission that co-existence of nations is possible to be achieved. The Neheru-Bulganin joint statement as well as the speeches of Russia's representatives at the Helsinki Peace Assembly indicate that the present executive heads of Russia as well as her intellectuals and representatives of the workers and the peasants do not only believe in co-existence but have also pledged themselves to make it a practical proposition. We had during our travels in the U.S.S.R. met many men and women, workers and peasants, who were not eminent persons. But nowhere did we meet a single one who had said anything against the Chou-Nehru principle; on the contrary, everybody expressed to see it implemented. So was the case in Helsinki. None of the sixty-eight nations assembled there had a word to say against co-existence of nations. Each delegate was anxious to see that the powers waste no time to accept the Five Principles. It is exactly why China and India are found to be the most popular countries with the peoples of the world today.

Acceptance of the principles of co-existence of nations may not be found feasible unless nations develop mutual respect for one another. To respect a nation one must know it; one must try to arrive at a correct appraisal of its system, its culture, its ideology, and its way of life. The communist countries have devoted themselves to this task more seriously and sincerely than other countries have.

In Leningrad we found quite a number of young men and women who had talked with us in Hindi and Bengali. In Moscow we found in the public meetings that Russian boys and girls could interpret all the speeches delivered in most of the Asian and European languages. In Czechoslovakia the welcome address to us was interpreted through Hindi. Our Hindi and Bengali speeches were rendered into Czech by the teachers and the students of those two languages. There have been already a pretty large number of trained interpreters in all the communist countries. Their number is daily on the increase. Translation and collection of literary masterpieces and their study by experts have been made a part of the cultural programme of all the communist countries.

The directors of the Leningrad Oriental Institute took immense trouble to show us how their scholars and research workers had engaged themselves to the study of oriental languages. We know that the Western countries too take particular interest in them. We know of the care and pains that some of the western scholars in different countries took to vindicating the culture of the East. But for them many of the West and also of the East would not have known today that the East had a cultural heritage no less precious than the culture of the Western nations. But the approach of the present orientalists in Russia seem to be different in this respect that they are interested to discover if there had been any unity among the diverse cultural currents of the orient. That there must be some is obvious to those who care to consider seriously the international aspect of the Buddhist, the Hebrewite, the Christian and the Islamic cultures, each of which originated in the orient.

Those today who think and speak of Asian solidarity must know what Asia really is. To know it, the cultural trends of Asiatic nations must be discovered and placed anew before the world to prove that there is no reason to believe that 'East is East and West is West' and the twain shall never meet. To study oriental languages and cultural persuits of the orient is one thing. And to study them with a view to discovering the streak of unity in diversities for the benefit of the progressive humanity, is quite a different thing. The Leningrad orientalists are at present doing the latter which, I believe, is exactly what the world badly needs today. There are persons who tell us that this amazing interest in the study of the oriental languages and of the cultural heritage of the orient is also purposive; it aims at the world-expansion of communism. One has to meet these orientalists and to hear them to be sure of their aims. Yes, they believe that communism is the best of the social orders man has founded up till now. But they do not believe that it could be extended over to any part of the world by a mere study in languages and cultural traits of nations. They have full knowledge of what communism stands for. And now they want more knowledge about man—both communist and non-communist.

Moscow

Moscow appeared to me to be mighty and massive but not as elegant and as majestic even as Leningrad seemed to be. In Moscow I noticed the implementation of what I found in spirit in Leningrad. There was, indeed, the Kremlin in Moscow. But it did not touch my soul as deeply, in spite of the accumulated treasures in it, as the Winter Palace, the Summer Palace, and

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the Neva did. I saw only that part of the Kremlin which bore the relics of the dead past. The living Kremlin where the leaders meet and talk on their problems I had no access to. But even then I found pretty big slices of it outside the walls of the Kremlin. I found them in the University Buildings, in the Metro, in the opera houses, in the factories and shops, in the creches and the kindergartens, in the hospitals and the rest-houses for workers and retired artists and most of them in the Agricultural exhibition and in the sessions of writers and workers.

The Grand Planning which has made Russia what she is today, unfolded itself to me, part by part, to all its entirety through the workings of the institutions I was able to visit. The main university building is indubitably an architechtural wonder. The settings and the monumental structure is marvellous. Splendid are the decorations within and without. The faculties and the laboratories and the libraries and the amenities provided for the students are faultlessly perfect. They must be requisite parts of the Grand Planning. But the most important part of it is the provision for scholarships to ninety percent of the students. There had been many excellent universities in the past in many countries of the world. There are excellent universities in all the countries of the world today. But most of the universities in the past were sectarian. They put their doors closed against students who did not come from families of particualr sectarian views of life. In latter stages of the general development of education the universities became more liberal but not secular altogether. Modern universities opened their doors to all seekers of higher education but made education so costly that students coming from lower income-groups found it almost impossible to sit for university education. It was not the faculties of the existing universities outside Russia that were found undesirable by the Russians, but it was the system that they found objectionable. Universities, they decided, must be open open to all. And arrangements must be so made as to bring the largest number of qualified students within their portals for higher education. That was the idea why scholarships to the ninety percent of students were arranged for.

In Russia today students from the families of peasants and workers and, as a matter of fact, from any income-goup may get university education. And yet the standard of education has not suffered the least. It is proved by the fact that Russia today does not need any foreign experts to assist her. Experts coming from her own universities and factories and institutes are found competent enough to deliver goods and also to compete with their counterparts in other countries pursuing different educational systems. In the fields of the sciences the Russian scientists are said to have advanced far ahead of others. I am no competent person to elaborate the progress the Russians have made in those fields. I refer to them only to say that by providing facilities to the students coming from the lower income-groups and from the families of workers and peasants, the universities have not lowered their standards but have possibly been able to raise it by tapping new sources of virgin intellect. Fields and factories in Russia have now been made feeder institutions to the universities. That is the redeeming feature of the Moscow University more than its superb material structure.

The creches, the kindergartens, the cultural palaces, the libraries and the agricultural exhibitions, every one of them, functions both as a social and a cultural institution. Even farms and factories have equal attention to material and cultural progress of the nation. On looking at Moscow industrial works one has to ponder just where a line might be drawn to separate industry from art and culture. Factories have been given appearances of garden-cities, and workers that of artists. Arts, therefore, have started to draw from farms and factories living models to be represented as art-creations. New types of men and women are found in novels and stories.

As there exists no leisurly class in the society, those types of men and women have totally disappeared from arts and literature also. The life of a worker has to be portrayed in a different manner from that of the portrayal of a dreaming leisurly man. New style has to be set in, new words have to be coined, new psychology has to be dealt with, and forms of dialogues even have to be renewed. All these are being done. To do this the authors have to know intimately the workers, the farmers and, as a matter of fact, all the working people. On the other hand, the cultural activities in farms and factories and other places of work give rise to some men and women who find arts to be the best medii of their self-expression. They take to arts, from connoisseurs they come to be creative artists themselves.

There are today in Russia artists, writers, dancers, painters, singers and actors who started life in factories and farms and other places of work. With the advance of mechanisation in all the fields of physical activities, a worker's physical strain is being reduced to the minimum, and his intellect is allowed to grow more imaginative. A worker's mind is creative by itself. Infusion of culture makes it more creative. When he gets inspired by arts, he happens to be a successful artist. From farms and factories he shifts his workshop to the temples of the muses, where only a chosen few had access in the past. When these workers take to arts, they look to their former workshops and to their comrades-in-work for contents and forms that would be easily appreciated by those who were once their colleagues.

One who does not take into account the Russian way of life today will fail to appreciate Russia's

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modern works of arts and letters. He who will seek for conventional forms and contents and styles even, is likely to be disappointed more or less. But the Russian artists have themselves planned that their arts should be developed so. They do not feel that all the products of arts are simply superb because they come from a new set of artists. But they feel that arts would not suffer stagnation if art-expressions of virgin minds are encouraged, and formalistic restrictions are removed. This particular planning has also succeeeded to create a new social atmosphere. Arts have been able to get the support of an ever-increasing number of men and women of the society, with the result, that both the society and the arts have been growing more beautiful and at the same time more real to life.

Formerly artists were a fraternity of dreamers, and arts were more like mere expressions of dreams. I do not belittle dreams. There are dreams without which life seems to be hardly worth living. Pushkin, Tolstoi, Chekhov, Turgenev and even Gorky, each of them, had dreams to dream. The differerce that is noticed today is that the fraternity of dreamer-artists have been widened to include the entire community within it and arts have been more than mere expressions of dreams of the artists alone but expressions of dreams that the entire Russian people dream today to make their land and the world wonderful to live in.

The Operas and the Ballets reflect these dreams of the people to the people. Life is no more a burden. It is as brisk as the dances are. It is as sweet as dreams of the lovers are. It is as colourful as the costumes, the scenaries and the effects are. It swells and surges just as songs and music do. This life does no more exist only in the imagination of artists taking part in those operas and ballets, but it is a reality today. They are proud of this life and proudly do they reflect it to their auditors and spectators to instil into them this just pride. It is no pride of any individual, but of the entire community. There is no propaganda, no narrowness in any of these operas and ballets. Only those human notes that soar high are given expression through the performances jointly given by hundreds of actors, dancers, singers, musicians and technicians, the whole bunch of them. This community display of the community-dream of the people of modern Russia is also witnessed in open air ensembles organised by unions of the workers. They are no professional ventures but skilled performances given by amateurs, without any amateurish degeneration.

As the number of literary figures are swelled by men and women coming from farms and factories and other places of work, so the number of artists, dancers, and singers are also swelled by efficient artists coming from the very same sources. No barrier is ever placed anywhere to stop man from his journey to fulfilment. Steady work, gradual progress, broader outlook, and desire to march forward along with the entire community towards fulfilment are precisely what Moscow expects of her citizens. The Grand Planning based on these requirements is not a blue print of regimentation, but a Humanitarian scheme to prepare the citizens both individually and collectively, for a better life and a better world. Moscow is as creative as the mother earth, as holy as Mecca, as beautiful as the Madonna. Moscow reflects the spirit of Russia. And it is no wonder that every year between four and five hundred delegations from different countries visit Moscow.

UZBEKISTAN

From Moscow we flew to Uzbekistan, a distance of about two thousand miles. We had a mixed feeling, both bitter and, sweet, for Samarkand, now in Uzbekistan. It was from there that Taimur came and sacked Delhi. Babar too had come from that region. India had suffered from their aggressions. India had also profited by their contacts. They had brought death to many an Indian. And many were their gifts to Indian art and culture. The dynasty that Babar had founded in India did change the face of India. And India today holds as much a legacy of the Central Asian culture as she does of her own ancient one.

We knew all these. But few of us had any idea of what Tashkent was. Tashkent, the principal city of the State, now known as the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan, is a garden-city and yet an industrial one; the best and the biggest in the Republic. On landing at the air port itself, we felt that we had at last reached the land of eastern romances. There were those vine-yards, those multicoloured flowers sweetening the air by Arabic perfumes, those shining dark eyes and smiling faces. Only burkhas and veils we missed to notice.

We had read much about the backwardness of the people of that part of Asia. Yes, the people were backward not unlike many other peoples in many other parts of the world. But what we heard and found during our visit was astounding in contrast to what we had read. The new Republic has totally liquidated illiteracy, has provided work for every able-bodied man and woman. It is today tht biggest cotton-producing state in the U.S.S.R. It holds the second place among Soviet States to generate electric power. Culturally it has made a tremendous progress.

We witnessed a performance of Shakespeare's Othello in Uzbeki language. I cannot, of course, tell my readers how far correct the adaptation was. But the performance itself was in no way inferior to those we have seen in India given to us by troupes coming from England from time to time. The artist who appeared in the title role was a Stalin Prize winner. Not a few of the cast had the distinction of being National Artists.

We had visited an Opera House that was described

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to be the Second Taj Mahal. It was indeed so. had not seen an equal to it anywhere else in U.S.S.R. It might be called an art-museum as well. the spacious halls of this five-storied Opera House imens of Central Asian architectures and paintings presented as decorations. Audiences of the Opera se are invited to visit these halls. Trained guides uct the audiences through this museum and explain them all about the decorations. Here we also wit- d a performance of the famous opera "Laila and nu." Its heroine too was a Stalin Prize winner and a member of the Supreme Soviet. We also attended ensemble of songs and dances. A tiny girl gave Hindustani song. She presented it so correctly donned in an Indian costume she might have been ed easily for a girl from Upper India.

An academician and professor of mathematics ed us to lunch with him. Fruits and viands and es of wines were so heaped on the table that hardly d we see the faces of our friends sitting opposite Our hostess, the motherly wife of the professor, one of us by her own spoon when he said that his ach had no more space left to receive further food. professor himself provided feasts for our brains. n we told him that there was no mathematician ng us, he started to talk on the cultural history of tral Asia. He had actually written a book on the theme. He left the table and brought out from book-shelves copies of it and explained to us what had written. One of us recited a poem from Hafiz immediately after, our learned host and the hostess us recitals from the very same poet.

We were similarly entertained by a poet who was an academician. We learned from him that his lishers were paying him twenty roubles for each of his poems they published. A professor of history us his constant company during our stay in kent and worked as our guide, friend and philoso- . The minister for culture honoured me by giving a seat next to him while we were invited to witness riety performance of dance and music. In him I d not only a young and handsome and deeply intel- al person but also an artist. He confessed that e he was a student he used to take part in stage- and song-recitals.

From Tashkent we flew to Samarkand, and spent a e day there. We visited the famous observatory led by the renowned astronomer Abu Bekir. It constructed after the model of the equally famous r observatory, remarked our learned guide and out to us an inscription in support of it. We ed Taimur's tomb and many other tombs of his and near relations. The grand Buland Darwaja almost in ruins. A part of it only could be pro- d. But even the remnant shows how magnificent the structure when it stood high in all its glories, t the azure sky.

We were told a romantic tale while we visited a big mosque built under the command of the most favourite of the wives of Taimur to commemorate the conquests of her mighty husband. The construction was entrusted to a handsome young architect. The lady herself used to supervise the daily progress, because she wanted to see it completed before her lord had returned. But Cupid stole in between the queen and the architect, and made the two enamoured of each other. The architect slowed down his work thinking that the more time he would take to build the mosque, the more opportunity would he get to drink deep the love of the queen. But the lady did not forget that she was Taimur's consort. She insisted on the quick completion of the mosque. The architect realized that unless he complied with what she wanted, he would be surely thrown out as surely as he would be denied her company as soon as the construction would get completion. His dismissal was equally certain in either circumstances. He grew desperate, and desperately declared to his lady-love that he would complete the structure even in advance of the scheduled time if her ladyship would allow him to impress one little kiss on her ruby-red pair of lips. His boldness amazed the lady. But she could not resist him either. Lips pressed against lips for a few seconds. And then all was over; both the love and the construction before the scheduled time. Taimur came back and was surprised to find such a magnificent mosque built in so short a space of time. How could she manage to get it done was his query to his queen. The queen told him of the price she had paid for it. Taimur wanted to see the architect. But he could not be found anywhere in the city. An apprentice to the architect could only say that he saw his master mounting on to the top of he highest of the minarets and disappearing from there in the endless blue. Behind the veil that covered the deep dark eyes of the queen two pearl-drops rolled over two rosy cheeks turned ivory pale.

We had a late lunch that day at a collective farm. The director of the farm and his comrades, both men and women, made it a gala occasion. It was no lunch but a feast in right royal oriental style that they arranged for their Indian guests. Carpets were spread under the shades of farm-trees, fat pillows in velvet were placed on them, hand fans to cool ourselves were handed to each one of us. Tables for the feast was laid in green groves bordered by plants which bore blossomed flowers displaying all the seven colours. Big round Samarkand breads, grapes black and red, chicken roasts, vegetables and wines of three different qualities and colours and tastes were littered on the tables. Speeches and songs and applauses and peals of laughter followed one after another in a continuous expression of a festive occasion. After an hour and a half the feast was over. And we were led back on the carpets for a little rest. No sooner had another half

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an hour passed, a gong was sounded. We looked all around to find what had happened. Our hosts informed us that we were to go back to the tables. Every one of us shrank at the very idea of it. But there was no escape from it. The Biriani Palao was ready steaming on the dishes. To refuse it, would not only be an expression of ungratefulness but would be taken as an insult, our Russian companions explained to us. We had to sit at the tables once again. A few of us showed gastronomic feats, but every one of us deplored why it was not served as the first course. But it was the custom there; and we had to respect it.

Throngs of men and women and children greeted us wherever we had gone. The expression in their eyes showed that they did not take us absolutely as foreigners. A feeling of kinship had possibly seized some of them. These people looked comparatively poorer than their comrades in Tashkent. A budding journalist whom I met at the air port in the morning came out of a crowd and handed over to me a copy of Lenin's life in Russian. I thought he wanted my autograph. I was about to put my signature on it, when my interpreter told me that the book was given to me as a presentation. I looked for the youngman to offer him my thanks. But he had disappeared. His dress suggested that he was not well placed in life. But he had purchased the copy of the book after he had met me in the morning at the air port and had followed us throughout our journey to snatch an opportunity to make the presentation, when he was able to reach me he could not find a word to say. Silently he offered me the book, and before I could know what it was for, he had disappeared. The book is written in Russian language. I shall never be able to read it. But I will ever remember the generous young journalist of Samarkand.

We were to fly back to Moscow from Tashkent. I boarded the plane a little ahead of the time of departure. In came the President of the Local Peace Committee. I thought he would not find time to see us off, busy as he was. He gently held my arm and asked me to get down. When we had landed he said, "We have yet twenty minutes to strengthen our friendship. The longer an Indian stands on our soil the stronger gets the friendship of India and Uzbekistan." I looked at his eyes. They were humid.

Kiev

Leningrad plus Moscow equals to Kiev, is my estimation of the principal city of the Ukraine situated on the Dnipper, famous for the great dam, the first surprise the Soviet sprang on the world. Kiev is as beautiful as Leningrad and as active as Moscow. She suffered terribily at the hands of the Nazi aggressors. But her spirit could not be subdued. Half the city was demolished. Citizens were killed by thousands. Kiev bore the brunt and retrieved as soon as the enemy was forced to retire. We were shown a street where not a house stood erect during the war. But we could not discover a single blow-out heap. We saw palatial new houses on both the sides of the broad road. They were tenament houses, newly built for working families. Some of the buildings were as big as to accommodate two hundred families in two hundred suites consisting of bed rooms, sitting rooms, kitchens and baths. Community kitchens are also provided for, and tenants are encouraged to take advantage of them. Nobody is, of course, forced to have his meals at the community kitchen, but every one's attention is drawn to them with a view to building up the community habit of living. A family gains in money and time and labour if its members prefer the community kitchen to the private ones. We were told that the number preferring the former to the latter is on the increase.

Everybody knows that the Ukraine is the granary of Eastern Europe. Its principal city Kiev has, therefore, directed her energy to industry and culture. She has become an industrial centre as well as a centre of cultural activities. That is why I call her a Moscow in miniature. She has a university big enough. But she contemplates to make it bigger yet after the pattern of the New Moscow University. Her Theatre buildings and Opera houses are big and bright and they cater first class art productions. Ukrainian folk-songs and dances are famous for their emotional appeals, colourful presentation and vital expressions. Gogol's *Ukranian Night* was no poet's fantasy but a reality that might be felt every night even now.

Culture is the keynote of the present activities of Kiev. The Shivchenko Memorial Museum shows how sacred the Kievans hold the cause of culture. Shivchenko was the national poet of the Ukraine in the distant past when the peasants in Russia had to live as serfs. Shivchenko himself was a serf. He had to tend sheep for his master when he was quite a boy. But the boy had talents which no bondage could curb. A benevolent connoisseur discovered the talents in him and purchased for him his liberty from his master-lord. Freed from serfdom Shivchenko found opportunities to develop his talents. He passed out from the school and got admitted into the university and came out of it as one of the most brilliant scholars of the age. But he was no book-worm scholar. He proved himself to be a creative artist. He wrote poems and songs and painted pictures. As he came from the peasantry, his poems and songs and pictures represented and reflected the woes and the sufferings of the peasants. The peasants themselves found in him a friend and guide. Shivchenko became the link of contact between the progressive intellectuals and the dumb and the ever-oppressed serf-peasantry. Literary figures including the great Gogol and progressive intellectuals used to seek company of Shivchenko. But Shivchenko himself, spent most of his time with the peasants. He built up

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ssant organisations and inspired them by his poems d songs to throw off the yoke of slavery. This the arist government could not tolerate. They started ersecuting him. But Shivchenko could not be humbled coerced to give up his mission. Twenty-three ars of his life did he spend in prison in different ges. Once out of the prison gate he would at once e up his sacred mission to be thrown back into the ison again. We know today that the cause for which hivchenko stood and fought had been vindicated the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat peasants and workers. The Ukraine is not ungrate- nor is she unmindful of her precious heritage. She therefore founded in Kiev Shivchenko Memorial useum, a big and bright park, and a mammoth statue the Dnipper to commemorate her national poet whose and works truly reflected the nation's life then.

In the museum Shivechenko's poems and songs have n preserved. His printed books, their translations blished in different languages, letters and documents all to be found collected as exhibits. His paintings are being exhibited. There is a painting depict- the event of the purchase of his liberty from serf- by his benefactor. The surprise and the feeling of ounded gratitude was so masterly represented in light shade in the facile expressions of young Shivchenko looking at it hardly any visitor may stand unmoved. ere is another painting where Gogol along with vchenko was enjoying the peoples' funs and frolics. ere are exhibited numerous portraits, too, drawn by vchenko. When a person visits this museum he does only get himself acquainted with the life-story of vchenko and his tremendous struggle for the freedom the people, but also does he get a clear idea of how present nation was made. Kiev has a very well nised Association for Cultural Relations with foreign ntries. Its Secretary, Madam Zina Erevina expressed her Association seeks for a closer relationship be- en India and Ukraine through exchanges of arts and ratures representing their respective cultures.

The night we left Kiev will be ever remembered by y one of us, I believe. It was a sweet night as most the Ukrainian nights are, but the parting was very ful. After the farewell banquet was over, we roached the workers of the hotel where we had ed and apprised them of our sense of deep gratitude them for the attention and care they had given us. women workers heard us and then suddenly some them sobbed aloud. What had happened? Had we nded them by our thanks-giving? No, they were not unappreciative and uncultured as to misunderstand They had accepted our thanks. The memory of husbands and sons and daughters and many a dear near ones who were killed by the Nazis had come afresh to them on hearing us talking of peace. Had progressive men and women of the world taken this step a few years earlier, they said, they would have been spared of the misfortune of a War that had killed those who were verily the throbs of their hearts, the lights of their eyes. It was this thought that had rushed into them and broke all restraints. One of the ladies pressed a palm of one of our women-colleagues and said in her own language with tears in her eyes, "Farewell, sister. Go back to your country and work hard for world-peace. Tell the peace-loving people of your land that the Ukrainian women have suffered too hard to keep themselves aloof from any movement that will bring world-peace." None of us left the hotel with dry eyes.

But there were more painful moments we were destined to suffer. They came the following morning when we reached the frontier of Czechoslovakia. Our Russian guides would no longer give us their company. For three weeks every hour of the day till midnight we moved from place to place under their care and guidance. Their anxiety to see us happy and comfortable, their earnestness to show us as much of their country as was possible, their zeal to leave nothing unexplained to us were more than mere expressions of friendliness. We loved them, respected them, and placed ourselves entirely under their stewardship. We never thought during those three weeks that a time would come when they would cry a halt, and we would have to part from them perhaps never to meet again. We gratefully remember every one of them. We remember teacher-interpreter Lyda, who guided us in Tashkent and Samarkand and helped us by translating our speeches but unkindly left us when we returned to Moscow without giving us an opportunity to express our gratefulness we owed to her. We remember the tall and handsome figure of Andrev and his untiring assistance, as we remember the distinctive personality and ability of young Tamara. Both of them left us at Kiev. We left behind in Tashkent sweet Misha who was placed in charge of the small groups of our delegation who decided to come back by the Kabul route. Amiable Henrietta and wonderful Chelesov, Hindi-teacher, stuck to us till the last. Above everybody else stands bright in our memory the motherly and no less lovely, personality of Madam Krivapolova of the Soviet Peace Committee. It was she who bore the whole brunt of our weakenesses and not unoften childish caprices. She is a typical expression of the qualities the Soviet Woman has achieved. She was the first person to extend to us a warm welcome when we had touched the Soviet soil. And she was the last person to bid us Farewell when we were about to cross over to Czechoslovakia. Hosts and guests stood on the border-line looking at one another; hands pressed hands; and farewell greetings sounded like stifled sobs.

Czechoslovak guides stepped forward and took over the burden our Russian friends had unloaded.

(To be continued)

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AUTOMATION

By ARUN KUMAR ROY

"AUTOMATION" or "Rationalisation" brought a commotion in the industrial world in the recent past. Though India is not so well-advanced in industry as U.S.A. and U.K., still this step became an important topic throughout the length and breadth of the country wherever there are industrial regions. Opinions, however, differed on the point whether this would be a blessing or a curse.

In the Second Five-Year Plan where main stress has been laid on heavy industries which are yet to be built, we shall be getting up-to-date plants with recent automatic techniques so far applied to these industries in the countries which shall be helping us with the erection of these plants and hence we may not have to face much difficulty for several years, but we have a few important industries which have served the country since the first decade of this century, *viz.*, jute and textiles, which require innovation with the most up-to-date machineries and labour-saving devices to enable them to compete in the market with the materials produced in technically advanced countries. Even in industries not very old, due to continuous research and development, changes in processes may be required to be made quickly. "And with each change, certain jobs, certain skills and sometimes whole plants or companies are made economically obsolete."

This would naturally create problems—problems for individual workers and individual companies, problems for those industrialists who lack in sufficient capital to automate the plants—in other words problems which will inevitably arise in making the adjustment to the new technology.

There are limits to the weight one can lift, to the calculations one can complete, to the distance a man can walk and to the information one can absorb. During the industrial revolution means for extending man's physical capacity were developed resulting in creation of machines. Today means for extending man's mental capacity are being linked to these earlier devices. The expansion of man's activity has developed a series of bottlenecks each of which has been solved leading from industrial revolution and technological progress following that to automation.

It will, therefore, be worthwhile to make a study of automation, its advantages, disadvantages, limitations and scope, the problems it will create, whether those can be removed and such other points.

Automation is a new word to us and hence no concise and accurate meaning is yet ready. Some are of opinion that this is a "second industrial revolution" while others say that "the word is new, not the principles involved." It is the natural outgrowth of scientific research and development in the field of mechanisation and means the general technological progress that has been taking place in industry for many years but the word was coined not very long ago.

To a layman it sounds like something where everything is done automatically and calls up spectre of robot and workerless factories and consequently produces various sorts of fears in various sorts of individuals—fear of change, fear of technology itself, fear of displacement, fear of unemployment, fear of machines, fear of science in general.

The most common statements in this respect are that "automation is merely an extension of mechanisation," "the use of machines to run machines," "the automatic handling of parts between progressive production processes," "relegation to a machine of the functions of performing operations previously performed manually." These concepts do not give all the requisite conditions of automation. To be more exact we can speak of automation as any continuous and integrated operation which uses electronics or other mechanical devices to achieve optimum use of all productive resources and yield faster, better and greater quantity of mass-produced products at less cost. It is technology arising from electronics and electrical engineering. It is applicable to a great many industrial and clerical operations.

Here are some special features of automation. It is a departure from the older methods of machine production by machine operators since it represents the automatic operation of machines on four major principles—mechanisation, feedback, continuous process and rationalisation." It is both cost-reducing and labour-saving. "It normally results in increased productivity, lower rejection rates on finished goods, lower costs, wider acceptance of products and prompt customer services." Its application differs widely from industry to industry.

In U.S.A., automation dates back as early as 1784 A.D. There is mention of an automatic flour milling plant built near Philadelphia in the book *The Millwright's Guide* written by Oliver Evans near about 1784. In railroad industry, it has been in use since 18[illegible] and in metal-working industry for over 100 years.

There is a difference between "Automation" and "Rationalisation." Of course, the two are interrelated. "Rationalisation means the application of reason to the solution of problems or to the search of knowledge

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In a production system it means that the entire process from the raw material to the final product is carefully analysed so that every operation can be designed to contribute in the most efficient way to the achievement of clearly enunciated goals of the enterprise." When we use "Rationalisation" we pass over from the primarily technological to the primarily economic meaning of automation. To a man who is displaced due to either of them, both words carry the same meaning.

The history of the effort of man is to harness and utilise more and more energy to free him and his progeny from manual labour and hence automation is inevitable. With every technological change our standard of living increases. To meet this increase we would crave for wider and better variety of goods and services at reasonable cost. A rapid and continuous growth of market where these materials can be had at competitive prices, is, therefore, essential. Automation starts with marketing. Competition forces automation. If the producer does not keep his price low, his sales drop. He will find market invaded by a more progressive competitor. To keep his price competitive he should try to have more output at less cost and the machine is the answer to this. Production in aggregate and per man hour is enormously increased without any increase in the number of production workers. It makes possible better utilisation of capital equipment and all the components of production, —labour, capital, natural resources and management— higher productivity and a greater rate of return though it is a costly affair.

The advance of automation depends upon two essential conditions, *viz.*, full employment and mass purchasing power. A dynamic balance between our ability to create greater and greater economic wealth reflected by expanding productive power and the ability to expand purchasing power in the hands of millions is to be maintained to get the maximum benefit of automation. If the demand does not keep pace with growing productivity, the goods will pile up unsold, production will be interrupted and automation will cause serious unemployment. If, on the other hand, the consumer shares in the benefits through lower prices, and workers share by higher wages and greater purchasing power, then we are keeping in balance the greater productive power and purchasing power.

The first goal, full employment, is now generally accepted as both an economic and political necessity. There is, however, difference of opinion as to whether automation would achieve this goal. On the one hand, automation has been deplored as a trend which will disrupt entire economy, on the other, it has been claimed that the machine will one day relegate man to a life of plenty and leisure. Let us now see if this will help us and society as a whole.

According to the proponents society as a whole will be benefited, for—

(1) It will create employments;

(2) It will give increased production at lower direct labour cost, improved quality, lower accident rates and higher wages;

(3) It will create more leisure and wealth for cultural and educational activities and thereby there will be an all-round progress of the standard of living.

According to Union people, it would create countless problems, (1) for individual workers and older workers who will be displaced, (2) for entire communities when plants move to a new area, (3) for small business concerns that cannot compete against automated giants, and these in turn endanger the economy as a whole.

Let us go through them in more details.

(A) It will Create Employments

Though it will displace some direct production jobs for a very short period, its introduction would extend activities in other fields which will create many employments. "The machines cannot buy components, cannot receive them, cannot inspect and test them nor deliver them to the production floor. It does not pack the final product, does not ship it and certainly does not market the product. The mechanised part accounts for a small portion of the total working force." The increased production, therefore, is to be marketed, skilled workers are required to operate, maintain and repair the machines. The service industries will expand. There will be shift to industries, *viz.*, retail trade, construction, professional and related services, public administration, manufacturing of machinery, wholesale trade, transportation, metal manufacturing, finance, insurance, real estate, repair services and telecommunications. It creates a demand for new skills of a higher order necessitating increase in salary.

A concrete example is electronics inlustry. The increased demand for and availability of the products of the electronics industry has brought a great expansion of the basic material industries: metals, glass, chemicals, plastics. Electronics distribution and service industry has increased enormously whose distributors, jobbers, dealers, servicemen and others do a heavy volume of business.

"It is not a case of putting a machine to work in 1 or 2 plants. It is a case of creating an entire set of industries, hundreds of thousands of jobs that did not exist, millions of dollars of personal incomes, of buying power, new life-blood for the entire economy. In industries yet unborn, it will offer job opportunities of a number and nature which only future can determine." The static unchanging industries are not the sources of growth in employment.

Such extension of activities will bring vast new opportunities to those, especially those displaced by

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machines, who are willing to work and learn. There is, therefore, no reason to fear long-run mass unemployment.

Good timing for automation is extremely important because losses occur from premature modernisation as well as from delayed replacement. If a company fails to modernise in time it will lose business.

(B) Production Advantages

Though it implies an increase in capital cost, due to a decrease in direct labour and higher output, the cost is reduced. It would also counteract the effect of higher wages levels on the cost of manufactured goods. In other words, it amounts to less capital investment per individual unit of output. The production of new and better goods of more standardised quality becomes possible. It welds together production steps. There is an increase in the quantity and accuracy of information and the speed with which it is obtained. No excessive down time or maintenance work may be necessary. In a few cases high operating speeds may waste materials but even here the loss is usually justified by saving other resources including even time which is a valuable component of production. Mistakes which could be very expensive in customer relations can be eliminated. It would pay for itself in a relative short period. Automated machinery and equipment often cost more, therefore, increased depreciation charges may nullify savings otherwise obtainable, but still it would be advantageous because of savings in materials from combining several operations in one machine and indirectly because of reductions in floor space, lighting and heating requirements.

Automation has supplanted heavy, dangerous and unpleasant work with easier, more pleasant and more interesting work. Monotonous repetitive jobs will be done by untiring, unfeeling machines. There will be fewer people using their strength and many more behind the scenes. It will cause gradual shift of employment, from menial labour to higher skilled, better paid and safe jobs and from direct production works to various service trades. Works which will require the most manpower will be semi-skilled and highly-skilled maintenance. repair and operation. Such works are fully within the ability of most people provided they are properly trained and motivated. What is needed is a genuine interest in the work. It also increases the need for personnel trained in the design, construction, supervision and maintenance of automatic equipments. On the whole, it will create greater stability of jobs. Man will be the master of machine, rather than servant.

With high investment in machinery, industry has one more incentive to keep those machines running as steadily as possible. This provides a great stimulus for better planning, more professional marketing and all the other techniques for maintaining steady demand and employment.

The plant could be located closer to its markets and its sources of raw materials and fuel. Because it requires less direct labour it need not be placed in concentrated labour markets. It has actually met labour shortage.

From the point of view of good labour management relation too, there should not be more than a few hundred people in one plant since one man cannot know individually more than several hundred people. Automation, because of minor emphasis on labour, helps in this respect by enabling erection of small plants in small towns. It may also be cheaper to build a new automatic plant in a new area than to automate an old plant.

It permits tasks to be performed which could never be done by human labour alone. The greatest industries including atomic research simply could not exist without mechanisation and automation. We cannot make chemicals, gasoline and electricity by hand.

(C) It will Raise the Standard of Living

It holds forth the promise of great advances in living conditions and leisure. It will give increased leisure opportunity permitting the worker to develop his inherent human capacities. The worker of the future will require better basic education and better training than he gets now.

In spite of these advantages it can create dislocations in society.

"What should be done to help the worker who will be displaced from his job, or the worker who will find that his highly specialised skill has been taken over by a machine? What about the businessman who lacks sufficient capital to automate his plant, yet has to face the competition of firms, whose resources enable them to build new automatic factories? Will automation mean the creation of new communities in new areas while others are turned into ghost towns?" If automation destroys unskilled jobs what about training large numbers so displaced?

Questions of such nature are to be gone through and if we feel that automation will really bring prosperity and raise the standard of living, we should see that these dislocations and displacements are taken care of from the very beginning to avoid another slump of 1930. In the course of reaching a higher standard of living we will not take one step backward in order to take two steps forward.

It is on the employment of labour that automation has its greatest impact. Local displacements tend to be masked by the net growth in employment. For a fixed amount of work there may be a net reduction of total personnel required. It affects skills, job security, earnings and working conditions of the employees who are dislocated because either some skills are rendered obsolete diluted by further specialisation or jobs are totally abolished. Also the new

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ills require executive training and education workers ay not be able to move easily into the new jobs. hen they cannot they are often downgraded in work hich is a displacement in disguise. There is a chance wage cut. His status and seniority might be ected.

The training cannot be done automatically. Be-es, there are those who cannot learn new skills ause of physical or mental limitations. What uld happen to old workers, not old enough for rmal retirement but too old to learn new skills or ust to the demands of the new technology? The tors such as age, temperament, etc., of the worker also to be considered.

Human resources depreciate with time rather than and they depreciate in an accelerated rate when y are unemployed because of the decline of know-ge, skills and morale. Social cost of unemployment exceeds the economic cost since unemployment also tributes in large measure to crime, disease, family tegration, race and religious prejudice, suicide and .

The working class suspects that there are some o view the automation as a means of disciplining our.

Industrial location is affected due to shifting to -industrial areas. It causes great hardships and ocation to communities who are affected. Women rkers, who play the role of worker, household nager and mother, suffer most when solution is empted by making transfers of displaced workers.

The population growth would increase labour e. How to find employments for them ? Of course, ertain percentage would be absorbed due to deaths, rement, enrolment in colleges for advanced study rses, etc. There are no built in electronic devices t will automatically produce economic and social stments.

It may be argued that because of limited scope of nsion of automation and limitations it will not gress as fast as the proponents of a completely matic society have predicted and hence the pic-would not be as dark as above. Still it will be a e comfort for any person currently unemployed to said that 15 or 20 years hence things are going to just wonderful.

Automation cannot be engineered into every job criminately since it is not always feasible or lable. It will also be limited where human inter-on is of primary importance as in distribution, ice business and in professional fields. The follow-are other limitations, though temporary but signi-t:

(*i*) High initial cost. It cannot be installed if capital needed is not obtained.

(*ii*) The time that is taken to effect automa-on is a long one. The problems are to be analysed, these are to be equated, computers to be programmed and the answers to be translated into useful data. It takes many many years of work to develop equipment in determining proper machine characteristics and following up with design. Then there is the time for construction.

(*iii*) Shortage of highly trained operators and analysers.

(*iv*) Depreciation allowances allowed by tax authorities.

(*v*) Decrease in the flexibility of a given industrial production which would increase cost of a change-over. Hence, automation is best applicable when a given product or a given design is going to be made in large quantities and for a very considerable period. Management must work out some way to assume the wider and steadier market which will justify the investment in new machinery and methods.

(*vi*) There is a risk that a competitor will obsolete the product or process or both long before the investment has been amortised. The faster we automate, the relatively more secure become the promising opportunities for further automation due to cost.

Automation is best suited to those industries in which production can be reduced to a continuous flow process, *e.g.*, oil refining, flour milling, chemical production.

A second class includes industries in which some automation is possible but full or nearly complete automation is not likely. In this category would be found industries which require substantial information handling and accounting functions but in which the method of production or the nature of the product is not adaptable to continuous flow techniques. Such industries would include transportation, large-scale retailing and the manufacture of certain non-standardised consumer product like furniture.

The third group is the one in which no significant application of automation seems likely because of the highly individualistic nature of the product, the need for personal services, the advantages of small-scale units or vast space requirements, *e.g.*, agriculture, professional fields and most construction works and retailing.

Advantages of automation can only be ensured if there is a continued expansion. The Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Economic Stabilisation of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, Congress of the United States, rightly remarks that

"We have not had one witness to appear before this Committee who resisted automation or genuine progress. Everyone has been in favour of it. They just want to make sure that the dislocations and displacements are taken care of in such a way that the workers will be provided for on the theory that

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society is being benefited generally by automation and progress and the society, therefore, should make the impact less severe." (p. 270 of the *Report*).

Society means industry and the Government. If business is going to benefit, it should assume some share of social costs—in retraining workers. Government must be prepared to fulfil its responsibilities in the field of human welfare by providing vocational training facilities, improved education, industrial laws, etc. The Union should assume its share by not impeding the progress. A great opposition will, however, come if automation is introduced blindly and irresponsibly with the only aim of ashievement of largest possible quick profit for the industrialists. To remove job dislocations, labour and industry should join together to form a recruitment board to deal with problems of unemployment.

Automation will grow and if the problems are tackled by a dynamic and aggressive management, there may be unparalleled advance in our industry and society as a whole. As automation advances, national economy becomes like a rocket which must continue to accelerate or else fall from the sky bringing disaster.*

* Condensed from "Hearings before the Sub-Committee on Economic Stabilisation of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, Congress of the United States, 84th Congress." Hearings held on October 14, 15, 17, 18, 24, 25; 26; 27 and 28; 1955.

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CLASSICAL SAMKHYA PHILOSOPHY: ITS BASIC PRINCIPLES

By Dr. ANIMA SEN GUPTA, M.A., Ph.D.,
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The Samkhya, one of the oldest philosophical enquiries of India, has been shaped and re-shaped in different ages. Materials available for the study of Samkhya are scattered in various works like the Mahabharat, the Gita, the Puranas, etc. A study of the history of philosophy of a country reveals the truth that no system of philosophical thought can claim to be the work of one generation only. This is all the more true in regard to Indian philosophy. Most of the systems here had early beginnings. Then through continuous development in different ages, they have been moulded repeatedly into different shapes and have become more and more determinate and coherent. The Samkhya system falls under this category.

Purusa and Prakriti

The nature of Purusa and Prakriti and their relationship forms the central doctrine of the Samkhya philosophy. The most important point in the Upanisadic philosophy is the doctrine that the inmost self is of the nature of pure consciousness and that it is the ground of all our experiences. The Atman is identical with the Brahman. The diverse power of nature has no reality, independent of it. But in the Upanisads, an attempt to show how from the one reality, the empirical world has sprung up is no more visible. We are simply told that this universe has originated from Brahman and that ultimately, it will return to it. The Samkhya doctrine explains how this world of multiplicity has gradually come into existence through the process of evolution from Prakriti. In this glorious act of creation, Nature is supposed to be moved to action through the influence of spirit. True knowledge implies seeing one in many and many in one and unless diversity is understood as well as unity, no philosophic outlook can be truly formed. Multiplicity proceeds directly from nature and not from the spiritual principle. The spiritual reality is self or Purusa which is of the nature of pure consciousness. The realisation of the pure nature of the self and also of its destruction from Prakriti is the goal of this ceaseless cycle of births and re-births.

The peculiarity of all philosophical systems of India lies in the fact that they do not seek to satisfy merely the intellectual curiosity of man: rather they aim at enlightenment of life and thus hope to help man in his attempt to get rid of the sufferings of the worldly existence. Hence, in India, a philosophical system is also called *Moksha-Shastra* or the science of liberation. The worldly life is a life of misery and pain, desires and frustrations and despite best efforts that a man can put forth, he is unable to secure permanent happiness. A man is therefore required to rise above the shifting scenes of this world to attain liberation. The lust for worldly pleasures and profits can be destroyed only by divine knowledge which consists of *Tattva Jnana*. Knowledge of reality destroys the effect of Karma and thus puts an end to the cycle of births and deaths.

The Samkhya says that this *Tattva Jnana*, a man can attain only when he succeeds in realising the distinction between self and not self or Purusa or

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kriti. Manas, Buddhi and Ahamkara which constitute the psychological selves and which, therefore, really undergo experiences of pleasures and pains are not eternal. They disappear with the advancement of knowledge. What remains behind them is called the Samkhya Prakriti (the mother of this universe of sufferings and pains). There is no real contact between Prakriti and Purusa: Purusa is prefect and independent and completely aloof from everything else.

LIBERATION

Our life on earth constantly swings like a pendulum between pleasures and pains, happiness and misery. Even if it is possible for a man to shun all other pains and pleasures, it is impossible for him to resist decay and death. Of course all men earnestly strive to remove all kinds of pain and misery, but so long as we remain on the empirical level only we cannot enjoy unmixed and pure pleasure or happiness. This is the most important truth regarding our life on earth. So if a man is to rise above the level of this sorrowful existence, he must, first of all realise that all worldly pleasures lead to sorrow and that no worldly means can remove for ever the sufferings of his empirical life. The Samkhya system has started with an analysis of three kinds of misery that generally destroy the pleasures of life. These are the Adhyatmika pain, Adhibhautika pain and Adhidaivika pain. The first is caused by the disorders of the mind-body system, such as fever, anger, greed, fear, etc. The second is produced by external agents like other men, beasts and natural forces. The third kind is produced by supernatural causes, *e.g.*, the pains inflicted by ghosts and demons, etc.

All these evils of life cannot be removed either by science or by religious practices and other known means. The performances of sacrifices, according to Vedic rites, may remove pain for a short period: but as these actions involve the sacrifice of animals, they must ultimately produce pain and not pleasure. Again, physical disease can be cured by medicines and mental pain by indulgence in pleasures. But this sort of relief, too, is short-lived, as there will be recurrence of such mental and physical ailments. The knowledge of science and performance of religious sacrifices cannot, therefore, lead to the final annihilation of sufferings and pains: though these ordinary means have limited value in making life at least tolerably happy on this earth. Hence the question arises: how are we to attain absolute freedom from all pains and sufferings? The Samkhya says that all our misery is really due to ignorance. Buddhi and Purusa are distinct and different, but through ignorance a seeming unity between the two is wrongly established by us, as a result of which sorrows and sufferings, pain and misery which really belong to Buddhi seem to follow us from birth to birth. It is necessary, therefore, that through discriminatory knowledge, we should form in Buddhi the true conception of the nature of Purusa and then with the help of this saving knowledge, we shall be able to attain liberation from the sorrows and sufferings of this world.

It would therefore be obvious that the Samkhya teaching of the classical school leads us to the discrimination of spirit from nature—the two ultimate principles of radically distinct character. Prakriti is accepted as the fundamental matrix of the world which evolves the universe out of itself and also re-absorbs it at the time of dissolution. This Prakriti is active and ever-changing but blind and unconscious. In the unevolved state, Nature is an equilibrium of the three *gunas*—*Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. When these three *Gunas* are thrown out of balance by the transcendental influence of the Purusa, evolution of the *Mahat* and other categories proceeds. What then is the Purusa? According to Samkhya, Purusa is the permanent, changeless and pure consciousness and that its two purposes "enjoyment and liberation" are served by the evolutionary function of Nature. But this function is not performed by Prakriti knowingly and intelligently. Hence, there are not merely changes and transformations in the world. There is also the permanent principle of consciousness which manifests all these changing events of life and experience. The spirit does not control the process of creation directly by any real contact.

It may be stated that Samkhya thoughts and ideas have influenced various forms of Hindu religion and philosophy. Indian art and literature too are not immune from the influence of dual concepts of Purusa and Prakriti. Kalidas's *Kumar Sambhava* contains an account of the theistic Samkhya. Even in Sahajiya Buddhism, Prajna and Upaya are conceived as female and male counterparts of the ultimate reality. In Saivism, these two aspects of reality have been conceived as Siva and Sakti and in the Vaishnava school, these two counterparts have appeared as Vishnu and Lakshmi or Krishna and Radha. Later, Vedanta also displays some influence of the Samkhya thoughts as the three *gunas* of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas are often mentioned in this philosophy.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH INDIA, Vol. I : *Publisahel by the Society, Madras. 1955. Pp. 142. Price Rs. 6.*

Prefaced with an Introduction by its present President (Justice A. S. P. Ayyar) and with a Foreword by one of its former Presidents (Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliyar), this first issue of the *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India* (started as far back as in 1935) makes its *debut* in the scholarly world with eight papers, all of great interest and one or two of outstanding importance. The place of honour is given to the paper *Temple and Pyramid and Obelisk* by Sri T. G. Aravamuthan, in which the learned author discusses acutely the problem of the ancient builders in raising huge blocks of stone to great elevations and fixing them up in position (as in the case of the Egyptian Pyramids and the Tanjore temple of Rajaraja I) and in setting upright the long and slim obelisks (as in the case of "Cleopatra's Needle"). In a second paper Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra gives a popular and all too brief account of the part played by Indian epigraphy in revealing India's past and in containing lessons for her future. A third paper that of Sri S. T. Srinivasa Gopalachari, contains a brief descriptive sketch (illustrated with tables and plates) of the types of South Indian coins from the earliest times to those of the Pandyas. In a fourth paper Dr. T. V. Mahalingam traces, with adequate notices of the types and functions of these bodies, the history of the South Indian village assemblies down to their decline and complete disappearance in the fifteenth and following centuries. The fifth paper, that of Dr. Klaus Fischer, contains a good description (with technical details and excellent bibliographical notices) of some important but almost unknown archaeological monuments visited by him in the course of his recent study-tour throughout the country. The list includes mediaeval temples from remote villages of Orissa, the Deccan and South India, "post-mediaeval" (really, post-16th century) Bengal temples from villages in Sonthal Parganas and Hooghly districts, and some Jaina antiquities near the site of Ancient Vijayanagar. The author, after noting four unique features of the Bengal temples in general, observes that in contrast with the rest of the country restricting themselves to the copy of past models Bengal created new forms which developed from the original square and one-storeyed shrine to the highly decorated type with 25 towers. In the sixth paper, Dr. V. Raghavan describes with a few adequate illustrations a number of Indian antiquities (stone sculptures, bronze figures and paintings) deposited in various European museums visited by him in the course of a recent tour. Summing up his observations he points out that the museum authorities, though forced for lack of space to keep much of their collections in the magazines, periodically arrange for exhibitions of a particular school or area amid their natural setting, how the collections have been enriched by means of special expeditions organised by the States and the learned Societies, and how the arrangements of the exhibits, the lighting, facilities for visit and study in those Museums are incomparably superior to those prevailing in India. An exhaustive and well-documented description of the antiquities of Tulu-nad (North and South Kanara districts) forms the subject of the seventh paper by Sri P. R. Srinivasan. The most stimulating paper in the whole volume which should be of value to advanced students of Ancient Indian religion and iconography, is the last one entitled *Origin and Growth of Religion : Indian Evidence* by Sri T. G. Aravamuthan. Here the author taking as his text, a few unique finds of Sri Srinivasan, explains some early developments of Vaishnavism and Saivaism as well as the mutual reactions of the biomorphous forms of the Rigvedic poets, the zoomorphous forms of the Harappan seal engravers, modellers and sculptors, and the figures of the primitive cult of disembodied spirits (*bhutas*).

The future issues of this promising journal will be awaited with great interest.

U. N. GHOSHAL

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN EASTERN INDIA (The First Phase): *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. World Press, Calcutta. 1956. Pp. 132. Price Rs. 7-8.*

In this age of cheap and mass production of historical research, it seldom falls to the lot of a reviewer to come across a genuine piece of research mainly based on Contemporary Records as embodied in this small book by Shri Jogesh Chandra Bagal. The author has already been known to fame for his weighty research papers on various phases of the social history of Bengal in learned monthlies, English and Bengali.

This book consists of eight short chapters, eight *Appendices* exclusive of "Bibliographical Notes." It is not a book to be hurriedly read and readily judged. To the reading public this book may have as little appeal as the groundwork beneath the Senate Hall of the Calcutta University in the eyes of a tourist looking for a specimen of the imitation Doric style of architecture in Bengal. But it is surely an indication of the strength of the foundation of an enduring edifice of research evidently contemplated by the

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ious author in the coming phases of this work. Appendices are no less interesting than the ters of the text. Any future worker on this topic be saved the trouble of exploring again the dim nings if he carefully reads and appraises the of the extensive extracts from original docu-ts.

A perusal of this book takes us from the over-ghtened age of our grandchildren, *Nelly, Poli* and back to the dim pious antiquity of our grannies, *-siddha, Katyayani, etc.*, names as formidable as dark prejudices against the Western education girls. Women's education in Bengal was started the foundation of a Baptist Mission institution, Female Juvenile Society" at Gouri Bere, Calcutta 319. Three years after their school had 32 pupils, as old as thirty, and only a few of five! Of these, ere Brahmans, 4 Kayeths, 7 Boshnavs (possibly less Bostoms), 4 Baghdis and 4 Chandals. What ange within one hundred years when hardly r cent of untouchables were found in any school male education, primary or secondary!

The aim of the Christian missionaries was an t upon the inner citadel of the Hindu idolatry superstition, so essential for the spread of stianity in this country. This aim was not tly fulfilled, because recruits to Christianity me fewer with the growth of female education. ertheless out of this seeming evil came permanent to our society, and for this we ought to be eful to the Christian Societies forgetting all ran-. We admire the courage and enthusiasm of our n-maligned *Pundits*, like Pandit Gaurmohan alankar in the cause of female education in gal (pp. 12-13). It is interesting to note how in A.D. Bengali language was as helpless as Modern di in 1956 A.D. seems to be in groping for opriate equivalents for English words. "Plan" is slated (p 34) as *pandulipi* (manuscript); as in ern Hindi a "restaurant" becomes *jalpan-griha* e anything but *jal* (water) is drunk; "Additional e" is found to be *Faltu Jaz* (superflous judge); rman of a Municipality—no matter if even a male ms his gender and comes out as *Nagar-palika*; and recently, "protective food" appears as *alaukik ya* (miraculous food). However, there is no reason spair of the future of Hindi or Bengali for these s.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his learned Foreword to book rightly sums up its worth as "a piece of d historical work and a source indispensable to y student of our social and cultural history." But about the future of such un-minted gold? We it is high time that our Universities should devise means of recognising research in the private r as that of Shri Jogesh Chandra Bagal, Sj. endranath Banerjee of lamented memory and rs.

K. R. QANUNGO

NEW DEPTHS IN PHILOSOPHY: *By Swami havtirtha. Published by the Vedanta Ashrama, Valad. Ahmedabad. Pp. 128. Price Rs. 2.*

Swami Madhavtirtha is a learned monk of Gujarat the popular author of as many as one hundred ous books out of which 85 are in Gujarati and n English. He was the President of the first All ions Conference held in Ahmedabad in April, .

Though the book under review deals with *maya*, ignorance and other aspects of Vedanta philosophy, yet it boldly tackles the puzzling problems of our country. Rightly he explains Vedanta in the light of modern science which has metaphysical implications. He denounces the craze for over-activity and pleads for a secluded life of religious study and meditation. He cites the bright examples of two great sages of modern India—Sri Aurobindo and Sri Ramana Maharshi. "In his early life," observes the author, "Sri Aurobindo was a great politician and social worker, but he saw the mistake of over-activity and retired to Pondicherry and passed forty years in solitude at one place. Sri Ramana Maharshi, too, remained in one place for a long period of fifty-four years and conquered time and death."

The author suggests that the modern life in India should be modelled on the basis of ancient ideal of four stages: first, period of secular and religious education, second, of marriage and service, third, of semi-retirement, and fourth, of complete withdrawal from the world. The last stage is meant for giving whole-time attention to God with a view to conquer death of which everybody is afraid. If these four stages are introduced in the life of a modern Indian and the last stage is deeply imprinted on the mind in the first, worst evils of modern age can be successfully overcome; for this purpose, the author thinks that a new State-approved religion is necessary.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

PUBLICITY—ART AND LITERATURE: *By K. Lahiri. M.A. Published by Calcutta Book Club Ltd., 89, Harrison Road, Calcutta-7. Pp. 175. Price Rs. 4.*

This is a book on Theory and Practice of Publicity written not by a man of the publicity profession but by a University lecturer who has a good grasp of the subject he is discussing. The author claims no specialized knowledge and in his own words these "chapters are the results of amateur study and observation."

The subject is treated in fifteen chapters, *viz.*, Press Commission on Publicity, Publicity in Progress, Defence of Publicity, Making Publicity Pay, Principle of Publicity, Publicity Campaign, Press as Medium of Publicity, Publicity Signs, Visual and Auditory Appeals, Language of Publicity Literature, Style, Fundamentals of Layout, Public Relations, Personnel Management, etc.

While presenting this subject the author has borne in mind the background of socio-economic conditions of the country and as such the book has become a pleasant study. There is a dearth of Indian publications, so it is a welcome addition to the literature. The Bibliography provided at the end of the book and the Index will be helpful to students and others interested in the subject. Dr. Saroj Kumar Basu, Dean of the Faculty of Commerce, University of Calcutta, has written an introduction to this book.

A. B. DUTTA

120 SONGS, SAD AND SWEET: *By Kaikhusru M. Cooper. K. & J. Cooper, Educational Publishers, Bombay. Price Re. 1-8.*

"Only a lyric cry
From depths of a bursting soul"

that is what the poet wanted to utter and has uttered herein. Delicate and spontaneous, sad and sweet, these little poems resemble, perhaps, the evening dew-drops falling in a faint music under deepening shadows.

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"Some say that in the grave below
Undisturbed we can dream,"

these and similar lines in some other poems of the book assume special significance in view of the poet's passing away in 1938.

GOLDEN POLLEN: *By K. C. Chatterjee. Messrs. P. Ghosh & Co. Price Re. 1.*

Some 44 pieces of "readable verse" in the form of a decent booklet.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

SANSKRIT

PRAMANAVARTIKABHASYAM of Prajnakaragupta: *Deciphered and edited by Tripitakacharya Rahula Sankrityayana, Kasiprasad Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series, Vol. I. 1953. Price Rs. 15.*

The most outstanding work in the service of Indology during recent years is the discovery in Tibet of a numerous Sanskrit manuscripts of Buddhist works by Mahapandita Rahula Sankrityayana. Works, which were known through quotations, references and in some cases through Tibetan translations are now available in original Sanskrit. Some of these important works have already been published while others are awaiting decipherment and critical edition.

The *Pramanavartika* of Dharmakirti is by far the most important work on Buddhist Logic. It is not only the highest authoritative work to the Buddhist logician but it commanded respect even among the orthodox schools. The work naturally attracted a host of commentators. The commentary of Manoratha Nandin has been edited by Rahulji and published in the journal of the Bihar Research Society. The Svarthanumana chapter of this work with Dharmakirti's own elucidation in prose and Karnagomi's commentary as edited and published was noticed in *The Modern Review* (July, 1949). The volume under review gives us the commentary of Prajnakaragupta called the *Pramanavartikabhasya* or the *Pramanavartikalamkara* on the *Pramanasiddhi, Pratyaksha* and *Pararthanumana* chapters along with the original *Karikas*. The *Vartikalamkara* is the 'most extensive, authoritative and illuminating' commentary on the *Pramanavartika*. Prajnakara started the religious school of interpretation of this work and the importance of his *alamkara* can be guessed from the number of quotations from it in the later philosophical literature.

Tht introduction to the volume is highly informative. The text of the *Sambandha Pariksha* as appended here seems to be taken from the *Prameyakamalamartanda* as out of the twenty-nine verses of the latter we get here as many as twenty-two. About the chronological chart as given in the introduction one may differ with the learned editor on a few points. Dharmottara is said to have been referred to by Prajnakara (F.N. 2, p. 229) and yet the latter is placed earlier (700 A.D.) than the former (725 A.D.).

Jnanasrimitra and probably his disciple Ratnakirti also were criticised by Udayanacharya in his *Atmatattvaviveka* and hence Udayana cannot be placed earlier than either of them. These are after all minor points. The volume, on the whole, is a welcome one and students of Indian philosophy will derive immense profit from it.

Both the learned editor and the Kasiprasad Jayaswal Research Institute deserve congratulations for the edition and publication of this important volume. A verse index added to the volume would have been of much use to scholars.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

BENGALI

MANDIRER CHABI: *By Kalikinkar Sen Gupta. The Book Co. Ltd., 4-3B, College Square, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 2.*

A book of poems invoking political and social liberty. Under the British Government it was proscribed in 1931. The ban has been lifted only in 1948. The poems relate to the different phases of our national movement and some of them voice the demand for social equity. The poet feels that without social justice, political independence will be of little significance. His patriotic fervour and love for the oppressed find bold and sincere expression herein. Particularly, "Dinesh Gupta's Last Letter" is intensely appealing. It recalls to our mind those glorious days when many such selfless young revolutionaries gladly laid down their lives for the liberation of their motherland.

SONNET: *By Satyendranath Mukhopadhyay. To be had of M/s. D. M. Library, 42, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6. Price six annas.*

Sonnet, as a poetic form, has come to stay in our literature. First introduced by Madhusudan, it has now been perfectly naturalised and poet after poet has modelled it in various shapes, of course keeping in view its inviolable limits.

Here in this booklet there are some fourteen sonnets, thoughtful and neat in composition.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

BHASHA: *By Madan Gopal. Hindusthani Culture Society, Allahabad. Pp. 116. Price Re. 1-8.*

More heat than light has been generally shown in the approach made by the majority of the people to the prickly problem of the National Language for India. The protagonists of Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani have all presented their cases with a fervour not seldom amounting to fanaticism, thus unwarily drowning the "still small voice" of scientific truth. The author, therefore, deserves undiluted praise for articulating this "still small voice." His wide reading on the subject and deep thought enable the reader to assess aright the claims of the trio—Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani—in the triangular struggle for supremacy. How one wishes that our constitution-makers had profited by the wisdom of the writer of the book under review!

MAHATMA GANDHI KE BALIDAN KA SABAQ: *By Pandit Sunderlal. Pp. 65. Price As. 12.*

CHINA KI AWAZ: *By Pandit Sunderlal. Pp. 43. Price As. 4.*

Both available from Hindustani Culture Society, Allahabad.

The first booklet (now in its second edition) is an essay in the significance of the martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi, while the latter is an account of the New China, which the author—an ardent advocate of Good-will to Men and Peace on Earth—visited recently. Pandit Sunderlal is, indeed, an ideal ambassador of Love and Light.

G. M.

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GUJARATI

VATRAKNE KANTHE (On the Banks of the Vatrak): *By Pannalal Patel. Published by the Bharati Sahitya Sangh, Ltd., Ahmedabad. Printed at the Sahitya Sahitya Press, Mohta Ankadia. 1952. Thick board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 228. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This is a collection of 28 short stories, written in Pannalal Patel's best style. 'Village Life' portrayed in them, in the dialect of the villager, is real, vivid and therefore appealing. While reading a story, the reader faces as if the drama of life depicted therein, being enacted before his very eyes. Its charm is inimitable and soothing.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Swami Sivananda—The Prophet of Divine Life: souvenir in commemoration of the Sivananda Jayanti Celebrations at Calcutta on 8th and 11th September, 1955. Illustrated. Pp. 149. Price Rs. 2.

Swami Sivananda—The Dynamic Monk: By Prof. T. R. R. Sastry, M.A., M.L., Principal, University Law College, Jaipur. Pp. 78. Price Re. 1.

Studies in the Personality of Swami Sivananda: By Swami Omkarananda. Pp. 96. Price Re. 1.

Symposium on Sivananda's Palm: By eminent palmists. Edited by Sri Yogesh. Illustrated. Pp. 168. Price Rs. 2.

All the above books are published by the Yoga-Vedanta Forest University, Ananda Kutir, P.O. Sivananda Nagar, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

Thus Spake Buddha: Published on 24th May, 1956, 2500th Birthday of Lord Buddha. Compiled and published by V. S. Narayana Rao, Bichara Sahitya, Ltd., Bangalore-2.

A very attractive tiny pocket-book with a beautiful tricoloured picture of Lord Buddha on the cover. It contains under classified heads the teachings and precepts of Buddha in a succint form.

Dhammapada (Holy Text of the Buddhists)—Pali Text in Devanagari with English Translation: By Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Professor of Sanskrit, Andhra University, Waltair. Pp. 123. Price Re. 1-8.

Dhammapada—Pali Text in Roman with English Translation: By Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. Pp. 123. Price Re. 1-8.

Dhammapada—English Translation: By Dr. Kunhan Raja. Pp. 55. Price Re. 1-4.

The above books are published by The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras-20

The book is of invaluable service to the followers and lovers of Buddhism. A perusal of the *Dhammapada* will be of incalculable benefit to the readers.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Industrialization and Happiness

The Aryan Path writes editorially :

"The only statement that has to be examined, is whether it can be laid down as a law of universal application that material advancement means moral progress."—*Gandhiji.*

The Government of India has made industrial enterprise its first concern. Large-scale industries are receiving primary attention. The motive is noble: the democratic Welfare State is being built for the masses; whatever is undertaken is for the betterment of the citizen. But in what does betterment consist? It seems to be taken for granted that industrialization spells prosperity. But what is prosperity? These two questions should receive primary attention and pertinent answers. What is the philosophy underlying industrialization?

In trying to make of India an economically "forward" nation like the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R., is the Government of India guarding against some of the giant ills which industrialization has created in the U.K., the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and elsewhere? India may achieve complete success and become financially as rich a nation as any other, but should she try to do so at the price of mental confusion and moral degradation?

In spite of sanitation and hygiene the U.S.A. is not enjoying real physical health; in spite of splendid progress in education she is suffering alarmingly from mental ailments, venereal diseases, juvenile delinquency and the like; in spite of great luxury there is widespread moral obtuseness. The U.S.A. is conquering the whole world, but to some she seems to be losing her own soul. The people of the North American continent, however, are a young and growing race; so they can and will conquer their weaknesses and vices very quickly. Moreover, G. D. H. Cole showed insight when he wrote: "We shall need leaders who are masters of themselves, as Gandhi is, but masters after the Western fashion, which is not his, or India's." Young and vigorous North America is likely to beget such true leaders.

But Gandhiji is for India—his philosophy and technique will prove most suitable for us. Is industrialization as planned suited to India? Is it according to the Gandhian teachings? Will India's best interest be served by running in the race of industrial planning? What steps are being taken to infuse into the people the power of right morality when granting industrialization on an aged civilization in which millions of fatigued and famished villagers are toiling on an impoverished and exhausted soil?

These thoughts come to us as we read a report of the Study Conference on the Human Problems of Industrial Communities, inspired and presided over by the Duke of Edinburgh. The Conference was held at Oxford for three weeks in July, when some 230 citizens from all parts of the British Commonwealth gathered to study a few problems at first hand, to listen to lecturers, to ask questions and get answers. These were employers and technicians, workers and trade unionists, and others engaged in different activities; they represented a cross section of tomorrow's industrial leadership in the Commonwealth. We quote from the Report of the Conference prepared for *The Aryan Path* by our good friend, Mr. J. C. Hunt:

"It is rare to find modern society question the axiom that industrialization is necessarily good and therefore should be encouraged. The solution to many of the most glaring discontents of our time is supposed to lie through the advance of technology. Even the ideological struggle between Communism and Capitalism, and the problem of race relations are often reduced to these terms. Upholders of one side or the other claim that their methods are the most suitable for bringing about the greatest possible enjoyment of the fruits of technology and industry. Blemishes in a given society are put down either to an unfortunate legacy of the past, when men were less wise and more selfish, or to the unavoidable consequences of the attempt to hasten the process of industrialization.

"How refreshing it is therefore to find the Duke of Edinburgh saying, 'I see no advantage in a prosperous, powerful State if it is to be achieved at the expense of human freedom and happiness.' The Duke made the point at the opening of his Study Conference on the Human Problems of Industrial Communities within the Commonwealth. He made it clear that during his travels he had seen sufficient through the facade of splendour specially prepared for such occasions to impel him to use his unique authority to convene such a conference as this devoid of political overtones.

"The Conference was not conclusive, nor was it meant to be. It dealt generally with industrial relations, the atmosphere in factories, the happiness of ordinary people and how to help them lead fuller lives. Much has been written on these matters, but the attempt is seldom made to deal with them on a personal level.

"The Duke established two premises for the examination of these matters. First, he stressed that industry was not an end in itself, adding "It may not be very easy to decide what we are aiming at in this modern world of ours, but whatever the target we must take into account that all people are primarily citizens and not just workers with a bit of private life.' Secondly, he argued that environment was by no means the determining factor in the hapiness of workers. Delegates to the Conference learnt this for themselves when, apparently, to their surprise, they found the London sewermen to be amongst the most contented workers that they met.

"The spiritual and moral needs of modern society were thus the guiding principle of the Conference. Twenty-five background papers developed this theme in specific terms. A paper on the Rhodesian copperbelt discussed the consequences of the break-up of tribal structure; another considered the priority required, where resources are limited, as in India or West Africa,

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for the training of an industrial *elite* at the expense of general education; three papers dealt with model communities, such as the Tata steel town of Jamshedpur, and showed how they tended to become isolated; and several papers showed how little had been achieved in the way of adapting religious ideas and popular morality to the results of advanced technology. These are on the whole negative points; they concern the lack of roots in modern society and the way traditional roots snap in primitive communities which are now learning new methods of producing things. Nevertheless, it is good we have achieved so much as this. The Conference, it may be hoped, will contribute to a more mature approach to a key problem of our time. This effect will be of value no matter whether the methods adopted are expressed in religious, political, industrial, institutional, managerial or personal terms."

The Conference is a sign of the times. But a further step needs to be taken. G. D. H. Cole, whom we have quoted above, wrote in 1938 about the idea and teachings of Gandhiji's *Hind Swaraj*:

"Gandhiji's case against the West looks, then, definitely stronger than it looked, to us Westerners, thirty years ago. For it does seem as if all our material advances in machine mastery were unloosing upon us, not the plenty for which we hoped, but an overmastering capacity for destruction. Nor is it merely that we have grown more efficient in dealing out death and mutilation. We have also grown more cruel—or some of us have; and those of us who untouched by the recrudescence of cruelty know not how to prevent its spread without the risk of falling ourselves under its spell."

And our esteemed friend Hugh I' A. Fausset, commenting upon the same book in 1938, said:

"This in fact is a profoundly revolutionary little book and the fact that it is addressed to Indians and concerned with their specific problems does not make it less relevant to Englishmen, though it may be harder for them to accept it. *For the whole purpose of the book is to save India, not from Englishmen, but from the modern civilization which is eating into the vitals of the West."*

Gandhiji's message has value for the entire Occident. Should not our leaders in India at least take heed from such a warning?

If the Duke of Edinburgh were to use his royal influence to convene another conference of Commonwealth thinkers to consider the applicability of the principles of Gandhiji to modern industrial conditions what benefit would accrue to every country in the world.

India is copying the West; the Gandhian philosophy of a machinemade civilization remains to be adequately examined, not only elsewhere, but in the land which proclaims Gandhiji "the Father of the Nation." Will India take the lead?

After the above was in type came to hand the following interesting piece of news. The New York correspondent of the *Hindu* sent the following message on the 30th of August. To us it looks like a strange coincidence! Are the first fruits of industrialization in India to be psychosomatic patients? "Anxiety Neuroses" are already reported. Is there no message in this for industrial plan-makers and social welfare organizations?

"Anxieties similar to those which have caused the high incidence of psychosomatic illnesses among Americans may soon be a penalty which Indians may have to pay for industrialization, according to Dr. Otati, a research scientist of Lederle Laboratories. He said research reports from India indicated that 'anxiety neuroses' were developing among urban populations and this trend might intensify as the country advanced towards full industrialisation. 'Competition between individuals will tend to rise leading to sharpening of anxieties in susceptible individuals or in those classes bearing the brunt of the change,' declared Dr. Otati.

"In the opinion of the scientists the cause for this increase in anxiety neuroses might lie in the difficulty experienced in adjusting traditional living patterns to the radically new framework of developing an industrial society. 'This is a particularly difficult adjustment for Indians who were brought up to live at a much slower pace,' he said."

The Three Inter-Oceanic Canals

Prof. K. R. R. Sastry writes in *The Indian Review*:

In the sound generated by the Suez Canal Crisis, it is natural that *echoes* are heard near the Panama Canal. Though Suez and Panama have important agreements, there is a *vagueness* regarding the rights and duties of the territorial sovereigns and users of the Canals during war. The Kiel Canal stands as a case *sui generis*.

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ভারতে জ্যোতিষচর্চ্চা ও কোষ্ঠীবিচারের সূত্রাবলী
শ্রীনরেন্দ্রনাথ বাগল জ্যোতিঃশাস্ত্রী
(বিশুদ্ধ সিদ্ধান্ত পঞ্জিকার জ্যোতিষী)
ভারতে জোতিষচর্চার গবেষণামূলক ইতিহাস ও কোষ্ঠী বিচারের গুরুমুখী জ্ঞানের বহুসূত্রাবলী সহ গবেষণার ভিত্তিতে ২১ অধ্যায় ৫০০ পৃষ্ঠায় (ডিমাই) সমাপ্ত। মডার্ণ রিভিয়ু, অমৃতবাজার পত্রিকা, প্রবাসী, যুগান্তরের সম্পাদকীয় মন্তব্য, আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা, দৈনিক বসুমতী প্রভৃতি পত্রিকায় গ্রন্থখানি উচ্চাঙ্গের সমালোচনা ও প্রশংসনীয় সমাদর লাভ করিয়াছে।
মূল্য বাধান ১০৲—রেক্সিন ১২৲ টাকা।
প্রাপ্তিস্থান—ইণ্ডিয়ান এসোসিয়েটেড পাবলিশিং (প্রাইভেট) কোং লিঃ
৯৩নং হ্যারিসন রোড, কলিকাতা-৭

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The law relating to these inter-oceanic canals is *conventional* in origin but it has been modified by the growth of internal *practice* and hence of custom as evidence of a general practice. Sooner the position of these waterways is brought under an uniform pattern guaranteeing freedom of navigation under United Nations, the better.

Under the most important article (Art. 1) of the Suez Canal Convention of 1888, "The Suez maritime canal shall always be free and open, in time of war as in time of peace to every vessel of commerce or war without distinction of flag." Subsequent articles provide for securing the *neutrality* of the Canal in time of war. Practice during the two world wars warns us that the territorial *sovereign could close* it to the vessels of the enemy.

The Panama Canal, 47 miles long, connects the Atlantic and the Pacific. On November 18, 1901, Great Britain and U.S.A. concluded a treaty called the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. While there are various stipulations relating to the neutralization of the Canal substantially as embodied in the Suez Canal Convention, *there is no clause* guaranteeing the free passage of the canal in time of peace without distinction of flag and without reference to the possible belligerency of U.S.A. Nor is there any clause forbidding U.S.A. to erect fortifications commanding the Canal. The phrase "in time of war as in time of peace" which appears in the Constantinople Convention, was not repeated in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty.

On November 18, 1901, the Hay-Varilla Treaty was concluded. Under it, the Republic of Panama granted to the United States, "in perpetuity the use, occupation and control of a Zone of territory for purposes of the canal together with the use, occupation, and control in perpetuity of any lands and waters outside of the Zone which might be necessary and convenient for the same purposes." It further granted to U.S.A. in such Zone and in the auxiliary lands and waters, "all the rights, power and authority which the United States would possess and exercise if it were the Sovereign of the territory," The Treaty further conceded to the United States "the right to police the specified lands and waters with its land and naval forces and to establish fortifications for such purposes."

Practice of U.S.A. during the two World Wars was just like Britain's closing the Suez Canal to enemy shipping.

Connecting the Baltic with the North Sea, the Kiel Canal was constructed by Germany mainly for strategic purposes. It was finished in 1895, 61½ miles of waterway.

Under Article 380 of the Treaty of Versailles the Kiel Canal was to be kept free and open to all vessels of nations at peace with Germany.

On November 1st, 1936, Germany *unilaterally* denounced these articles (380-386) of the Treaty of Versailles.

A judgment was delivered by the Permanent Court of International Justice in reference to the passage of a British Ship, the *S.S. Wimbledon*, carrying arms to Danzig through the Kiel Canal. The Court emphasized that even the passage of a belligerent warship through Kiel Canal would not compromise the neutrality of the state in whose jurisdiction the waters lie.

Under conventional and customary International Law, the territorial Sovereign can always take all legitimate measures for the protection of his waterway and his own neutrality. They may involve some inconvenience on ships using the waterway. Thus Egypt, the territorial sovereign of Suez Canal, can place restrictions as exercise of the rights of visiting and searching ships bound to and from Israel which has a relationship of belligerency with Egypt.

While she was projecting military adventure in 1937, Germany closed the Kiel Canal to warships of foreign states. It has to be concluded that under conditions of modern warfare, the territorial sovereign can put *restrictions* on *freedom of passage* through inter-oceanic Canals as Suez, Panama and Kiel.

Dangers of Radiation

Roger Pearson observes in *Careers and Courses* :

It was not until 1895 that the discovery of X-rays was made. Although scientists had for some time been aware that radiation existed in the form of heat and light, the identification of rays which had the ability to penetrate normally opaque substances uncovered entirely new vistas for research.

In the course of a few years it was further revealed that certain heavy elements in the earth's crust such as uranium and radium also produced forms of radiation and, following this discovery it was only a matter of time before science was able to harness this new knowledge in the development of the X-ray for hospital use, in the use or radiotherapy for the treatment of the sick, and in the invention of television for entertainment in the home.

Little did the people who came to accept these benefits as everyday utilities realise that radiation was capable of effecting serious biological damage to living organisms—in particular to man and the higher animals.

Radiation leaves in its track a number of electrically charged particles called "ions" and the processes associated with the formation of these ions are injurious to living tissues. The highly delicate molecular structure of living organisms can be substantially disturbed by exposure to radiation, and the extent of the injury increases with the amount of radiation to which the organisms is exposed over the entire life-period.

In short, the effect of radiation is cumulative, and even if the dose is insufficient to harm the individual as an organism, it may, over a period of time, create disorders of the skin, of the flesh or even of the bone.

In human beings certain diseases such as cancer and leukaemia can also be induced although the effects will not necessarily be immediate, and the case of Japanese war-time victims were actually found to appear as long as nine years after the date of exposure.

Not all living tissues, however, are affected by radiation at the same rate. Amongst mammals, for instance, the dose of radiation to the entire body which would be required to kill fifty per cent of an animal population varies between 200 and 1,000 roentgen (a unit of measurement of radiation) according to the species, and within this wide bracket it has been calculated that the dose which would be fatal to man is approximately 450 roentgen.

The reason why radiotherapy has been found useful in the eradication of malignant tumours is that the dose of radiation prescribed under the treatment is too small to result in damage to human tissues, but is sufficient to destroy the cells of the tumour.

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Most susceptible of all living tissues would appear be the delicate mechanism of the reproductive stem. Even where radiation is inadequate to destroy rmal living tissues it requires only a relatively small se to produce sterility or to bring about malformations hich will cause eventual sterility. Failing this, radia- n can, and does, bring about mutations—changes in the netic characteristics of the individual which once duced, become permanent and are passed on to all ture generations.

The death of the individual or simply of a single rm cell within that individual has no significance for e species as such, for with the death of the indivi- al the race will not be effected. But the induce- ent of abnormal modifications in the genetic endow- ent of otherwise healthy individuals can have far- ching and permanent effects, for these changes will passed on the offspring, and by intermarriage will d to spread throughout the entire species. Because this and the extreme susceptibility of the repro- ctive organs to the influence of radioactive deposits, study of radiation in its effects on human tissues umes a new and pressing significance.

Theoretical knowledge would suggest that since human species has always been exposed to a certain gree of cosmic radiaeion, protected though it is by blanket of the earth's atmosphere, there are no unds for supposing that new types of mutation will ur if it is now exposed to increased radiation from n-made sources. This opinion finds corroborative dence in the case histories of the Japanese war tims, whose offspring reveal no new types of tation, but do show a markedly higher percentage mutations than those born of normal parents.

The frequency of defects and diseases amongst rsons exposed to high doses of radiation may, in t, be supposed to vary in direct ratio with the ration and intensity of exposure to radiation over entire life-span of the parents prior to the concep- n of the child. Of these induced diseases, mental esses already account for nearly half the hospital nursing home beds in Great Britain—a fact which not widely appreciated—and if the dose of radiation which parents were exposed during their lifetime re doubled, then hereditary mental diseases might be expected to increase.

To make matters worse, the harmful genus thus ated by radiation might in many cases be "recessive," would not appear in every generation, so that their sence in the individual might pass unnoticed until er marriage, when the children will be found to ter from complaints from which the parent appeared be free.

In hospitals in the U.K. diagnostic radiology (e.g. ray examinations) has been calculated to add as much 22 per cent to the natural dose of cosmic radiation— serious an addition that the Medical Council has ised the restriction of the use of the X-ray as far possible.

Radiotherapy, although not so frequently used as diagnostic radiology, adds a heavier dosage to the individual undergoing treatment, but since those who undergo this type of treatment are mostly above the age of reproduction it does not constitute an important threat to the genetic endowment of the nation.

Besides the medical uses of radiation, the fitting of shoes by X-ray has been calculated to add one per cent per annum, spread over the entire population, while television may be assumed to deposit a somewhat similar amount.

Luminous Watch

Even wearing a luminous wrist-watch probably adds something like .01 per cent of electrically charged ions per year to the reproductive organs of the individual concerned, and so, in its minute way, increases the chance of producing mentally or physically abnormal off-spring.

Briefly, then, atomic war aside, the danger of radiation is not to the individual alone so much as to the future well-being of the race and to the health and fitness of the unborn generations who have yet to come.

Long exposure to radiation of low intensity will produce the same effect on the genetic mechanism as would shorter periods of exposure to radiation of a higher intensity, and to protect the health of future generations we must ensure that no individual is permitted to become exposed to dangerous levels of radiation either in the course of his work or in his private life—and, more important, that the dose of radioactive ions received by the heredity equipment of the nation as a whole does not rise above the danger level, at least in the case of that portion of the population which is still within childbearing limits.

Nurses in hospitals and workers in the luminising industries, to quote two examples only, are clearly exposed to greater risks than are office or farm workers. Valuable experience is being gained by observation amongst workers in the atomic research stations, and the International Committee on Radiological Protection is pressing research forward as rapidly as possible.

Patriotism and Civic Virtue

In the International Seminar organized by the World Universities Service, B. G. Kher Chairman of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, spoke on 'Patriotism and Civic Virtue' on July 3, 1956. The speech as published in the *Quarterly Bulletin of Gandhi Smarak Nidhi* is reproduced below :

Derived from the Greek word 'Patrio'es,' patriotism is the sentiment with reference to one's fatherland. As you know, historically the concept of the fatherland has assumed different forms at different times. We do not, cannot, live in isolation. Man is a gregarious

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animal. Throughout his life he lives in some form of relationship with the members of his family, with the members of the profession to which he belongs, with the members of the club where he joins with others in social recreation, with the fellow citizens with whom he is joined with reference to the municipal organization of the town in which he lives, and so on with the whole human race, in one way or another, directly or indirectly. One such, and the most significant group to which an individual belongs, is the national community presided over by the governmental authority of the national sovereign State of which he is the citizen. In view of the fact that the sovereign State exercises plenary authority over all groups and individuals within the frontiers of its jurisdiction, an individual citizen naturally owes loyalty to his own State, overriding all others. Patriotism in the sense of recognition of such loyalty has obviously an important place in a proper scheme of values to an individual citizen in modern society.

Here it is, generally speaking, enough to say that citizenship consists in the right ordering of our several loyalties, *viz.* to the family, group, trade union, nation, humanity, etc. to which reference has been made. At the same time, we must remind ourselves of the dictum of Spinoza that the true aim of Government is liberty.

The main feature of democracy lies not in the fact that consent is more willing on the part of the persons governed, but in the fact that to provide that it shall be willing, that consent is to a considerable though limited extent repeatedly challenged and requested by the Government. In no human effort is perfection attainable. Even the wisest of individuals charged with the duty of government are subject to the inherent weaknesses or failings of humanity; a democratic constitution provides that they shall be checked and controlled even by persons less wise than themselves, but alive to their own rights and interests. Hence every three, four, or five years we hold elections and choose our Government.

I will proceed to consider in what circumstances one may find it necessary to obey a higher law than the man-made laws of one's sovereign State. In that sense, patriotism represents a loyalty which may have ultimately to be subordinated to the highest of the loyalties to which man is subject, namely, the loyalty to his own conscience, or in other words, obedience of the moral law. Before, however, proceeding to say a few words about this, I want once again to repeat that this advocacy of a superior loyalty above that of patriotism is necessarily limited to very rare cases where on an important issue of wide public significance the conscience of an individual is genuinely involved. It is a right to be invoked only under the strongest moral compulsion and only by persons qualified to do so. The exercise of this contigent right to disobey cannot be regarded as an everyday occurrence or as a general licence for the common man for the flouting of the law of the land on flimsy pretexts. It is also subject to certain conditions and limitations. No one has written and spoken more about the ethics, method, justification and limitations of the duty or right to disobey the laws of a State, in modern times, than Mahatma Gandhi. Such disobedience can either be individual or by the mass. In either case, the first condition the Mahatma insisted upon was the purity of both end and means.

I wonder what the Father of the Nation and the inventor of Satyagraha will think when he knows how it is now a weapon freely used by dismissed employees, failed candidates, all and sundry, for redressing their grievances and obeying their conscience. The dangers of the abuse of this weapon are familiar to all by now. They are particularly grave in this country with its political freedom only 8 years old, its religious, communal, linguistic and other divisions threatening the life of the nation itself.

The civil laws derive their ultimate sanction from authority and coercive powers. The moral laws have no such coercive armoury at their command; the sanction for the moral law lies directly in the conscience of the individual concerned. Religious creeds and systems of ethics and worship are intended to reveal to an individual the God that resides within himself. In the final analysis, therefore, there can be no question but that the loyalty of the man is to the moral law in cases where it conflicts with the civil laws.

Patriotism, which is a very complex feeling built out of primitive instincts and intellectual conviction with a religious element mixed up in them, can never take the place of the supreme moral law or of religion. It lacks universality. The good at which it aims is a good for one's own nation only, not for all mankind. So it is said: "A world full of patriots may be a world full of strifes." Do we not find this to be so now?

In reality the individual is the centre to ever widening circles in the form of the family, the city, the nation and mankind, which are not intersecting but concentric, and there should be no conflict—no difficulty in reconciling the loyalties owing to all. What is needed is an enhancement in individual worth. Forms of government or of international relationship are only the mechanics through which the peace and goodwill which dwell in the breast of men all over the world could be canalized.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Soviet Union is for Peaceful Settlement of Suez Issue

By N. Nesterov

Since the very outset of the Suez problem, *i.e.*, since moment of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal pany by the Egyptian Government, two approaches the settlement of this problem have clearly taken e.

The Western Powers, Britain and France in the place, as well as the United States, their backers, attempting to settle the problem from "the position rength." They do not want a fair settlement, h would take into account the legitimate interests Egypt as the sole owner of the canal. They are ficially creating an aggravated situation in the l's region and are doing everything they can to ent a peaceful settlement. By means of blacking and military threats these powers intend to the canal away from the Egyptians and to place nder foreign control. It goes without saying that this foreign control they mean British-Frenchrican domination over the Suez Canal. The drive this end is a dangerous game fraught with serious equences.

The Soviet Union, which from the very beginning of problem has shown itself to be a consistent champion peaceful settlement, approaches this problem from e a different angle. The Soviet Government's ment of August 9, this year, points out that the ish-French threats and military preparations ected with the nationalisation of the Suez Canal pany by Egypt are incompatible with the UNO ciples. The same statement laid down the Soviet of view on the legal nature of the nationalisation e Suez Canal Company by Egypt.

The Soviet Union accepted the British invitation ake part in the London Conference, although er by its composition nor by its character was it ble to regard it as an international representative rence authorised to adopt any decisions with ct to the Suez Canal.

In accepting to take part in this conference the t Union proceeded from the premise that, given good-will on the part of the states concerned, even kind of a conference could be conducive in hing an approach to the settlement of questions ning to the Suez Canal, which would promote a ful settlement of this question. Guided by these ciples, the Soviet delegation to the London rence was consistently upholding the idea of a ful settlement of the Suez issue. The position by the Soviet delegation was in full agreement the UNO Charter principles and with the putable sovereign rights of Egypt as the sole owner comptroller of the canal. This idea was supported the representatives of a number of countries taking in the London Conference. Many political leaders European and Asian countries which did not take in the conference also expressed their desire for peaceful settlement of the Suez issue.

On September 16, this year, the Soviet Government made another Statement on the necessity for a peaceful settlement of the Suez issue. This highly important document condemns the military preparations carried out by Britain and France, with the support of the United States, for the purpose of exerting pressure on Egypt in the Suez problem. The statement indicates that these measures run counter to UNO principles.

It is to be remembered that UNO had been set up for the purpose of ensuring a peaceful existence of the populations. Its task covers the examination of conflicts and frictions among states, which may lead to violation of peace.

The UNO Charter prohibits downright the use of force against one or another state, with the exception of cases of self-defence against an armed attack or threat of force and makes it obligatory to seek for peaceful means in settling arguments. As to an eventual recourse to force, provided by the Charter, it refers only to emergency cases when it is necessary to repulse an aggressor and to ensure the maintenance and the restoration of peace. This case, stipulated by the Charter, has nothing to do with the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company by Egypt, without mentioning the fact that the question of using force must be decided not at the discretion of this or that country, or group of countries, guided by their narrow calculations, but in accordance with a decision of the Security Council. Hence the British and French Governments have no grounds whatsoever for resorting to the use or threat of force with respect to Egypt who has exercised her rights of a sovereign state with respect to the Suez Canal Company. The Soviet Government appraises the military preparations of Britain and France against Egypt as an act of aggression against Egypt. The Statement also points out that the Soviet Government is of the opinion that freedom of navigation on the Suez Canal must be guaranteed to all countries and that this purpose can and must be achieved through peaceful means only with due regard both to the inalienable sovereign rights of Egypt and the interests of the states using the canal.

The Soviet Government is profoundly convinced that the Suez issue can and must be settled through peaceful means, moreover since, Egypt expresses full readiness to take part in such a settlement. The Soviet Government has received with satisfaction the note of the Egyptian Government of Sepetember 10, this year, and expressed readiness to take part in an international conference. proposed by the Egyptian Government, which would revise the Constantinople Convention of 1888 and discuss the question of the conclusion of an agreement confirming and guaranteeing freedom of navigation on the Suez Canal.

Speaking on the question of who must be invited to the conference, the Soviet Government expressed itself for inviting all the countries who signed the cosvention of 1888, including their legal successors, the Arab countries which are situated in the immediate proximity of the canal and which are vitally interested

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in a peaceful settlement of this issue, and other countries using the canal.

The Soviet Union has already adopted a number of measures promoting a just settlement of the Suez issue through negotiations.

The Soviet Government has also pointed out that the USSR, as a great power, cannot keep aloof from the Suez issue and help displaying concern with respect to the situation obtaining now. In this connection, the Soviet Government has declared that, in its opinion, UNO cannot but react to the obtaining situation—to the threats of use of force against Egypt, to which certain member-states of UNO are resorting. These threats are in flagrant contradiction with the principles of the UNO Charter.

The attention of the world Press is likewise focussed on the recent answers of Nikolai Bulganin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to the questions put by Kingsbury Smith, Director of the American Telegraphic Agency. In order to facilitate the peaceful solution of the Suez problem the Soviet Government is ready to take part in a conference of heads of governments of six countries—Egypt, India, France, Britain, the United States and the USSR.

The provocative and adventurous policy of the Western Powers which are trying to seize the Suez Canal by force is doomed to failure. The Suez issue can and must be settled by peaceful means. The Suez problem can be settled only by peaceful means, in full conformity with the legitimate interests of the Egyptian people and with the interests of peace and international co-operation. The Soviet Union is in favour of such a decision.— *News and Views from the Soviet Union.*

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The River Nile

There is no river in the world except the Nile that provides a country fortune and life.

The Nile is the most important factor for the prosperity of Egypt. The study of it is still the most important subject for the progress of the country.

From the river Kgera (in East Africa) to the Mediterranian Sea the Nile is 4150 miles long. This indicates that the Nile is the second largest river in the world if we accept Mississipi's Missouri river as the first being 4240 miles long.

The first records of gauges showing the water level are dated thousands of years back. Some gauges were found out on the rocks of the cataracts in Upper Egypt. Written records were found 620 years ago. But useful and continuous observations which are obtainable are being published for the benefit of public since many centuries.

The flow of the river Nile differs from season to season and from month to month. During the flood the water of the river is much more than the demands of irrigation and navigation, while during the summer it is much less than the demands. Therefore controlling the water of the river to get the maximum utilization, and to meet the irrigation demands all over the year, has always been a problem for the Egyptians to solve. Egypt in the very old days was just a continuation of adjacent deserts. The prosperity and charm in the country is all due to the right usage of the Nile waters since the times of the Pharaos.

The Pharaos (the ancient Egyptians) in trying to solve the irrigation problem were storing the flood water of the Nile in Lake Morris (East of Delta) by a diverting canal with high embankments and regulators. They had constructed a seventy-mile-long canal for this purpose. It is also learnt from our old history that the ancient Egyptians were well aware of the science of irrigation engineering.

The river Nile starts from Lake Plateau near the Equator. On its way towards north the Nile passes through Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Congo Belgue, Abyssynia, Sudan and Egypt.

Egypt is the only country that took the pain of discovering the source of the Nile. It was Egypt only that arranged and collected the Hydrological dates for the Nile and its tributaries since the last century while the attempts to discover the source of the Nile were made centuries ago. At present here are departments in Sudan and Uganda that are called the Hydrological Department and they are co-operating with the Egyptian Department for the same purpose.

The main branches of the Nile are:

(a) White Nile: It starts from take Plateau in East Africa and supplies the river with 83 per cent of the yearly flow and 68 per cent of the flood flow.

(b) Blue Nile: It starts from Lake Tana in Abyssynia and supplies the river with 17 per cent of the yearly flow and 10 per cent of the flood flow.

(c) Atbara: Its resources are also in Abyssynia. It supplies the river with 22 per cent of its flow during floods.

The maximum discharge of the river occurs usually in May and starts increasing in June and July during which the natural flow is approximately sufficient for irrigation demands. The floods start towards the end of July and reach at the top in August and September.

The yearly flow of river Nile ranges between 151000 and 42000 million cubic meters while the cultivated area in Egypt and Sudan regularly needs about 55000 million cubic meters yearly.

To meet the irrigation demands at the time of necessity the river water was controlled. It was based on two main aspects.

(a) Yearly Storage: The flood water which is stored in the Nile basin is released only at the time of necessity, when the natural flow is less than the demands. Aswan Dam, Gabel Aulia Dam and Senneor Dam were built for this pupose.

(b) Over Year Storage or Century Storage: In the yearly storage system flood waters cannot be stored completely because of silt problem. If in any year the natural flow of the river fails to fill the yearly storage dam the water can be supplied through over year storage. So it is essential to ensure certain amount of discharge every year regardless of the natural flow of the river which may be more or less than the demands. It is essential to ward off high flood dangers. The flood water which was wasted and run into Mediterranian Sea every year can be saved through this system now. Series of projects have been suggested; main amongst them are the following.:

(a) Lake Victoria Dam: This was constructed in the year 1954 with the co-operation of the governments of Uganda and Egypt. The capacity of this dam is 67000 million cubic meters.

(b) Lake Albert Dam: It is still under discussion with the concerned authorities in Cosgo Belgue, Uganda and and Egypt. The capacity of this dam will be 5300 million cubic meters.

(c) The Aswan High Dam: This will be constructed six miles south of the existing Aswan Dam with a height of 160 meters above the bed level. The storage level of this dam will be 60 meters above the present level of Aswan Dam. The capacity of this reservoir will be 130,000 million cubic meters.

The Aswan High Dam is the most important and biggest multipurpose project under construction now-a-days in the whole world. The generated power will be 8300 million kilowatt yearly in the last stage, and the cultivated area due to this tremendous project will be increased 30 per cent more than the existing area.

The idea of this project started in the year 1952 immediately after the revolution and one may wonder that investigations. planning and designing of such a gigantic project did not take more than three years. The construction of this dam will start shortly.—*Culture of Egypt.*

Just out *Just out*

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THE FIRST PHASE

by

JOGESH CHANDRA BAGAL

With a Foreword by

DR. JADUNATH SARKAR

Price Rs. 7-8

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Tibet—Land of Rich Resources

Tibet is a vast land of immense resources situated on the southwest border of China. Being the highest and biggest plateau on earth, averaging over four thousand metres above sea level, Tibet is known as the "roof of the world." Inhabitating this part of China are more than one million industrious and intelligent people of Tibetan, Han, Hui and Mongolian nationalities.

The ice and snow-covered Himalayas stretch throughout southwestern Tibet. And the prominent mountais ranges of the Kailas, Tangla and Karakoram run through northern and central Tibet.

Tibet is also the source of a number of big Asian rivers. The well-known Tsangpo, Nukiang and Lantsang Kiang Rivers originate on the grassplains of northern Tibet. Flowing in a south-easterly direction, they run through snow-covered mountains combined with the torrential rivers and the wide grass-plains give this plateau of China a magnificent scene.

Northern Tibet covers an area of about 250,000 square kilometres. It is the chief live-stock breeding area, where over ten million cattle and sheep are raised. Meat, butter, hides and skins which Tibetans need are mainly produced in this region. Millions of kilogrammes of wool are sent elsewhere from the grass-plains each year. Yaks which can each carry a twenty kilogramme load over thousands of kilometres are the chief means of transport peculiar to Tibet. Formerly, animal epidemics prevalent in the live-stock breeding areas brought great distress to the cattle-breeders. Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, veterinarian hospitals and stations and animal epidemic prevention agencies have been set up in the principal cities and towns near the live-stock breeding areas. In addition, mobile animal epidemic prevention teams often make visits to the live-stock breeding areas. In the Chamdo area, epidemic stations have been established along a stretch of five or six hundred kilometres to prevent and treat animal disease for the herdsmen.

On both banks of the middle and lower reaches of the Tsangpo, Lantsang Kiang and Nukiang Rivers are wide valleys where the climate is comparatively warm. According to Tibetan classics, Tibetans began their farming life along the middle reaches of the Tsangpo River before the Tang dynasty. Over a long period, they fought against river floods and droughts in the winter and spring seasons. They build scores of kilometres of ditches to direct the water melted from the snows on the high mountains to irrigate the farmland. Cold and drought resistant barley, wheat, peas and vegetable oil seeds are produced here. In areas where the climate is warmer, rice and maize are grown. These agricultural areas transport tens of thousands of animal loads of grain to the major cities and towns in various parts of Tibet. Herdsmen on the Tibetan grass-plains come to these areas to trade their animal products for grain.

In the past, Tibetan peasants lived a miserable life. Some of the peasants had to leave their land uncultivated because they had no seeds. Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, they have received loans of seed from the state without interest every year. Peasants in the Chamdo area were given iron farm implements free of charge. Some of them discarded their wooden ploughs and used iron implements to till their land or reclaim wasteland. And crops begin to appear on a vast expense of land which had been barren in the pre-liberation days. The reclaiming of uncultivated land by civilian and People's Liberation Army personnel from outside Tibet has set an example for the Tibetans.

Tibet is a wide area sparsely populated. There are large plots of cultivable land along the river banks which await reclamation. There are approximately 70,000 hectares of arable land in areas around Chushul and the banks of the Lake Yamdrok Tso alone. Many varieties of new crops have been successfully planned on the plateau by agronomists who have come to Tibet to help the people with farming. There have been experiments in planting of drought-resistant spring wheat and high-yield Soviet winter wheat in wide areas this year. Cabbage, sweet potatoes and more than ten other kinds of vegetables which had been unknown to Tibet have begun to grow in the vegetable gardens of the Tibetans.

Tibet is also a virgin land of rich mineral resources. According to the findings of preliminary prospecting and surveying, there are over thirty mineral products of great economic value. In the Tangla Mountain areas bordering Chinghai, there are iron ore and coal. In addition, Tibet has vast deposits of graphite, asbestos, soapstone and other fire-proof materials, as well as granite, black shale, gypsum and other building materials. No one ever discovered these resources in Tibet in the many past centuries.

Prospecting and surveying teams sent by the Ministry of Geology are now working in the Tangla Mountain areas.

Tibet rivers have rich potential hydraulic power. They have distinctly advantageous features. The water sources have great velocity with little variation, sharp gradients and good topographical conditions. They can be fully utilised for useful purposes. According to an estimate made by the surveying teams working in Tibet, if the potential hydraulic power of just the Tsangpo River is fully utilised in the future, southern Tibet can have electrification. The middle and lower reaches of the Tsangpo River alone can generate more than 62 million kilowatts of electricity.

Large extent of virgin forests cover the Himalaya areas and the middle and lower reaches of the Tsangpo River basins. The highly prized fir and pine of the Himalayas and Himalaya cypress and birch grow there. In the Tsangpo River basin, the area covered with virgin forests is equal to one-third of the forest area of the Great Khingan Mountains in north-east China. Peaches, apricots, bananas, pears and other fruit trees grow in the warm river valleys of Tibet. Many of the precious medical herbs which China has been using for centuries come from the snow-covered mountains, grass-lands and forests on the plateau. According to the results of some analyses, the medicinal substances contained in the herbs produced in Tibet are more than those contained in the herbs produced elsewhere in China.

Wild horses, wild oxen, goats, bears, tigers, leopards, mynahs, deer and other animals can be found in the mountains, dense forests and wide grass-lands. These produce large quantities of valuable skins, bear's gall, deer's antler, tiger bones and musk. On the Himalayas, which are covered with snow all the year round, there is a special product called snow fish, which, according to preliminary appraisal, is a valuable kidney tonic.

Formerly, lack of communications was the cause of great difficulties to the Tibetans. Travellers have hitherto regarded the road between Sikang and Tibet as a dangerous road. Now the main lines of Sikang-Tibet and Chinghai-Tibet Highways are linked up with Peking. The Lhasa-Shigatse, Shigatse-Gyantse, Gyantse-Ya'ung Highways which were completed last year and this spring respectively have made traffic

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throughout central Tibet possible. Yaks and mules are no longer the chief means of trasspo.t from Tibet to other parts of China. Large numbers of motor trucks are now transporting supplies from other parts of the motherland to Tibet to support the construction there.—*News Bulletin of the People's Republic of China*, May 31, 1956.

All About Writers

By S. J. Harry

The *Oxford Companion to American Literature*—in a newly revised edition—reveals perhaps more than any other recent book on American literature much of the scope and variety of American writing. At the same time, it gives pertinent information on authors, books, magazines and literary trends through the hundreds of its entries.

James Hart, chairman of the department of English at the University of California, who compiled this book, has accomplished his scholarly task with taste and imagination. For he not only assembled in 900 pages an excellent guide to almost everything of literary importance that has been written in the United States, but he also managed to place that writing in its social frame-work.

"The printed word," writes Professor Hart in his preface, "does not exist in a vaccum . . . the understanding of works of literature depends upon an informed knowledge of the entire social atmosphere of their place and time."

Suppose the reader turns to the listing of Walt Whitman—America's poet of the independent spirit. Whitman's most famous collection of poems, *Leaves of Grass*, was first published in 1855. And although comparatively unappreciated at the time, Whitman expressed the social feeling of his era. Whitman, as Professor Hart tells the reader, wanted "to show how man might achieve for himself the greatest possible freedom within the limits of natural law—for the mind and body through democracy, for the heart through love, and for the soul through religion."

Whitman went to the people for his sources, Professor Hart points out, "becoming intimate with drivers of omnibuses and ferryboat pilots, joining the crowds at the bathing beaches." And this concern with the story of ordinary people was to become a strong American literary tradition.

Whitman was extremely lyrical. But his method of going to the people for his material was adopted by writers of a different style. Stephen Crane, who obtained his knowledge of war by reading Tolstoy, published *The Red Badge of Courage* in 1895. This was the story of one young soldier in the American Civil War, told from his viewpoint. The style, however, was unlike Whitman's. It was a realistic style which Crane later used in writing about life in New York.

A few years later, just after the turn of the century, Frank Norris emerged as a major American novelist with the publication of *McTeague*. The book was a realistic—or, some would say, naturalistic—picture of lower and middle-class life in San Francisco. Norris was best known for *The Octopus*—a novel first printed in 1901—which was a stark tale of wheat raising in California and of the struggle of the ranchers against the encroaching rail-roads. Norris was truly a reflection of his times. And he felt, as he put it, that the best type of novel "proves something, draws conclusions from a whole congeries of forces, social tendencies, race impulses, devotes itself not to a study of men but of man."

A contemporary of Norris was Theodore Dreiser who also painted what was considered an accurate picture—outwardly, at least—of American life at the time. Dreiser was not a polished writer or stylist by any means, but he has been acclaimed, as Professor Hart notes, for his "sincere and profound consciousness of the tragedy of life as he saw it in America."

Whitman, Crane, Norris, Dreiser, and other writers of the true-to-life or naturalist school left an inviting legacy to other American authors. One can see echoes of their work in the present-day writing of Carl Sandburg, the poet, and novelists like John Dos Passos, John Steinbeck, James T. Farrell. These authors, too, were mirrors of their time, reflecting the new importance of the workingman in American life.

All of his information is included in the highly readable *Oxford Companion to American Literature* (published by Oxford University Press). Professor Hart, in a miracle of condensation, has covered practically every important literary movement in America. In addition to paragraphs, and sometimes entire pages, about specific writers and their works, about the times in which they wrote, he has also paid special attention to literary and political journals, important organizations, and to foreign authors who, in some way, have influenced American writers.

It would seem that Professor Hart has managed to prove that an encyclopaedic work such as his can be perused not only for research and study, but for a great deal of pleasure as well.—*American Reporter*, October 10, 1956.

$1,000,000 Supply to Flood, Cyclone Victims

New Delhi.—To meet the emergency caused by flood, drought, cyclone and earthquake in parts of India in recent months, 3,000 tons of dried skim milk is being distributed in all catastrophe areas as a gift of the United States.

Including the transportation charges the gift mounts to over $1 000,000, and was made at the request of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Minister for Health, Government of India.

The agreement presenting the 3.000 tons of milk was made effective on September 27 at the Ministry of Health. Participating in the exchange of letters making the agreement effective were the Indian Minister of Health, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Frederic P. Bartlett, *Charge d'Affaires* for the United States, A. C. Bose, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, Miss Evelyn Hersey, Social Welfare Adviser for the U.S. Technical Co-operation Mission, Shri V. K. B. Pillai, Secretary, Ministry of Health and Lt-Col. C. K. Lakshmanan, Director General of Health Services.

Distribution is following swiftly in the wake of the Bihar and U.P. floods. The milk is being taken from stocks of United States private agencies and UNICEF, and will be replaced with shipments from the U.S. in coming weeks.

This is the biggest emergency gift of dried milk to be tendered to the Indian Government, and will supplement the normal programme of the U.S. voluntary agencies and the UNICEF. Last year the private groups from America distributed nearly 15,000 tons of dried

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milk, along with other food commodities totalling over $15,000,000. This is separate and distinct from the recently signed agricultural commodities agreement between the two countries which will bring over a third of a billion dollars worth of reserve grain to India.—*American Reporter*, October 10, 1956.

The Bengali Film, "Pather Panchali"

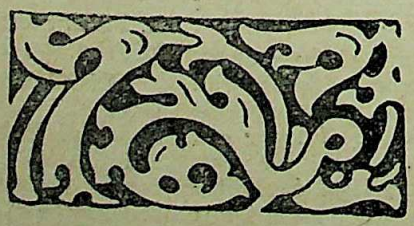
There was some surprise a year ago when M. A. M. Julien, founder and organizer of the Paris "International Festival of Dramatic Art," included films in the series of events to which he invited the theatrical world for the second time. In so doing, the organizers of the Festival intended to bring the theatre and the cinema together, and they did not hide the fact. To this film people replied by saying that they did not see what the films could gain by such a procedure. The cinema has no victories to win over the theatre, or vice versa. Despite endeavours to draw comparisons between them, the actual forms of expression of the two arts differ as greatly as those of painting and sculpture. But there could be no doubt after seeing a film like *Pather Panchali* that the Paris International Festival of Dramatic Art was right in giving the film a chance to contact a public which is not its usual public, and with films which are not likely to reach it by ordinary channels.

Pather Panchali is a Bengali film which was entered for the recent Cannes Festival and received an award not included in the original prize-list, for its value as a human document. This suffices to convey something of the impression it made at Cannes, an impression all the greater since no one there had any idea that there was such a thing as an Indian, or more precisely Bengali, film art.

Yet the enormous populations of India are the keenest filmgoers and for some time they have not been content to see just what is sent them by American or European studios. They demand films that reflect their lives, customs, traditions, and legends. Thus came into being a film industry which is the largest after Hollywood, and with its 400 films per year comes ahead of Japan. But we cannot deal with this industry as a whole, but simply with *Pather Panchali*, which it has been possible to see in Paris thanks to Charles Ford, organizer of the film section of the Festival of Dramatic Art, and Denis Marion, his assistant.

Pather Panchali presents the life of a Bengali family—a series of pictures with a genuineness that has only been equalled by Georges Rouquier's *Farrebique*. Satyajit Roy who made it is not a film man by profession. He is a painter and went to the place where we are taken in *Pather Panchali* to find subjects for illustrating the book of a writer friend. Fascinated by the beauty of the scenery, the picturesque life in which he suddenly found himself and by all the unknown humanity in that primitive life, the painter felt that he could not express himself as adequately and sensitively as the subject demanded with brush and paints and that only the camera could do it. A painter who places his confidence in film rather than in painting is hard to come by. But Satyajit Roy had been assistant to Jean Renoir who had left Hollywood in 1950 to pay a long visit to India, during which he produced his film *The River*. The busy, inspiring weeks he has spent with the man who had made *La Grande Illusion*, left a lasting impression on Satyajit Roy. He could not forget that the camera has a far more sensitive eye than human eye and that it reproduces what it records on the screen with a fidelity which, although automatic, nonetheless creates poetry in the hands of a Jean Renoir, the Jean Renoir of *One partie de campagne*. It is precisely with this union of realism and poetry a union so close that they should be combined in a single term and called poetic realism—that *Pather Panchali* impresses from the first pictures that are some of the loveliest ever composed in films anywhere in the world, the pictures of a painter, similar to those in *La Regle du Jeu* for instance, where Jean Renoir, the son of a painter, was inspired by the Sologne country. This does not imply of course that the Bengali producer has copied or imitated the French producer's style. Indeed not. But at the same time one cannot help feeling that without Jean Renoir, Satyajit Roy would never have been attracted to the camera and there would never have been a *Pather Panchali*.

For a quarter of a century there has been delight in proclaiming that the art of the film is an international art and that it knows no frontiers. This is only a generality, for while there is no international and artistic barrier between the peoples, there are economic ones and ideological ones too, and as a result of trade agreements and the workings of censorship, nothing is actually less easy to bring over frontiers than productions for the screen. But it is true that the mind knows no barriers and that influences are carried over from one country to another, from one school to another, if one can speak of schools in connection with present-day cinema, from one man to another and that it suffices to sow a seed in the mind, for a film to be brought into being at the other end of the world, making a new step forward in the development of film art. Especially if the seed be of high quality like the one deriving from Jean Renoir. And there is indeed something moving in that sort of filiation crossing oceans and civilizations, between a man and a work.—*News from France*.



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0	6	3	4	6	28	8	6	53	12	6	78
0	9	5	4	9	30	8	9	55	12	9	80
1	0	6	5	0	31	9	0	56	13	0	81
1	3	8	5	3	33	9	3	58	13	3	83
1	6	9	5	6	34	9	6	59	13	6	84
1	9	11	5	9	36	9	9	61	13	9	86
2	0	12	6	0	37	10	0	62	14	0	87
2	3	14	6	3	39	10	3	64	14	3	89
2	6	16	6	6	41	10	6	66	14	6	91
2	9	17	6	9	42	10	9	67	14	9	92
3	0	19	7	0	44	11	0	69	15	0	94
3	3	20	7	3	45	11	3	70	15	3	95
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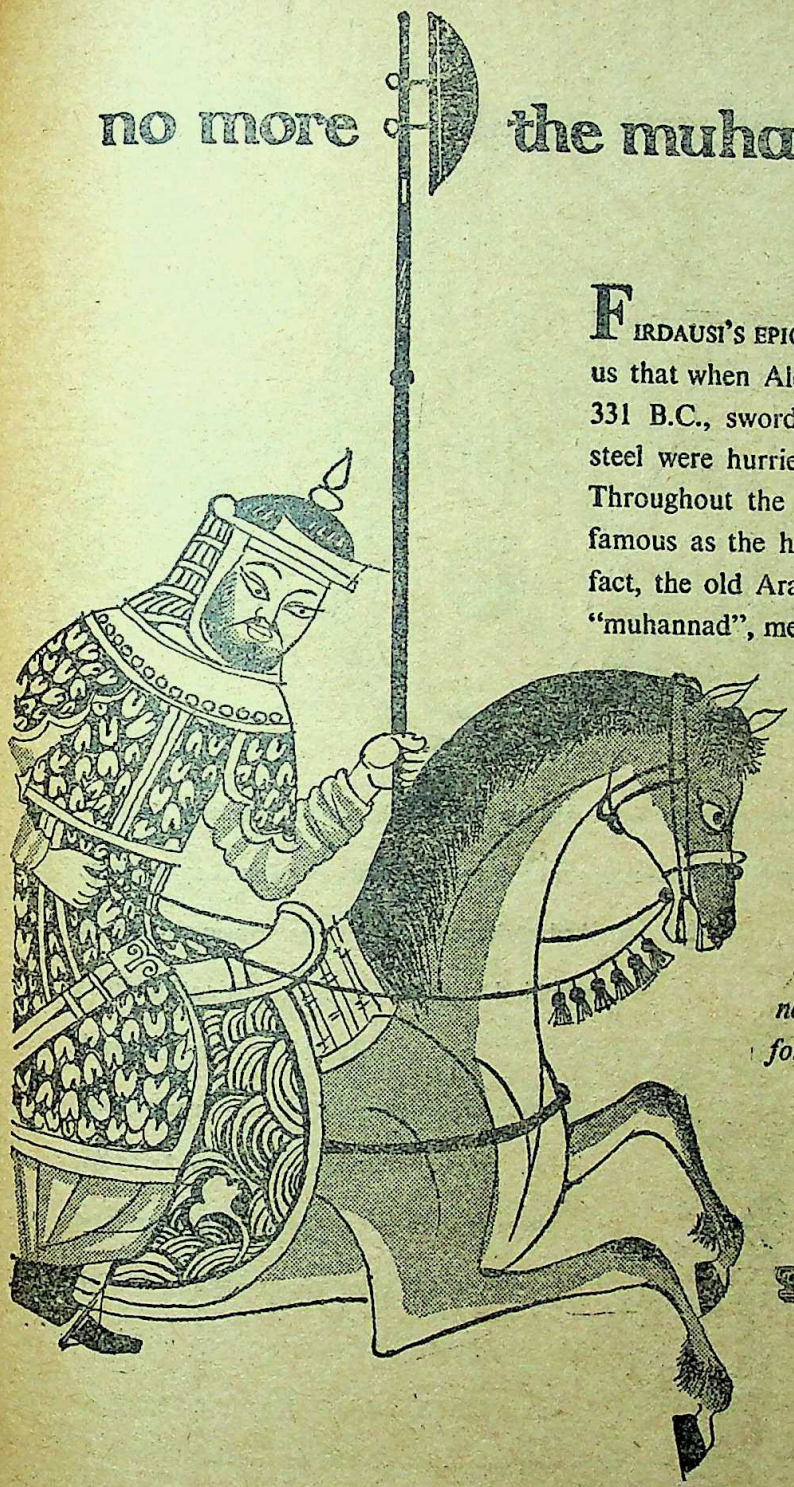

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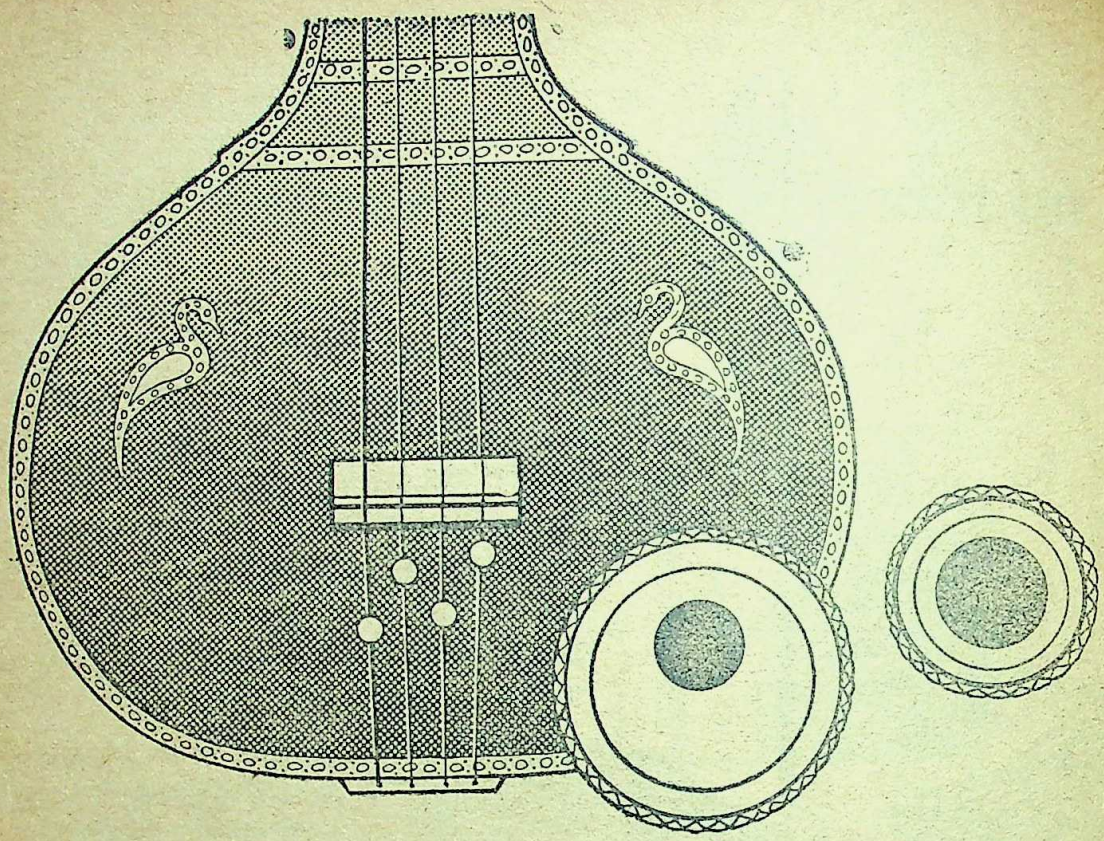

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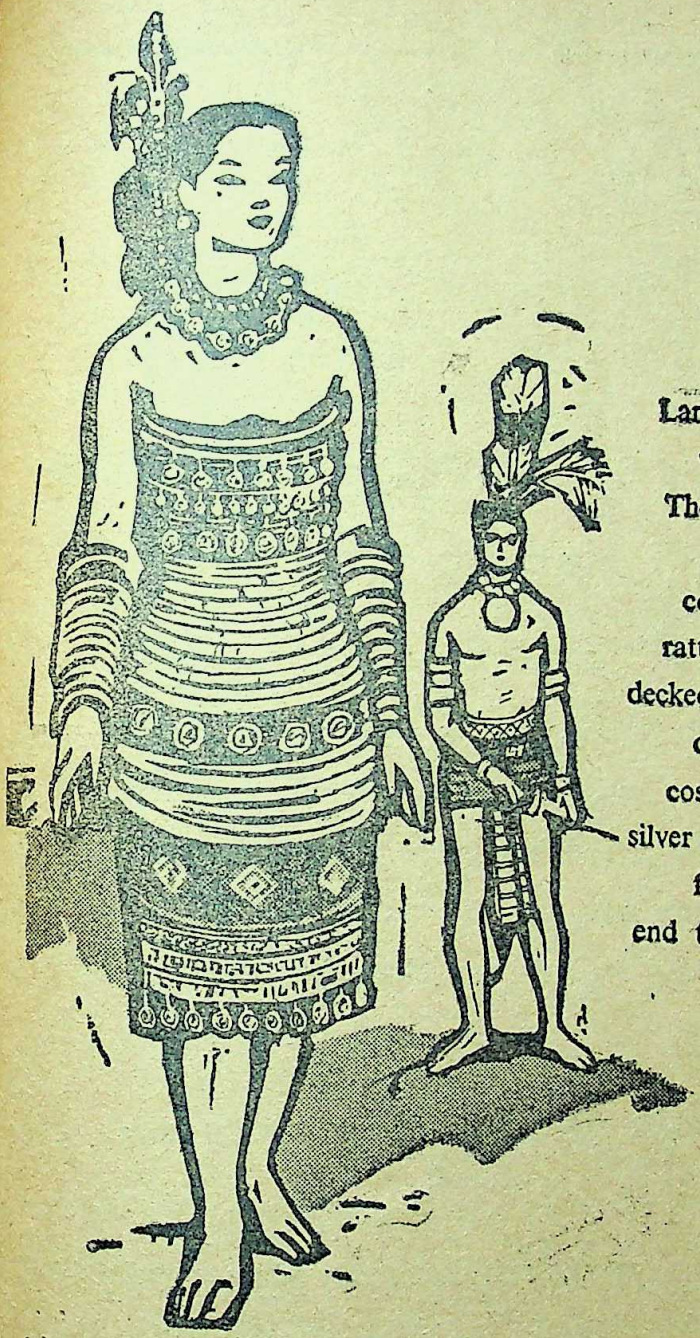

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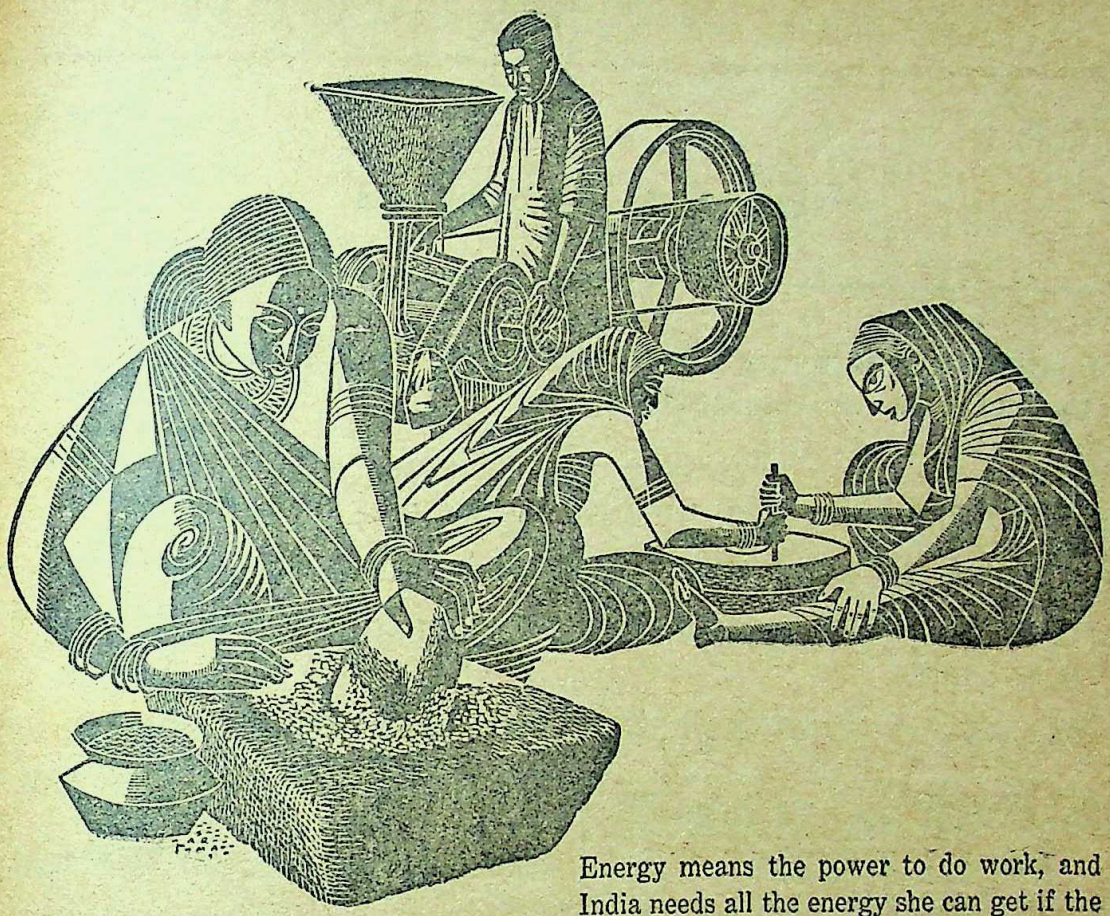

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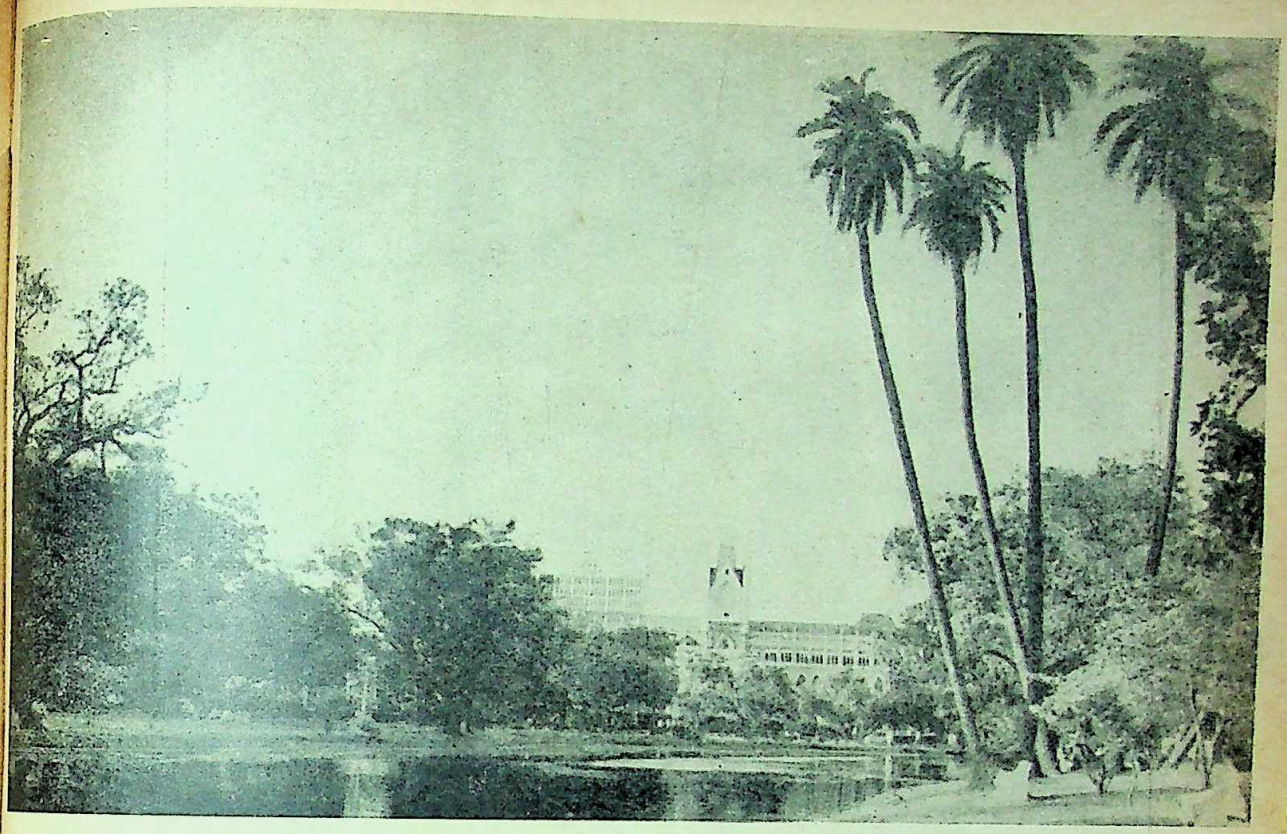

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The River Jamuna in spate. People rescued by the Army from marooned villages

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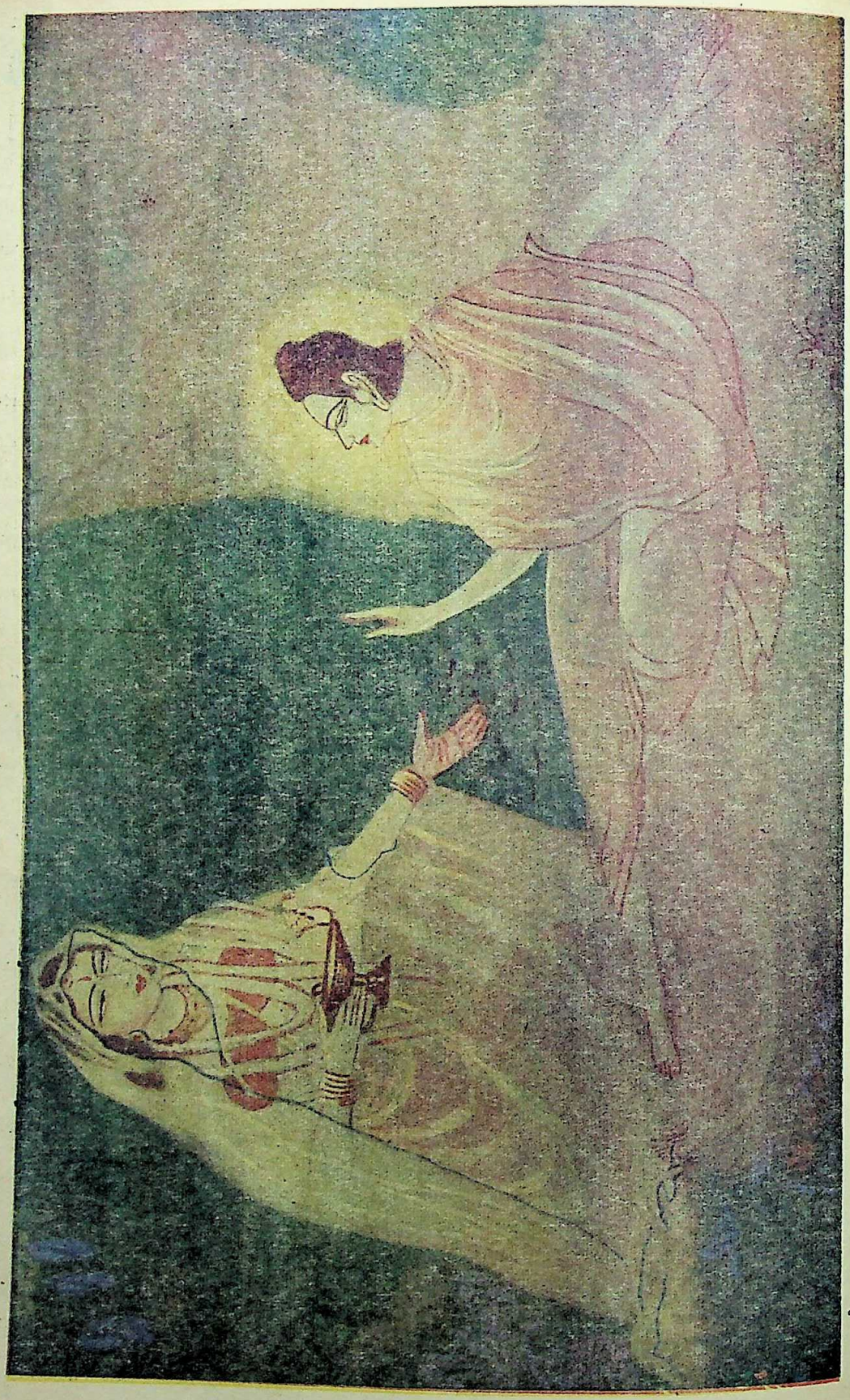

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NOTES

The Year's End

The storm clouds, that had overcast the ies of the West, are still there, as the year aws to a close. Perhaps, they are a little less reatening now, since the voice of the U.N. s made itself felt. Pandit Nehru is meeting resident Eisenhower this month, and the sults of that meeting may influence those hose powers for good or evil count for a lot World Politics.

We have today in this country the repre-ntative of one of the greatest of nations of e world, a nation with whom we are bound bonds of brotherly amity for nearly two ousand years. This friend, the Premier of the ople's Republic of China, we have had with before, and his visit at this crucial moment World affairs is an augury for good.

The world is having a breathing space, hough it is an uneasy interlude.

Nearer home our neighbours of Pakistan, rather those who hold the reins of State at esent in Pakistan, are trying the same old me of baiting India by poisonous outbursts hatred and malice. It will do no good, either them or to us, but then this seems to be an curable disease where that particular Paki-ani group is concerned. What is more serious that some influential papers in the U.S. have ned in this game of building up a case ainst India, through the marshalling of dis-rted facts and pieces of absolute figments of ion. Elsewhere in these notes we have mmented on that. It seems that India's usal to toe the line at the bidding of the est, still rankles in the mind of some people in the U.S. However, we have to face the world as it is.

We have to make up our mind regarding the group in Pakistan, whose hostility towards us is now more manifest than ever. We have to be prepared for all eventualities from that source, and we cannot depend on outside aid in this matter, unless we are fully prepared to face the storm. We have friends, no doubt, all over the world, but then the world is divided into camps, and no one can venture to aid a friend in distress, therefore, without due deliberation as to *pros* and *cons*.

Our own strength depends on many factors, and it would be disastrous to rely solely on our moral force, whatever that intangible might be. Indeed, there are so many forces of disruption at work in the country—the greatest being discontent and want, aggravated by illiteracy and ignorance—that it would not be safe to count on unity in the nation as a whole, at a time of crisis.

But the most disquietening factor, in this matter of national strength and solidarity, has been the deterioration of our human resources, which constitute a nation's fundamental power. The attention of all our public men, and of all our Ministers, both at the Centre and in the States, seem to be devoted either to the question of material advancement or to the World Status—in the terms of international politics—of India. In this way we are losing sight of the problems that are bringing about a rapid degeneration of our peoples, mentally, morally and physically.

The Railway disasters, and the lamentable failure of our youth in games and athletic contests are pointers in letters of fire,

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The Egyptian Impasse

The situation in Egypt dangerously resembled past United Nations' achievements and threatened to continue the *status quo*—the invading Anglo-French troops entrenching themselves on Egyptian soil.

The attempts of the Security Council to act in the emergency having proved abortive as a result of the Anglo-French veto the General Assembly of the United Nations met in an emergency session and adopted a resolution on November 2 calling upon an immediate cease-fire in Egypt. The resolution, which was moved by the USA, was accepted, 64 votes to 5 with seven abstentions. The opponents were the three invading countries, Britain, France and Israel, and two Oceanian countries, Australia and New Zealand. The resolution also called upon the belligerent forces to withdraw behind Arab-Israeli Armistice line demarcated in 1949 and urged all member-nations to "refrain from introducing military goods in the area of hostilities and in general refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent the implementation of this resolution."

Here was the unmistakable voice of the world demanding unequivocally the cessation of hostilities. What was the reaction of the upholders of democracy and international rights? How did they respond? The Governments of Britain and France in a joint statement on November 3 rejected the Assembly's resolution. The British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, instead laid his terms for the stoppage of war. He said that if the U.N. was ready to instal an international force in Egypt to ensure peace between Egypt and Israel and if Egypt and Israel would unconditionally agree to a cease-fire then only could the Government of Great Britain agree to a cease-fire. In the front the British offensive redoubled and British forces made their first landing in Egypt on November 4—two days after the world body's call for a cease-fire. The British occupied Port Said on November 5.

The United Nations General Assembly met again on November 4 and passed a Canadian resolution asking the UN Secretary-General to submit within 48 hours a plan for an emergency United Nations force to "secure and supervise an end of hostilities in Egypt." The vote was 57 to nil with 19 abstentions. Egypt signified her acceptance of the resolution on November 5, while the resolution of the Assembly met the points raised by the British Prime Minister it was not until after a Soviet threat of massive intervention in the Middle Eastern war delivered on November 5 in an identical note to the Governments of Britain and France that the British Government thought it necessary or expedient to abide by the resolution of the UN Assembly. The Soviet warning to Britain and France was delivered on November 5. On November 6, Sir Anthony Eden announced in the British House of Commons that he had ordered for a cease-fire with effect from the midnight of November 6-7.

The UN Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammerskjoeld, submitted his final report on the organisation of a UN emergency force to the General Assembly on November 6. The Assembly adopted two resolutions the following day. In one of the resolutions, the Assembly called upon Britain, France and Israel to withdraw their troops from Egypt. The vote was 65 to 1 (Israel) with ten abstentions including Britain and France. In the other resolution, adopted 64 votes to nil with twelve abstentions including Egypt, Israel and the Soviet bloc, the Assembly decided upon the setting up of an emergency international police force.

Replying to a question in the House of Commons on November 7, the British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, said that he could not give an assurance that British troops would be pulled out of Egypt if British and French troops were not included in the international force (as a matter of fact, British and French troops were eventually barred from participation in the international force). The following day the British Defence Minister declared that no date could be given for British withdrawal.

On November 19, the Egyptian Government in an *aide memoire* to the UN Secretary-General accused Britain, France and Israel of defiance of the UN resolutions. Mr. Hamerskjoeld was evidently in agreement with the Egyptian point of view. On November 20, Mr. Hammerskjoeld asked Britain, France and Israel to explain their failure to withdraw their forces from Egyptian territory in accordance with the resolutions of the UN. After such strong representation from the Secretary-

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General the British Government offered to withdraw one battalion "as a token of good faith," as Mr. Selwyn Lloyd put it. Mr. Butler, who was deputising for the Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden, who in the meanwhile had gone to Jamaica to recover from "overstrain," told in reply to a question in the House of Commons on November 22 that Britain would not withdraw "until we consider that this (UN force) is competent to discharge the tasks which the (UN) Assembly has given it to do."

On November 24, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted one more resolution, sponsored by India, Egypt, Pakistan and eighteen other members of the Anglo-Asian group, calling upon the three invading powers to quit Egypt forthwith. The voting was 63 to 5 (Britain, France, Israel, Australia and New Zealand) with ten abstentions, Nicaragua was absent. In another resolution the Assembly authorized the Secretary-General to go ahead with plans for clearing the Canal under United Nations auspices.

Speaking on the British Foreign Minister's remarks before the Assembly that the British could not withdraw forthwith, Sri V. K. Krishna Menon, leader of Indian Delegation, declared: "India refuses to acknowledge the right of the aggressor to dictate terms."

Even after such unmistakable and persistent demands of the world body the aggressors did not withdraw from Egypt up to the time of writing. Instead there was a reported build-up of French armoured divisions in Port Said. Mr. Krishna Menon demanded on November 27 an immediate United Nations investigation about the truth of those reports.

The continued occupation of Egyptian territory by the troops of the Western powers posed a great threat to the security of the world in general and of Middle East and Asia in particular. The daily press was full of reports of strategic manoeuvres and counter-manoeuvres in the various countries of the Middle East. There was a further real danger of the extension of that threat of war farther East. The Government of India and the conference of the four Colombo Powers (Pakistan choosing to be absent) unmistakably pointed to that.

The present crisis further brought into sharper relief the utter inadequacy of the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of world peace and security. Up till now it had no solution of any important political question to its credit with the dubious exception of the case of Israel. Every major conflict in the post-war world failed to be resolved by the world body: Take for instance, the question of Pakistani aggression in Kashmir; Korea; the question of racialism in South Africa; the independence of Cyprus; and the latest Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Egypt. In no case the UN could take suitable action envisaged in its Charter.

The time was, therefore, ripe for a reconsideration of the organisational pattern of the world body—the basic aims could hardly be questioned—so that no single Power could cover up its evasion of responsibility under any legal pretext. The UN at the time of its inception was a predominantly Western body. Significant political changes had occurred since then—most important of them being the emergence of a number of independent States in Asia and Africa. The reconstituted world body should reflect these important changes in world scene. Only in that case the world body could have any chance to act more effectively.

Indian Contingent in Egypt

The United Nations General Assembly in an emergency session adopted, on November 4, a resolution, sponsored by Canada, Norway and Colombia, to create an international force, under the command of the United Nations, with the duty of supervising the cease-fire between Egyptian and the invading forces of Great Britain, France and Israel. The vote was 57 to nil with 18 abstentions. Among the countries that did not vote were Britain, France, the Soviet Union, Egypt and the Union of South Africa. The resolution was adopted in record time on a report submitted by the Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammerskjoeld. The nucleus of the U.N. force would be formed by the members of the U.N. Truce Supervisory Commission in Palestine and would be under the overall command of Major-General E. L. M. Burns of Canada, Chief of the U.N. Truce Supervision Commission. The Secretary-General was instructed to adopt all administrative measures "for the prompt execution of the actions envisaged in this resolution" and report to the Assembly within forty-eight

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hours. The permanent members of the Security Council—the USA, UK, USSR, France and China (Formosa)—were expressly excluded from contributing any contingent to the U.N. force.

In a second resolution on the matter the General Assembly decided on November 7 that the U.N. command would be a temporary police force to patrol the area of fighting from the Suez Canal to the old Egyptian-Israeli truce line established in 1949. The proposal was adopted—64 votes to nil—12 countries (including the Soviet bloc, Egypt, Israel and the Union of South Africa) abstaining.

India has offered a battalion to the U.N. command force which made its first landing on Egypt on November 13. The *Hindu*, referring to the problems of the U.N. force in Middle East, writes editorially on November 18 that on the face of Anglo-French obstinacy the U.N. force faced a difficult task there. It would require a rare combination of great tact and firmness to tackle the job. It could be safely predicted that the Indian battalion would be a source of great help to the U.N. command in achieving this task, it says. Recalling the splendid work done by the Indian troops in Korea and Indo-China as ambassadors of Peace and friendship, the *Hindu* writes that the whole country shared the confidence expressed by General Shrinagesh in the ability of our men to acquit themselves creditably in Egypt.

Up to November 26, 23 countries had offered to participate in the U.N. force. About 2,400 men in all had been moved into Egypt by the night of November 27. By the middle of December the strength of the U.N. force in Egypt would total about 4,100. Up to November 26, the countries, whose men were already part of the U.N. force, were Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Colombia, India, Canada and Yugoslavia. Other countries which had pledged specific contributions or had promised general participation were Pakistan, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, New Zealand, Burma, Brazil, Iran, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Ecuador, the Philippines Peru, Afghanistan and Chile.

The United States of America, Canada and Italy were providing airlifts for the international force while other countries, such as, Yugoslavia were supplying some of their own air transport.

In a statement on November 28, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr. Dag Hammerskjoeld said that by the second week of December the U.N. force would be "an organized military force, with a headquarters and staff . . . two armoured car companies and necessary supporting units." These units would include "medical, engineer, transport, signal, supply workshop, provost and post-units and other army service elements." He added that the U.N. force had been well received by the people of Egypt.

The Egyptian attitude to the international force was made clear by Mr. Aly Sabri, Chief Political Adviser to President Nasser, in a conference with the newspaper editors in Cairo on November 28. Mr. Sabri said that the international force had been to Egypt with the latter's approval and the continued presence of those troops were bound by agreement. "We have the right to ask the force to withdraw if they fail in their mission," he said.

Asked to comment on India's role in the Egyptian crisis, Mr. Sabri said that India had consistently upheld Egypt's legitimate interests. "India's stand is very clear from her full support to the Egyptian case," Mr. Sabri said.

Intellectuals and the Communist Press

One of the favourite Communist slogan is freedom of speech and truthful information. How do the Communists themselves practise it? The present crisis in Eastern Europe has currently focussed some light on the technique of Communist propaganda. The Communists everywhere suppressed the true reports—even if sent by their own representatives. Thus Mr. Peter Frier, Communist *Daily Worker's* ace foreign correspondent, resigned his position in the London paper (though not from the Communist Party of Great Britain of which he was a member) as a protest against the editor's suppression or material distortion of the dispatches he had been sending from Budapest. The Communist daily instead had printed dispatches from its correspondent stationed in Moscow to describe the happenings in Hungary.

Throughout the world the Communist press, while not fully able to suppress the facts from the people, endeavoured to present the events in Hungary in a thoroughly distorted manner. The followers of the Communist press were

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given an impression that the events in Hungary were wholly a Western machination against the people of Hungary. Another familiar strain was the blind support of the Soviet intervention there.

While the majority of the non-Soviet Communist world, in spite of some uneasiness, have remained relatively quiet, a handful of intellectuals have come out with a demand for fuller truths about Hungary. More than one hundred and fifty Communist intellectuals in Italy have condemned the Soviet interference in Hungary—though the Italian Communist newspaper *Unita* refused to publish that statement. A group of ten French intellectuals headed by the world-renowned artist, Pablo Piccasso has condemned the French Communist Party for lack of news on Poland and Hungary and has demanded the convocation of a special national party congress to discuss "truthfully and realistically the innumerable problems facing the Communists."

The statement of the ten French intellectuals, not officially published but as quoted in Paris *Le Monde* said:

"The weeks that have just gone by have posed for Communists' burning questions of conscience that neither the Central Committee of the French Communist Party nor *L'Humanite* (the Party's Central daily newspaper) have helped them to solve. An unbelievable poverty of news, a veil of silence, ambiguities produced more or less on purpose, have disconcerted the people's minds, leaving them either disarmed or ready to yield to all the temptations held out by our adversaries."

The French party leaders, M. Maurice Thorex and M. Roger Garandy have dismissed the appeal of the intellectuals stating that they had fallen prey to bourgeois propaganda.

The National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America, which alone among the non-Soviet parties, had shown some real integrity during the controversy on Khruschev's disclosures on Stalin, has, however, openly declared that it was not in a position to give any judgment on the happenings in Hungary (this was an indirect way of disagreement from the official world Communist line preached by Moscow and Peking and relayed by Togliatti, Thorez Ajoy Ghosh, *et al*).

It is really a matter of great pity that in India few of the Communist intellectuals found it necessary to criticize Soviet barbarities in Hungary. Significantly enough, Prof. Hirendranath Mookerji, who is Deputy Leader of the Communist group in the Parliament and is generally regarded as the representative of the intellectual wing of the party, found no better argument for the justification of Soviet aggression against the Hungarian people than an assertion that the Soviet troops had been called in by the Hungarian Government under the terms of the Warsaw Treaty—conveniently ignoring the fact that the Warsaw Pact envisaged such deployment of Soviet force only in the event of external aggression. (Moreover, Prof. Mukherji apparently contradicted even his own party line—Prof. Mukherji's speech was made on the floor of Parliament on November 20 whereas the Party's Central weekly organ, the *New Age*, editorially came out on November 18 against all military pacts including the Warsaw Pact). It is, indeed, difficult to imagine a greater mental serfdom.

The Communist Press in India also has followed a twisted line. Instinctively reacting against the initial Soviet intervention the Party's General-Secretary wrote in an article in the weekly *New Age* virtually condemning the use of Soviet troops. That was done before any pronouncements had been made either from Moscow or Peking. However, no sooner had Moscow and Peking proclaimed that the Hungarian workers were "fascist gangs" attempting counter-revolution the Indian Communists ate their earlier criticism and came out in full support of all the Soviet brutalities in Hungary. In his speech before Parliament on November 20 Prof. Hiren Mukherji said: "I do not see what other steps could have been adopted provided we remember that the Soviet thought that a very serious situation hostile to the very existence of Socialism had arisen." An effort is also visible to buttress the stand taken by the Indian Communists by quoting Chinese Communist comments—conveniently disregarding the Yugoslov comments—another authoritative Communist source.

However, in suppressing truth and distorting facts the Soviet press organs, notably *Pravda*, have made performances which it would be difficult to equal. The non-Soviet Communist press, in many places, had no reliable

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direct source of information. Some confusion on their part is understandable—considering the past attitude to Moscow line. But the Soviet press was in possession of full facts. But what it served before the public was something quite different from what were facts. This double-faced character of the Soviet press was, however, not new. Instances are well known when in the past the Soviet press materially distorted even the writings of leading non-Soviet Communists before publication in the Soviet press.

Another pet theme of propaganda was the denunciation of the former leaders of the Hungarian party alone conveniently overlooking the responsibility of the Soviet party. It would be sufficient to recall in this connection that one of the top Soviet leaders Mikhail A. Suslov had gone to Budapest in June 1956 to reaffirm Rakosi's hold on power in Hungary. But, as they say, the king (Soviet Union) can do no wrong.

"Proletarian" Internationalism

The Declaration of the Government of the USSR on October 30 dispelled much of the confusion about Soviet Union's relationship with her neighbours in Eastern Europe. The statement clearly confirmed the fact of economic exploitation and political-military domination of Eastern-European States by the USSR. Later Soviet conduct indicated that the Soviet Union greatly regretted having made that pronouncement. As a matter of fact, the Soviet Government made the pronouncement apparently in a moment of great confusion when they were being criticized on all hands for their rough treatment of the Polish situation and the subsequent armed intervention in Hungary. They thought that a partial admission of their guilt might restore their international prestige, at the same time serving as a weapon in the propaganda campaign to demonstrate their superior morality. Tito said "People in Hungary were absolutely against the Stalinist elements. Gero in no way differed from Rakosi. Gero called the demonstrators (in Hungary) a 'mob' and insulted nearly the whole nation. This was enough to set fire to the keg of powder and to bring about the explosion. At a time when the demonstrations were still in progress, to call upon the army of another country to teach a lesson to the people of one's own country is a serious mistake.

"The justified revolt and uprising against a clique turned into an uprising of the whole nation against socialism and against the Soviet Union."

He declared that the first Soviet intervention had been unjustified but considered the second intervention right. But, he added, the need for military intervention would not have arisen had the Soviet Union had done everything that was necessary to do. President Tito said that the error of military intervention by the USSR "came unfortunately as a result of their idea that military power resolves everything. But it does not resolve everything. Just look how a barehanded and poorly armed people offers fierce resistance when it has goal—to free itself and to be independent."

Tito said that he had never advised the Soviet leaders to use armed force in Hungary and added: "Even now, when they are in a crisis in this grave situation, we can tell them nothing else except they should take care to rectify the old mistakes." He, however, declared his support of the Kadar Government in Hungary.

President Tito added that the root of all Soviet mistakes lay in the distrust of the Soviet Government in the smaller socialist States.

Used as it was to perennial glorification by world Communists Tito's frank comments naturally expose the "Soviet" way of correcting mistakes. The statement thus admitted "violation and mistakes which belittled the principle of equal rights in the relations between the Socialist States." The Soviet Government promised to correct the mistakes and even agreed to discuss the question of withdrawal of Soviet troops from East European States.

This was before the second Soviet attack on Hungary. When it became apparent to the Soviet Government that nothing short of a full-scale Soviet intervention could save Soviet position in Hungary, the five principles proclaimed in October 30 were thrown into the winds and it was declared that Soviet troops would stay in the Eastern European countries as long as North Atlantic Treaty would remain.

Nevertheless the Soviet statement was seized upon by the Communists throughout the world to launch a propaganda campaign to praise the selflessness of the Soviet Union. The Chinese Government promptly came out in its

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pport on November 1. And the statement as made one of the chief planks for supporting e second Soviet aggression in Hungary—the e of argument being that the Soviet Union d been there only to save the "workers' state d interests" and would leave Hungary immeiately as the "Fascist invaders" (the Hungan workers?) were completely liquidated.

Yet it would not be wholly correct to say at the statement had no beneficial effect. fter having made public a statement of rinciple it was difficult even for the Soviet overnment to contradict it in all respects. So at the Soviet Union had perforce to agree to rtain concessions to Poland in the talks held tween the delegation of the two countries in oscow between November 15 and 18. The oviet Government agreed to cancel the Polish debtedness to Russia as on November 1, 1956; grant a long-term loan amounting to seven ndred million roubles to enable Poland to rchase Soviet goods; and further agreed to liver during 1957 1.4 million tons of grains a credit basis. The Soviet troops would, wever, continue to be stationed in Poland.

However, the Soviet Government found it ficult to live up to all the promises made in e statement. While admitting in principle at under the Warsaw Pact foreign forces uld be stationed in a country only with the nsent of the State concerned the Soviet overnment could not accept Imre Nagy's proimation of Hungarian neutrality of the Power ocs and his call for the withdrawal of Soviet ops from Hungary.

Meanwhile, a fresh clash between the USSR d Yugoslavia was impending. During Sepmber, 1956, there was a frantic Russogoslav effort to thrash out an agreed line on ra-Communist relations. Referring to the sso-Yugoslav hush-hush talks during Sepmber the *Christian Science Monitor* of Boston ote editorially on October 1: "The future of vernment inside the Soviet Union itself and ations with and inside all of Eastern Europe e up for decision." The differences between e outlook of the two countries could not, wever, be bridged inasmuch as the Soviet ion was not agreeable to relax its controls er the Eastern European countries.

The difference between the standpoints of Soviet Union and Yugoslavia was further highlighted by the different attitude of the two governments on the happenings in Eastern Europe, especially in Hungary.

While the Soviet Press and Government were extolling the greatness of Soviet intervention in Hungary, President Tito of Yugoslavia said in a speech at Pula that "It is a grave error to call upon foreign troops to teach one's people a lesson." It proved too strong for the Soviet party. The party's organ *Pravda* took up the cudgel and accused Tito of interference in the internal affairs of other Socialist countries. *Pravda's* remarks amounted as much as to saying that Tito was no longer a Communist but had fallen a prey to bourgeois ideology. The newspaper was "surprised" and asked: "What is Tito calling for in his speech? To go it alone? But what, one may ask, does this way offer to the socialist countries? Nothing. A call for estrangement from the other socialist countries (read Soviet Union) from the entire close-knit family of socialist nations cannot benefit the cause of socialist construction. Loyalty to the great banner of socialist internationalism (read blind obedience to Soviet Union) and unity of all champions of socialism is the major condition of the success of our great cause."

The *Pravda* concluded with an exhortation to world Communists to keep their mouth shut and not to indulge in criticism of the Soviet Union. "Is it not clear," *Pravda* asked, "that it is impermissible for the Communist parties to start quarrelling, to resort to mutual recriminations, to revive the climate of differences which our common efforts have made a thing of the past?" How?—one might very well ask.

The Yugoslav Communist newspaper *Borba*, in an editorial comment on the *Pravda* criticism of Marshal Tito, wrote on November 27 that the Soviet regime must choose between the "Stalinist policy of hegemony or the creation of such relations of equality as have already developed between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and which are developing successfully between Poland and the Soviet Union," Such a choice posed a fundamental question. "However, *Pravda* seems not to see this." Criticizing the Soviet paper's exhortation to stop criticism *Borba* wrote that *Pravda* perhaps really wished to say that "because of the existence of inter-

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national reaction there must be no open discussion, no constructive criticism."

The Yugoslav newspaper further accused that "*Pravda's* polemics with Tito's speech have retained much of the old Stalinist method. The article is full of incorrect things, arbitrary interpretations of attitudes and distortions of certain statements . . . *Pravda* avails itself to the same forgery which *Tass* used already in its comment on Tito's speech."

"Why, in arguing against the Yugoslav attitude, do they not argue over the thesis that the roots of the personality cult lie in the bureaucratic apparatus, in bureaucratic management—namely, in a disregard for the role and aspiration of the working masses, in leaders who became divorced from the working masses and who, despite the discontent of the masses, kept their positions of leadership and pursued the same policy?" *Borba* asked.

Israel and the Middle East

For the last eight years there has been almost a complete deadlock in the Middle East. This rather started in 1936 with the Arab rebellion in 1936. The situation has been progressively worsening with the creation of the State of Israel in 1948. Standing near the border of Soviet Russia and possessing enormous mineral wealth, the Middle East has become the hot-bed of international politics. Israel is regarded by the Arab world as a beach-head for western expansion into their region. The Arabs and the Jewish people approach the problems of Israel from completely different angles and their conclusions are therefore different. Israelis and Zionists regard the establishment of the State of Israel as a great act of historic justice. The Arabs, however, regard the Western act in setting up the State of Israel as a great disaster whereby nearly 750 lakhs of Arabs have been uprooted from their hearths and homes. The Arabs demand the return of all Arab refugees to their homes in Israel and the withdrawal of Israel from all areas not granted to it by the original partition plan of 1947.

The Israelis, however, point out that it was the Arabs who were responsible for the rejection of the 1947 plan and they attempted to prevent its implementation by force. The Arab States fought with the Jews of Israel and they lost the fight. The Israelis now claim that the Arabs now accept the partition plan peacefully. The Arabs, however, retort that the whole development for the Jewish national home since 1917 was an invasion of their rights. The Arab world do not regard the Jews of Palestine as fellow-Semites returning to their motherland. They regard the establishment of the State of Israel as European invasion backed by British and American imperialism. Both sides go back to the earliest days of settlement in Palestine and they claim and counterclaim.

In days of bygone memory the Jewish people might have been the original inhabitants of Palestine, but later on they were either exterminated with the rise of Arab powers or had to migrate to European countries. It is, therefore, no use going back to history as historical reference does not always solve present problems. The Arab world is agitated over three important factors: firstly, there is the problem of the Arab refugees; Secondly, the Arab feelings remain wounded since the defeat of the Arabs in the war of 1948. The Arabs lost the Palestine war because they lacked political unity and military experience to make victory possible. After all, the Jewish people were backed by Anglo-American military experience and supported by their war materials. Thirdly, the Arabs regard Israel as the beach-head for western expansion into Arab world and they contemplate that it should be wiped out before it makes further inroads into their territory. The Arabs think, and they think it correctly, that Israel shall not remain content with its present boundary. There have been continued Jewish immigrants into Israel. There have already been 750 lakhs of new immigrants and their numbers are progressively increasing. The present Israel Government is busily engaged in the expansion of area and the Herut party openly demands Israel's expansion across the Jordan.

In the recent Suez Canal dispute Israel was used by the British and the Franch as their spearhead of attack on Egypt. Israel is backed by monetary resources of the world Jewry. The American Export-Import Bank gives loans to Israel and the United States Congress makes it an annual grant. These events lead to the union among the Arab people against Israel and they intensify their blockade to Israel. Last December's Lake Tiberias incident was an act of aggression by Israel against Syria. The Arab countries realised that the Israeli attack had been instigated by the Imperialist powers. The idea was to bring pressure to bear upon Syria to force

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her into the Baghdad Pact. In the recent Suez Canal incident, Israel was used to force Egypt to reconsider her decision of nationalisation of the Canal. As regards the Lake Tiberias incident, Major-General Burns, Chief of Staff of the U.N. Palestine Commission, stated in his report that the Israeli raid on Syrian territory was carried out on an 11-kilometre front by several landing parties and two infantry battalions with the support of armoured cars, artillery and machine gun fire from patrol ships on the lake. The landing operation was preceded by an artillery and mortar barrage and the shelling of the nearby Dukan settlement by Israeli ships. Israel is a stooge of the Colonial Powers who want to preserve the colonial possessions in the Middle East. The Middle East is a rich and strategically important area and here the power politics among big nations will continue.

Whither Indian Economy ?

Rising prices and falling exports are the two formidable problems that face the Government of India. The price situation during the year 1956 was characterised by an almost continuous uptrend, in contrast to the sharp decline in 1955. The general index of wholesale prices, with year ended as August 1939 as base, rose by 16.7 per cent from 345 at the end of June 1955 to 419.8 at the end of September 1956. In 1954-55 there had been a net decline of 10 per cent in the price level. The rise in price has been reflected in the living costs, the All-India working class consumer price index, with 1949 as the best year, having recorded an increase from 93 in June 1955 to 107 at the end of July 1956. The price rise is not, however, general or uniform; it is mostly confined to agricultural commodities and semi-manufactures, the prices of industrial products remaining relatively steady. The rise in food articles is the largest being 35 per cent. and the prices of almost all the commodities in the group have showed an increase. In 1955, the prices of food articles, industrial raw materials and semi-manufactures experienced sharp declines in prices. The present rise in prices is, therefore, partly a corrective movement to the previous fall. In fact, the various governmental measures that were taken in the latter half of 1954-55 to stabilise prices at reasonable levels themselves may have contributed to some extent to the subsequent rise.

However, the persistent rise in price levels during the year 1956 has gone much beyond the corrective level. The rise is mainly due to the decline in agricultural output, larger exports of certain industrial raw materials and an increase in demand resulting from the large increase in investment expenditure and rise in incomes. The rise is also considerably responsible for the budgetary policies of the Government of India. The disaster was started by Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh, the former Finance Minister, with the imposition of taxes on essential consumar goods including food materials. The position was further aggravated by another act of blunder by the present Finance Minister immediately on assumption of his post. The imposition of excise duties on cotton textiles just on the eve of the last Pujas created havocs in the price structure generating speculative deals. At that time we sharply cirticised the Government policy as that would make the price level shoot up. Actually our apprehensions have now come to be true.

Governmental measures to curb the rise in price level have included the banning of exports of foodgrains, and arranging for imports and release to the market of substantial quanties of rice and wheat. But once the rise in price level has started, it is very difficult to call a halt to the upward tendency. In the absence of an effective machinery in this country for price control, all the banes of underdeveloped economy are having free play, the most important being speculations by the wholesalers and hoarders. In May and September of 1956, the Reserve Bank of India issued directions to member banks controlling their advances against foodgrains and textiles. But meanwhile the Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, raised the plea of shortage of funds in the money market and as a result the Reserve Bank had to withdraw its restrictions formerly imposed on the banks as stated above. Immediately following the withdrawals of restrictions, the price level recorded an increase by several points. The withdrawal of restrictions was an ill-advised measure.

At the Export Advisory Council meeting held in November 1956, the worsening position of India's exports was revealed. In 1953-54, India had an adverse balance of trade to the extent of Rs. 50.05 crores ; in 1954-55, the advance trade balance rose to Rs. 62.72 crores and in 1955-56 it shot up to Rs. 81.54 crores. According to

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the figures published by the Reserve Bank, India's balance of payments became adverse to the extent of Rs. 506 crores during the first Five-Year Plan. The trade balance was adverse as follows: 1950-51, it was Rs. 3.5 crores; in 1951-52, it was Rs. 232.8 crores; in 1952-53, Rs. 31.1 crores; in 1953-54, Rs. 52.1 crores; in 1954-55, Rs. 85 crores and in 1955-56, Rs. 105 crores. In the first six months of 1956, the adverse balance of trade was nearly Rs. 121.86 crores. Mr. D. P. Karmakar, the Central Minister for Commerce, stated that export trade in the first nine months of the current year had not been altogether reassuring. During this period, India had earned in all only Rs. 439 crores. This compares unfavourably with earnings for the same period in 1955, amounting to Rs. 457 crores.

The reason for this falling exports lies partly in the fall in the external price level of some of the commodities figuring in export trade. This is brought out by the fact that while the volume index for the first half of the current year was 109 against 108 for the same period last year, the value index of exports has declined from 94 to 91. This raises the problem of maintaining prices at home. The Minister expressed apprehension that if the domestic price level rises, India's export promotion drive would be hampered.

The Government of India are also much concerned over the dwindling foreign exchange reserves of the country. Since the end of March 1956, the foreign exchange reserves held by the Reserve Bank have declined from Rs. 746 crores to Rs. 543 crores—a fall of over Rs. 200 crores. Although this decline has taken place as a result of the large imports required for the second Five-Year Plan, it is obvious that this rate of drawal cannot be sustained for any length of time. The Finance Minister declared on November 30: "We are now fairly close to the minimum level of reserves we ought to maintain and I must tell the House and the public that a most determined effort to conserve and augment our foreign exchange resources is now called for. This consideration must, in my judgement, be given higher priority than the consideration regarding internal prices, although the latter is important. The requirements of foreign exchange for the Second Plan are proving even larger than we estimated, and it would be necessary not only to economise on imports and to increase our exports, but also to secure the necessary quantum of supplemental resources from abroad."

But the Finance Minister seems to be labouring under some misconceptions. Firstly, the rise in domestic price level cannot be ignored in the least. Domestic price rise will influence the cost of living and in turn the cost of production resulting in the higher prices of exports. Secondly, exports cannot be increased without corresponding increase in imports. The foreign trade moves on the basis of reciprocity, you cannot expect to sell without buying. Formerly India's exports and imports exceeded nearly Rs. 700 crores. But with the drive towards import control and reduction, exports have also fallen considerably. It must now be admitted that devaluation has further worsened India's balance of payments position. After devaluation, India's export incomes have fallen and income payments have increased. Devaluation has been a hurdle in increasing India's export earnings and reducing her import costs. Devaluation was a blunder on India's part. It has not stepped up India's exports nor has cut down import costs. On the contrary, it has reduced our export earnings and increased our import payments.

The year 1956 witnessed a substantial monetary and credit expansion. Money supply with the public (excluding State Governments' deposits with the Reserve Bank) increased by Rs. 214 crores during 1955-56, or by 10.8 per cent to a total of Rs. 2,191 crores. The net rise over the entire First Five-Year Plan (April 1951 to March 1956) was also of about the same order, at Rs. 206 crores. This resulted from an initial phase of contraction to the extent of Rs. 214 crores in the first two years, followed by a progressive increase in the next three years by an aggregate of Rs. 420 crores. Of the increase in money supply during 1955-56, expansion in currency accounted for about four-fifths. The main expansionary factors were deficit financing by Government and the rise in bank credit, the balance of payments impact being slightly contractionist. To a certain extent, therefore, deficit financing is also responsible for the rise in prices. The rise in money supply has to be viewed in relation to the expansionary trends in production, industrial and agricultural, and the general level of economic activity. Besides, in an economy like India's where, under the impact of a major developmental effort, a

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steady extension of the boundaries of the money economy is under way, the level of money supply may be expected to show some rise relatively to national income, if price levels are to remain fairly steady. However, recently the rise in money supply has tended to outpace the rise in production levels and economic activity.

The expansion in bank credit is following on the heels of rise in money supply. That is, the banks have taken the advantage of deficit financing in enlarging their advances. Bank credit during the year recorded a sharp rise and contributed to a large expansion of money supply. Scheduled bank credit increased by Rs. 149 crores over the year 1956 to Rs. 759 crores as compared to a rise of Rs. 60 crores in 1954-55. On the other hand, net deposit liabilities of scheduled banks increased much less than bank credit during 1956 by Rs. 98 crores. The higher level of banking activity during 1956 reflects largely the impact of growing economic activity under the Plan. The inadequacy of the rise in bank's resources was acutely felt in the busy season of 1955 when scheduled bank credit expanded by Rs. 180 crores, whereas the net deposit liabilities increased by only Rs. 38 crores. Even during the slack season of 1956, the banks borrowed from the Reserve Bank under the Bill Market scheme a large sum to the extent of Rs. 330 crores and this indicates an unprecedented expansion of bank credit, particularly in the field of agricultural products. It is high time that the Reserve Bank should raise its Bank Rate to not less than 4 per cent. In the face of deficit financing, a return to dearer money is all the more imperative. A higher Bank rate will not in any way affect the long-term investment programme in the private sector. The influence of the Bank rate on long-term prospective yields is marginal, or almost nothing. The Bank rate will, however, influence the speculations in the short period and it is therefore desirable that the Bank rate should be raised. The inflationary spiral in India should be nipped in the bud by a higher Bank rate, by larger imports of consumer goods and by taxation of personal incomes. Increased supply of consumer goods, both by increased domestic production as well as by increased imports, will neutralise the larger demands for such goods and help stabilising the price level. Inflation is a costly affair. It brings with it grave social injustices and instability. It destroys not only the value of savings but also confidence, and security and social values. Inflation results in the destruction of the value of money. It is the cruelest form of social theft—a theft with the greatest harm to those that are least able to protect themselves. It is a theft to the people with rigid income levels. Deficit financing therefore calls for strict price control which is not possible in a free economy like that of ours.

Eisenhower's Second term

Through his victory in the elections held on the 6th November, 1956, Dwight David Eisenhower, at the age of sixty-six, became the second Republican in this century to win two successive presidential elections in the U.S.A. (President William Mackinley, elected for a second term in 1900, was the other Republican to do so). In what has been described as the "most spectacular election victory since Franklin D. Roosevelt submerged Alfred M. Landon in 1936," President Eisenhower defeated his Democratic rival, Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson by over nine million votes. President Eisenhower rolled up the biggest popular vote in history (over 34.7 million according to incomplete figures) breaking his own 1952 record (33,927,441). The President carried forty-one States—two more than in 1952—and Mr. Stevenson seven. Mr. Stevenson's popular vote in 1956 was 25,427,361 against 27,314,992 in 1952.

President Eisenhower won 457 electoral votes against Stevenson's 74 (two hundred and sixty-six electoral votes were required for election). This marked an increase over his electoral votes in 1952 which were 442 to 89 for Stevenson but in electoral votes President Eisenhower still remained runner-up to the Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt's totals in both the 1932 and 1936 elections. In the 1936 elections, Roosevelt had polled the largest ever electoral votes when he defeated the Republican candidate Alfred M. Landon by 523 electoral votes to 8.

The elections were a personal victory for President Eisenhower inasmuch as while he polled record popular votes, his party—the Republican Party—failed to gain a majority in any of the two Houses of the Congress. The position of the two parties in the Congress was:

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Senate: 49 Democrats and 47 Republicans,
House of Representatives: 235 Democrats and 200 Republicans.

This was the fifth time in U.S. history—and first since 1848—that a President-elect failed to carry both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The forty-three-year old Richard Milhous Nixon was re-elected Vice-President to Eisenhower

In his speech just after the announcement of his re-election President Eisenhower said that the results showed that "modern Republicanism has now proved itself and America has approved of modern Republicanism."

Modern Republicanism, President Eisenhower added, "will point the way to peace among nations and to prosperity, advancing standards here at home . . ."

"With whatever talents the good God has given me, with whatever strength there is within me, I will continue, and so will my associates, to do just one thing: To work for 168,000,000 Americans here at home and for peace in the world," the President concluded.

In a telegram to the re-elected President, the loser, Mr. Adlai Stevenson said: "You have won not only the election but also an expression of the great confidence of the American people. I send you my warm congratulations. Tonight we are not Republicans and Democrats, but Americans." He wished all success for the new President.

Dwelling on the results of the elections the *New York Times* International Edition, writes on November 7 editorially that the course of the campaign had clearly shown the elements of strength and weakness in the Republican Party at the end of the first Eisenhower Administration. "The chief element of strength, amply demonstrated in yesterday's voting, is the great personal popularity of the President and the wide measure of public confidence which he commands. Inevitably too, the Republican party has profited from the boom which many industries are currently enjoying and the present high level of earnings and employment. On the debit side of the ledger . . . is the lackluster record of the Republicans in Congress, the clearly revealed division within the party itself between liberals and reactionaries, and the continued presence in responsible congressional positions of Republican die-hards who are opposed to just about everything, either at home or abroad, for which the President himself stands," the newspaper writes.

The eighty-fifth Congress of the United States would meet on January 3, 1957. Efforts were already afoot to restore the bipartisan basis of the U.S. foreign policy which was jolted during the election campaigns. President Eisenhower had already discussed the matter in a conference of twenty-three congressional leaders of both parties at the White House. As things stood there was no chance of any major shift in the foreign policy of the United States Government in near future.

U.S.A. and Kashmir and Pakistan

The Kashmir Constituent Assembly adopted a constitution on November 19 for Jammu and Kashmir registering Kashmir's irrevocable accession to India. This was perfectly in keeping with democratic traditions; even a former British Prime Minister—Earl Attlee—admitted that the affairs of Kashmir were being democratically administered; nothing could be objectionable in such a procedure. But there were some for whom it was not very convenient to look at facts. Truth was not at all palatable to them—so that they lived in an imaginary world where everything could be viewed in a distorted manner. In this category might be placed a section of the Pakistani politicians and the American press. It would be an idle effort to put the utterances of those Pakistani politicians under scrutiny (since they would bear no scrutiny at all)—the denunciation of India and Indians had for them become the staple weapon in the struggle for capturing power in Pakistan. It would, for example, indeed, be difficult to find a responsible political leader in any other country of the world denouncing a friendly neighbouring country in such malicious terms as were used towards India by Sardar Abdur Rab Nistar, President of the Pakistan Muslim League. Speaking before a League Youth Convention in Lahore on November 26, the Sardar reportedly said that India was Pakistan's only and the greatest enemy and the Leaguers would be ready to conclude any agreement with any country that would help Pakistan fight India. The basis of Mr. Nistar's charges

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against India was not reported by the news agency. But it was unthinkable that any major point made by him would have gone unreported. Obviously enough Pakistan could not seriously bring any charges against India—there was no ground for that. The only conclusion to which one was thus driven was that for some reason or other a section of Pakistani politicians found it profitable to indulge in occasional diatribes against India. There was, however, no lack of evidence that such was not by any means the general attitude of the Pakistani leaders—many of whom would not approve of such hostility towards India. As a matter of fact, Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhasani gave a rebuff to the redoubtable Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Malik Feroze Khan Noon, who, the other day, had declared India to be Pakistan's greatest enemy. Maulana Bhasani said that whatever differences might there be between India and Pakistan, the people of Pakistan could not regard Indians as their enemies.

Every sane man would agree with Maulana Bhasani. But truth was not palatable to some. However, while one might understand the fulminations of the discredited leaders of the Muslim League in Pakistan, it was difficult to appreciate the stand taken by responsible sections of public opinion in the U.S.A. with regard to India and Kashmir. For example, the *New York Times*, International Edition, devoted an editorial article on November 3 to denounce the new Kashmir Constitution and the Government of India. Materially distorting facts the *New York Times* wrote: "Some idea of the extent to which the popular will was either suppressed or denied may be had from the fact that just before these actions (adoption of the Constitution, etc.) were taken several important members of this Kashmir (Constituent) Assembly were put under arrest, or rearrested after previous release, because they had formed a group that urged a plebiscite in Kashmir rather than this unilateral action (*i.e.*, the adoption of the Constitution and accession to India). Under such conditions it is impossible to accept the Indian thesis that the will of the Kashmiris has been expressed. It has not had the chance to make itself vocal."

The newspaper strongly urged for a "popular plebiscite" in which Kashmiris could freely express their will either to join India or Pakistan. The *Times* added: "The unilateral action on the part of India does not, in our judgment, relieve the United Nations of its responsibility in this case. The Kashmir issue is still before the United Nations and the international body has committed itself not merely to a cease-fire in the hostilities that have taken place but the larger framework of a free, popular ballot under external supervision. Pakistan has accepted this mode of solution. India has blocked it and has now attempted to circumvent it."

The hint to Pakistan was not lost upon its Government who were out to create distrust and hatred between the peoples of Pakistan and India. The Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Suhrawardy, in a statement on November 17, threatened a "deterioration" and "further aggravation" in the situation in Kashmir. Simultaneously a letter was sent to the UN Security Council over this matter.

Leaving aside Pakistan's attitude we might say a few words on the points raised by the *New York Times*. The newspaper referred to the "commitment" of the UN over Kashmir but conveniently forgot to mention the failure of the international body to name the aggressor in spite of clear and abundant evidence so that even after about nine years the Kashmir "question"—if it was ever really a question—could not be solved by the world body. Even the *New York Times* would not say that India was responsible for that failure. India's reasons for giving up the idea of plebiscite were well known—not less important in this connection were the machinations of certain world powers to convert Kashmir into another focus of the world conflict. Pakistan's entry into military pacts made the situation more complex so that in the interest of world peace and tranquillity and the well-being of the people of Kashmir. India was left with no other alternative than to declare her renunciation of the earlier offer of a plebiscite (which India was under no legal obligation to institute but had agreed to as a measure of goodwill and grace). As for the newspaper's charges of Indian domination and its questions about the competence of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly to voice the people's opinions the *Times* would do well to turn to the article on Kashmir in the London *Evening Star* of the 25th November, 1956, which was written by Earl Attlee, former Prime

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Minister of Great Britain. In that article Lord Attlee stated that Kashmir had unequivocally indicated her desire to be united with India and that at every level of administration in Kashmir there was democracy and local self-government. Lord Attlee also referred to the tremendous progress made by Kashmir in the field of education under the present Government. Lord Attlee, by the way, could not be called a blind supporter of India when it was recalled that largely through the double-faced policy of the British Government that the Kashmir questions had assumed many of its present complications. Yet, the objective reality was so compelling that even Attlee could not miss the truth and, it must be told to his credit, he did tell it.

As for the Kashmir Government's capacity and willingness to face its own people, the Government announced on November 29 that it would institute countrywide elections on the basis of adult franchise early next year after the promulgation of the Constitution.

Train Accidents in South India

A second major railway disaster in the South within the little span of three months has at last brought it home to the Government of India that, it has a duty to acknowledge its responsibility to the people in whose name it rules. The Minister for Railways, Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri, has resigned and his resignation has been accepted. The acceptance in practice of the principle of ministerial responsibility, though belated and rather halting, one must say, is nevertheless welcome, many Congress members of Parliament reportedly opposed Shri Shastri's resignation presumably on the ground that Shri Shastri's personal responsibility in the accident was nil. This is true but it was and is certainly the responsibility of the Government, and the Railway Ministry in particular, to ensure complete safety to the travelling public. Whatever the reasons, there can be no doubt about the Ministry's failure to perform its duties. The accident, which occurred on November 23 near Ariyalur about 170 miles from Madras, cost 155 lives so far and resulted in the injury of a hundred more. The engine and the first seven bogies, with a total seating capacity of 300, it is reported, capsized on the embankment of the bridge over the Marudayar river and telescoped into a 15-feet deep and 70-feet wide ditch.

Giving the details of the accident, the Railway Minister told the Lok Sabha on November 26:

"The 603 Down Tuticorin Express, which was involved in this accident left Madras (Egmore) at 21-50 hours on November 22 and arrived at Ariyalur station 84 minutes late, mainly due to cautious running on the section. After halting at Ariyalur for three minutes, it left at 5-21 hours. Having crossed Bridge No. 252 safely, at 5-30 hours, the engine and seven coaches behind it capsized and fell into a breach caused by the erosion of the right approach bank behind the abutment. The eighth bogey was derailed and four remained on the rails.

"It is most painful to report that as a result of this accident, the death-roll amounts to 144 passengers. This includes two who subsequently died out of the 117 injured who were taken to Tiruchirapalli and admitted in the civil and railway hospitals there.

"Medical relief was rushed both from Tiruchirapalli and Villuparam, by special medical relief trains which arrived at the site at 9-45 and 10-05 hours. Meanwhile, six or seven local doctors from Ariyalur had also arrived at the scene and had already started rendering first aid to the injured. The medical relief train carrying the injured persons left the site for Tiruchirapalli at 10-30 hours but, unfortunately, this train had to be held up at Pullambadi station as the track further ahead was under water and was not considered safe for the passage of trains.

"Instructions have been issued by the Southern Railway to all station masters to afford full facilities to the relations of the dead and injured for travelling to the scene of accident and the hospitals. Arrangements have also been made for the free conveyance of these relations from Tiruchirapalli by bus due to the interruption in rail communications.

"Clearance of the debris at the site is in progress. Two or three dead bodies are still to be extricated.

"Bridge No. 252, which was constructed in 1928, is a plate-girder bridge consisting of eight spans of 62 ft. × 3 ins. The foundations are on twin-screw cylinder piles. Previous to this

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cident, the highest flood lever ever recorded as 9 ft. × 0 in. below the rail level. There is o record during the 28 years of its existence f any important repairs having been needed n this bridge or its approaches. Stone-pitching ad been provided around the abutments and e approach bank had also been pitched. The formation gathered so far leads to the conusion that a breach was formed adjacent to he Tiruchi side abutment into which the engine nd the seven bogies plunged after the bridge ad been safely crossed. This breach must have aken place within a very short time as four rains passed over this bridge after midnight, e last being the 605 Up passenger train at 09 hours without the engine crew noticing or porting anything unusual.

"The entire bridge structure remains intact nd safe, except for a portion at the Tiruchi end the abutment, which was damaged due to e accident."

The Minister said that the bridge was being gularly inspected; he also gave details of the spections carried out immediately before the cident occurred.

Turning to the measures for the prevention such accidents in future, the Railway Minisr, Shri Shastri, said:

"As regards the steps to be taken to stop ch happenings, the Railway Board is initiating survey of the bridges on the Indian railways, d of their catchment areas and an examiion of the history of floods that have passed rough such bridges. It is also arranging for e examination of the adequacy of the procere for the patrolling of tracks during monons and floods.

"As the House is aware, a committee of ree engineers has been set up to examine the idges on the former Nizam State Railways. has been asked to examine the design of idges and the calculation of the waterway, th special reference to the terrain or any anges that have taken place in recent years cessitating the provision of increased wateray. It has also been asked to examine the equacy of protection of approach banks and igation works affecting the safety of the line d examine the rules and regulations governg inspection of bridges and patrolling of ack during monsoons and floods. Its concluns will assist the Railway Board in the overall investigations which it is initiating. The accepted recommendations will have to be carried out as early as possible and the funds required will have to be arranged."

The Ariyalur accident was the 13th major railway disaster since February, 1952. Many of the accidents showed striking similarities. It was no wonder then that the railway administration would be subjected to severe criticism in Parliament. Several Communist, Praja Socialist and even one Congress member strongly criticized the functioning and attitude of the Railway Board. Mr. Frank Anthony, however, laid the blame mostly to the lowergrade servants, indiscipline among whom, he said, was a major factor in railways inefficiency.

The Railway Minister, Shri Shastri, vigorously defended the railway administration and staff. He said that the present Board was "the best Board he could have had." While admitting indiscipline on the part of some railway workers Shri Shastri asked the members to remember the heavy responsibilities borne by them.

It would be hard to agree with Mr. Shastri's way of support of the Railway Board. It is indeed a pity that he could not conceive of a better Board. Ultimately the responsibility for indiscipline among the lower ranks, while undoubtedly partly ascribable to the irresponsibility of the trade union leaders, also lay with the Board. If nobody was to blame in the whole railway administration for such frequent disasters then who should be held responsible? The *Statesman* makes some very pertinent points.

Writing editorially the *Statesman*, November 27, said: "It may be argued that a Minister's is a token responsibility. It is not a legal responsibility of the same sort as, for example, that of an editor, who is held liable for every word that appears in the paper he edits, advertisement columns and all. But if responsibility is of a quasi-symbolic character it requires that the symbolism should be carried to its logical conclusion. (Has the Health Ministry really understood this?) And there is more to it than that. After last September's disaster, if not after that of September 1954, the most urgent possible steps should have been taken to prevent further accidents of that kind. It was the Minister's duty to ensure

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that these steps were taken. After the Mahbubnagar disaster the railway authorities were quick to assure an anxious public that existing rules and regulations for the inspection of bridges and keeping watch on them were adequate and that all concerned would be conjured anew to be on their guard. Mr. Shastri announced that a committee of experts would be appointed to examine bridges on the former Nizam's State Railway and further to revise the procedure for inspecting bridges elsewhere. A judicial scrutiny was ordered into the Mahbubnagar crash.

"What happened? Two months are not very long, it is true. But it was more than two months before the experts were even named and the results of the judicial scrutiny have yet to be published. Mr. Alagesan has lately spoken of posting a permanent watch on bridges during the monsoon as if this were a new precaution, whereas it is provided for in the revised Way and Work Manual. Why was such a watch not kept on the bridges in question? It may be that in spite of the Minister's most urgent reminders, the department procrastinated. But it was then his duty to insist that those responsible for delay should be removed and punished. If he failed in spite of that, then the conclusion was irresistible that, to bring about the necessary shake-up in the department, there must be a change at the top. Whether or not Mr. Shastri's mind worked in precisely this way does not matter. This is how the chain of responsibility works. And how it should work."

Lastly, one cannot but question the propriety of a Minister, who has been compelled to resign so to say, defending his administration in the manner in which Shri Shastri did it on November 27. His resignation had already been accepted. After admitting responsibility for the failure of his Ministry to do the right thing, how could Shri Shastri get the moral right to defend his administration?

We extend our heartfelt sympathy to families of the dead and wish a speedy recovery of the injured.

Ministerial Responsibility

The resignation of Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Railway Minister, over the Ariyalur railway accident has created a new precedent in ministerial responsibility in India. The ministerial responsibility implies three things: responsibility to the Head of the State, responsibility to one another and responsibility to the Parliament. The responsibility to the Head of the State is merely nominal, as a minister cannot be dismissed by the Head of the State so long as he enjoys the confidence of the majority of the Lower Chamber. The minister is responsible to the Parliament for his own decision which has not been approved by the Cabinet. The ministers are collectively responsible to the Parliament for their collective decision. In the case of Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, there was no decision involved. He resigned on the issue of a departmental failure or laches. In this respect it is a new precedent in that a minister should resign for no decision of his own but on account of the failure of his department.

A minister is responsible for his own decision. Where no decision is involved, practically he has no responsibility. It may be recalled that during the jaundice epidemic in Delhi last year, the Central Health Minister, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur did not admit that it was any fault of her own. She maintained that it was a case of negligence or lack of efficiency on the part of her department, namely, the Central Health Ministry. Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri's resignation has established definitely the primacy of the Prime Minister of India over his Cabinet colleagues. In England it took more than a century to establish the primacy of the Prime Minister; originally he was regarded as a mere *primus inter pares*. In India, although a minister is appointed legally by the President, *de facto* he holds office during the pleasure of the Prime Minister. The letter of resignation of Mr. Shastri was addressed not to the President, but to the Prime Minister and before it was accepted officially by the President, the Prime Minister affirmed that the resignation would be accepted. In fact then it follows that the ultimate control of the Cabinet rests on the Prime Minister. It depends on the Prime Minister to decide in which case an individual minister should resign.

However, the ministerial responsibility should not be directed towards evasion of public opinion on the gross negligence of department. The Ariyalur railway accident would have certainly evoked a strong criticism in the Indian Parliament, but the resignation of Mr. Shastri has put a damper on Legislative consternation

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in the railway department. But the basic fact remains the regional railway officers were grossly negligent of their duties and they were inefficient too. Public officers in this country should be made to realise that it is not merely a privilege to hold public offices, it entails a great obligation too. The officers responsible on account of their negligence should be punished, not departmentally, but through judicial process. The Government should give up the attitude to defend their officers even in the case of proved incapacity. Mr. Shastri's resignation should not put a gloss on the inefficiency of the department concerned.

Hydro-Power Resources in India

In 1953 the Central Water and Power Commission undertook a countrywide survey on a regional basis of India's available hydro-electric power resources. The Commission has estimated that India's utilisable hydro-power resources amount to nearly 35 million k.w. at 60 per cent load factor. The survey takes into account only resources that are capable of development on technical and economic considerations in the context of prevailing cost, current construction techniques and other factors affecting development of river resources, including requirement of irrigation. The survey is essentially a preliminary one and a more accurate assessment would require topographical, hydrological and other data which can be obtained only by a systematic long-term programme of field investigations.

India has been broadly divided into six regions, namely: (1) the east flowing rivers of Southern India, (2) the west flowing rivers of the Western Ghats, (3) the rivers of Central India, (4) the Ganga basin, (5) the Brahmaputra basin and (6) the Indus basin. The advantage of regional classification is that demarcation according to regional characteristics has been possible. The common problems involved in the development of Western Ghats are "high-head" schemes, unaffected by conflicting requirements of irrigation, etc. The problems of developing east flowing rivers are different in that over-riding requirements of irrigation will have first priority and power development is generally of the "medium-head" class. In respect of West flowing rivers of the Western Ghats, there are twenty-six schemes aggregating to 3.7 million k.w. at 60 per cent load factor; in respect of east flowing rivers of Southern India, there are forty-three schemes aggregating 6.8 million k.w. at 60 per cent load factor and in respect of rivers of Central India, there are 36 schemes aggregating 3.9 million k.w. at 60 per cent load. The report on the Ganga basin indicates a total potential of 12.98 million k.w. at 60 per cent load factor of which 7-47 million k.w. lies entirely in Nepal. The survey for the remaining river basins are under preparation. The perliminary survey will be completed in 1958 and thereafter a long-term systematic programme of field investigation would be taken up.

At present only 2 per cent of the expected hydro-power resources of the country are being utilised. Under the second Five-Year Plan, hydro-power development accounts for over two-thirds of the expansion aimed at raising the total installed capacity of the country to 7 million k.w. The Planning Commission estimates that the power production would increase by 20 per cent per annum, as the demand would double itself every four years.

The Adverse Balance of Trade

The following report is taken from the *Statesman* of November 19:

New Delhi, November 18.—The growing adverse balance of trade formed the background to the discussions of the Export Advisory Council meeting today.

Addressing the meeting, Mr. Morarji Desai stressed the vital importance of exports for the successful execution of the second Plan.

The worsening position is revealed by the following figures:

	Rupees (in crores)
1953-54 ..	.. 50.05
1954-55 ..	.. 62.72
1955-56 ..	.. 81.52

In the first six months of 1956-57, the adverse balance was nearly Rs. 121.86 crores.

Mr. D. P. Karmarkar, Minister for Commerce, quoted figures showing that export trade in the first nine months of the current year had not been altogether reassuring. During this period, India had earned in all only Rs. 439 crores. This compared unfavourably with the earnings for the same period last year, amounting to Rs. 457 crores, he said.

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The reason for this lay partly in the fall in the external price level of some of the commodities figuring in export trade. This was brought out by the fact that while the volume index for the first half of the current year was 109 against 108 for the same period last year, the value index of exports had declined from 94 to 91.

This raised the problem of maintaining prices at home. If they rose, India's export promotion drive would be hampered, Mr. Karmarkar added.

Mr. Singhania, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, sought deliberate change in the pattern of export by laying greater emphasis on finished and partly-finished goods in preference to raw materials.

In support of this suggestion, he cited a number of items which could be processed before export, for example, instead of exporting large quantities of cotton, silk and jute waste, converted abroad into high priced carpets, tapestry, blankets, etc., he saw no reason why India should not utilize these items to make machine-made carpets, among other items.

He was also in favour of processing grey unbleached cotton textiles which Britain imported for re-export. Some jute products also could be further processed. Earnings from tea could be increased by converting Calcutta and Cochin into international marketing centres.

Other items mentioned by Mr. Singhania were vanaspati and oil instead of raw groundnut oil, leather instead of hides and skin, and finished products instead of crude metals.

He pleaded for simplification of the procedure for rebates of import and excise duties.

Mr. Singhania welcomed the recent communique of the Colombo Powers recognizing the desirability of taking joint and co-operative action to meet the threatened dislocation in the economic spnere. This was a good opportunity to develop South-East and Middle-Eastern markets for Indian products.

Mr. O. T. Jenkins, representing the Associated Chambers of Commerce, laid stress on the quality of goods exported. While it was difficult to compete with Japan on prices, India could make her reputation by offering goods of serviceable quality.

One of the discouragements suffered by the export trade, Mr. Jenkins said, was the transport position, which made it difficult for exporters to get their goods away.

Chinese Premier at Delhi

On the 30th of November, a civic reception was given to Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier, at Delhi. The following report of his speech on the occasion, is taken from the *Statesman*:

"During his 12-minute speech, the Chinese Prime Minister was cheered by the crowd when he said that the relations between India and China were today much more friendly than ever before. He said solidarity between the two countries, with a total population of 1,000 million, would become a gigantic moral and material force in stabilizing the situation in Asia and Africa.

"He devoted a part of his speech to praising Indian efforts for peace and India's role in formulating the Panch Shila, on the basis of which the friendship between India and China had further strengthened. The Bandung spirit, he added, had strongly given expression to the common desire for peace and this spirit could not be suppressed.

"He affirmed his firm convicition that only through the solidarity of China and India and other nations could they eliminate the menace of war that threatened all.

"The Chinese Premier thanked the people of Delhi for the warm and affectionate welcome extended to him and said he would always remember it.

"Mr. Nehru said that India was entering into a 'new relationship' with China and this relationship was of 'historic significance.' The population of India and China, he added, comprises 40 per cent of the world's total and the friendship between the two countries could have 'great effect.'

"Mr. Nehru said that although he found public speeches and newspaper reports indicated the anger of Pakistanis towards India, he wanted to tell the people there that Pakistan being India's neighbour, India harboured no illwill against it and wished to be its friend. Mr. Chou En-lai, he added, was going to Pakistan and he requested him to take his message of friendship.

"Those who followed Panch Shila, Mr. Nehru added, had no cause for quarrel or right.

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He had every hope that more and more countries would subscribe to these five principles."

Nehru at U.N.E.S.C.O.

The following report of Pandit Nehru's inaugural address on November 5, at the U.N.E.S.C.O. session at Delhi, is taken from the *Statesman*:

"Mr. Nehru, in his inaugural address, said it was found today that the high principles of Panch Shila were mere words to some countries, who claimed the right to decide problems by superior might.

"He said: 'We have bitter memories of the past when Asian and African nations were prevented from progressing and we can never permit a return to that past age. Yet we find an attempt made to reverse current history and human developments.

"'At present it would appear that the great countries think that the only reality is force and violence and that fine phrases are merely apparatus of diplomacy. This is a matter which concerns all of us.

"'I beg of you to pay heed to this collapse of conscience and good morals that we see around us, for, unless we do so, all our fine ideals and the good work we have done will be shattered into nothingness.

"'Countries of Europe and America are fortunate in some ways for they have attained a measure of well-being. We in Asia and Africa still lack the primary necessities of life. To attain these becomes, therefore, our first task and we cannot do with war and violence.'"

The Colombo Powers

Four of the Colombo Powers met at New Delhi to consider the international situation. The political correspondent of the *Statesman* gave the following report:

"New Delhi, November 11.—At a meeting lasting two hours this afternoon the Prime Ministers of India, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon—four of the five Colombo Powers—began a discussion of the international situation which will be continued tomorrow morning.

"As a brief communique, issued at the end of today's meeting, states, their attention was devoted specially to the recent development in West Asia and Hungary, though it is clear that these two items are regarded as the symptoms of a malaise spread over a larger area.

"This is the first time the Colombo Powers are meeting since the Bandung Conference 18 months ago, and also the first time they are meeting in less than their full strength—Pakistan being the absent member.

"Of the three previous meetings—at Colombo, Bogor and Bandung—only the first, at Colombo, was called during an emergency, namely the war in Indo-China, as the latest has been called to discuss a revival of the war temper.

"An additional element deserving notice this time is the sense of injury in Asia over the humiliation of military invasion inflicted by two Western Powers on a member of the Asian family and the resulting shock to regional self-respect and the peace consciousness of a large part of the world.

"Although a discussion on Hungary was decided upon only at a much later stage, the inclusion of this item in an informal agenda is in keeping with the aims of the Colombo Powers as an organization, which covers a broader field than purely regional interests.

"Starting with Mr. Nehru, the four Prime Ministers this afternoon made brief statements on Egypt and Hungary after which a discussion took place for nearly 40 minutes Today's meeting, however, revealed no new approach from the more or less identical stand already taken by these four Powers.

"There will be a meeting of the official advisers tomorrow morning before the Prime Ministers resume their discussions. The advisers will get together to complete their agreed record of today's proceedings.

"The main conference may not end tomorrow.

"Pakistan's absence from the present meeting was regretted when the four Prime Ministers assembled today. The general unexpressed view was that Mr. Suhrawardy is pursuing certain other interests at the moment which may have been found to conflict with the pattern of thinking by the other Colombo Powers.

"He has informed Mr. Nehru that as he is again going abroad and as his Foreign Minister is in New York, he cannot spare another senior colleague to attend the Delhi conference. This is taken to mean that, for the time being any-

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how, he is not an active member of the Colombo powers family.

"India's delegation at today's meeting was the largest. It consisted of Mr. Nehru and two other members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Central Cabinet—Maulana Azad and Pandit Pant. There were two other Ministers, Dr. Syed Mahmud and Mr. Anil Chanda.

"The Ceylon delegation comprised the Ceylon High Commissioner in India, Sri Edwin Wijayaratne; the Permanent Secretary for Defence and External Affairs, Mr. G. deSoysa; the Food Secretary, Mr. Kalva Pillai; and the Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. D. de Alwis."

Kolar Gold Fields

The Government of Mysore took over the management of the Kolar gold fields on November 29 and thus became the world's first government to nationalize gold. But of a total compensation of 164 lakhs of rupees Rs. 123 lakhs had already been paid.

Three mines were in operation in the Gold Fields. In the period of seventy years up to 1953 these three mines yielded 22,466,944 ozs. of gold valued at about Rs. 185 crores.

Indians Residing in the Americas

An official statement before the Lok Sabha on November 27 put the number of Indians resident overseas as follows: U.S.A. 500; Canada 4,000; Argentina 126; Brazil 60; British Guiana—persons of Indian descent were 200,000 in 1954; Columbia 2; Dutch Guiana 70,000, forming one-third of the population; Ecuador 1; Panama 300; Peru 3; and Venezuela 7.

Mahendranath Dutt

Mahendranath Dutt, a saint and philosopher, and a younger brother of Swami Vivekananda, passed away at the age of eighty-nine at his ancestral house in Simla, Calcutta, on October 15. Born in 1869, Mahendranath went to England in 1896 to qualify himself for the bar, but on reaching there he had to give up the idea. He utilised to the fullest extent his stay in London by studying subjects like arts and architecture, religion and philosophy in the British Museum. For the next five years he turned a traveller, toured extensively through Europe, Asia and Africa, visited some less-frequented countries of the Middle East, and returned to India in 1902. We get a glimpse of this phase of his life in his treatise on *National Wealth*. A fuller account of his travels he never published. On apprehension of frequent house-searches by the police during the Swadeshi days because of his association with his youngest brother Dr. Bhupendranath Dutt, he had to consign to flames almost all his manuscripts. Among his published works in English and Bengali may be mentioned—*Status of Toilers, Lectures on Education, National Wealth, New Asia, Nation, Natural Religion, Homocentric Civilization, Principles of Architecture, Dissertation on Painting, Appreciation of Michael Madhusudan and Dinabandhu Mitra, Swami Vivekananda in London*, etc. A life-long bachelor like his other two brothers, Mahendranath Dutt was a Sanyasi without the yellow garb. He was closely associated with the Ramakrishna Mission. His wisdom, scholarship, vast erudition and genial personality attracted many a great artist and thinker who used to meet at his house. His conversation which bore the stamp of profound knowledge and deep thought was a source of inspiration to them.

NEW YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO *THE MODERN REVIEW*

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MANAGER, *The Modern Review.*

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PRICE TRENDS AND POLICIES IN FREE INDIA

By Prof. C. L. KHANNA, M.A.

Introductory

Price-mechanism in a free and capitalistic economy is a potent weapon which determines the tempo and pattern of economic development. Prices regulate the channels of production and govern consumption. Their role in the democratic set-up of planned economy, as we have in India, is of a far-reaching importance. We have public enterprise, private enterprise and public-*cum*-private enterprise. While the first sector admits of complete and absolute control in the matter of production, pricing and distribution, the second may thwart such economic controls as may be imposed by the State and the third sector may adopt them only partially. The disequilibrium in production and consumption or maldistribution inherent in such economic structures may cause price fluctuations which, in turn, would have an impact on the general economic growth and development. India has been found in the grip of inflation as she embarked upon the Second Five-Year Plan in April, 1956. Serious apprehensions have been entertained by some Indian as well as foreign experts that the deficit financing of the order of Rs. 1,200 crores envisaged in the Plan will retard the pace of its progress. In fact, Mr. Eugene R. Black, Governor of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, has warned the Indian Government that action should be taken "promptly to curb any inflationary rise in aggregate demand, which, if allowed to proceed unchecked, could easily jeopardise the success of the whole development programme." Mr. Black is reported to have said that "the Bank will withhold support from governments which fail to deal effectively with inflation or the threat of inflation."[1] This observation has awakened the Indian financial and monetary authorities from their state of complacency to which they had been lulled by the "depressive tendencies" of a couple of years preceding the Second Plan. The formulation of a price policy in conformity with the objectives of the planned programmes and the basic ideal of "socialist pattern of society" is agitating the minds of the Union Government. A study of our past price trends and policies can serve as the signpost and searchlight for the future lest we, too, like the foreign rulers, are accused of the charge:

> "In India, forethought had no place in the policies of the British Government and haphazard measures, improvisation, conflict of policies, etc., fell to the lot of the bewildered and unorganised people."[2]

Confining our discussion of price trends and policies to Free India, we may divide our study into three main periods :

I. *Pre-First Plan Period.*
   1. From August, 1947 to November, 1947.—Steadily rising prices.
   2. From December, 1947 to July, 1948—Rising prices.
   3. From August, 1948 to March, 1949—Slowly falling prices.
   4. From April, 1949 to June, 1950—Steady but continuously rising prices.
   5. From July, 1950 to March, 1951—Steeply rising prices.

II. *First Five-Year Plan Period.*
   6. From April, 1951 to May, 1952—Steady and then steep decline in prices.
   7. From June, 1952 to August, 1953—Recovery and rise in prices.
   8. From September, 1953 to May, 1955—Steadiness followed by precipice fall in prices.
   9. From June, 1955 to March, 1956—Recession is followed by rise in prices.

III. *Post-First Plan Period.*
   10. From April, 1956 to September, 1956—Steep uptrend in prices.

I. Pre-First Plan Period

This period of a little over three and a half years may be split up into five phases :

1. *American Reporter*, dated October 10, 1956, page 5, column 2.

2. S. K. Muranjan : *Shadows of Hyper-inflation*, p. 11.

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(a) *From August, 1947 to November, 1947*: After the exit of the Britishers from India we had still to suffer the pangs of War and Post-war boom. High prices, high costs and low production marked the opening year of India's emancipation from the foreign bondage. In August, 1947, the wholesale price Index Number (General Series) compiled by the Economic Adviser to the Government of India stood at 301.4 as against 244.1 in August, 1945, when the boomerang of guns had ceased. The indices in the subsequent three months showed, generally, an upward trend as per table below:

TABLE I

Showing Index Number of wholesale prices in India. (Base: Year ended August, 1939—100).

	Period			
	August 1947	Sept. 1947	October 1947	Nov. 1947
Food articles (Weightage 31)	297.8	296.2	295.3	294.8
Industrial raw material (Weightage 18)	366.5	371.6	376.6	377.9
Semi-manufactured articles (Weightage 17)	258.3	258.1	256.8	252.5
Manufactured articles (Weightage 30)	280.2	282.6	283.5	283.2
Miscellaneous (Weightage 4)	456.6	457.8	468.2	460.8
General Index (Weightage 100)	301.4	302.2	303.2	302.0

(b) *December 1947 to July 1948*; The general rise of prices gathered further momentum and within a year of our Independence, the rise was about 26 per cent over that of August 1947. This upswing was assisted by

(1) short fall in foodgrains from the average production of 43 million tons during 1942-46* to 40 million tons in 1947;

(2) the production of major industries, *e.g.*, jute manufacture, cotton textiles, cement, paper, matches and chemicals had declined as compared with the previous year.

TABLE II

Industry	*Unit*	1946	1947	1948
Jute manufacturers	Mn. tons	1.08	1.05	1.09
Cotton textiles	Mn. yards	4025	3762	4319
Cement	Mn. tons	2.03	1.45	1.55
Paper and Paper board	Mn. cwt.	1.93	1.86	1.96
Matches	Mn. gross	22.8	23.3	26.7

The fall in the year 1947 was essentially accounted for by the inadequacy of raw material, capital equipment, transport bottleneck and political disturbances. Industrial unrest was yet another cause of the mounting inflationary pressure. There were 1,811 industrial disputes in 1947 as against 1,593 in the previous year. This resulted in a loss of 16.6 and 12.7 million man-days respectively.

(3) The money supply spurted up sharply during the second half of the year 1947. In August, 1947, the total money supply stood at Rs. 2,448 crores and in March, 1948, it climbed up to Rs. 2,557 crores resulting in a rise of Rs. 109 crores. Also the cash balances with the public showed an increase of Rs. 108 crores to Rs. 2,213 crores at the end of March, 1948.

(4) Restrictions on imports to offset the adverse balance of payment was also responsible for the upward trend in the price-level.

(5) The economic and physical controls, which had been introduced during the War years, continued to perpetuate scarcities in controlled commodities. This situation had accentuated with the switching on of the war-time economy to the peace-time pattern. The unleashing of the pent-up demands partly due to the increased purchasing power and partly due to the rehabilitation expenditure also led to scarcities.

(c) *August 1948 to March 1949*: The period of continuous rise following the "Partition," which disrupted the very fabric of the country's economy, was followed by deflationary tendencies as indicated by the General Index Number of the wholesale prices given below:

TABLE III

Period	General Index Number of wholesale prices. Base: Year ended August 1939—100)
August 1948	382.9
September 1948	382.3
October 1948	381.7
November 1948	382.2
December 1948	383.6

* The annual production was as follows:

Year	*Production in million tons*	*Year*	*Production in million tons*
1942	40.6	1945	46.1
1943	44.2	1946	40.8
1944	45.4	1947	42.1

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January 1949	376.2
February 1949	370.0
March 1949	370.2

The reversal of the uptrend is attributable o the policy of decontrol of foodgrains an- ounced on December 10, 1947, by the Union Government. The hoarded stocks of foodgrains ere released and production of industrial raw aterial and of manufactures soared up. The umulative effect of these was the lowering of e price-levels. The food articles registered a ll from 397.7 to 376.5; the manufactured ticles from 352.8 to 329.4; the semi-manu- ctures from 330.7 to 322.4 (in this case ere was a rise during September to November, 48, followed by a decline) and the industrial w material group manifested a rise of 24.7 ints in the index number which stood at 2.8.

(d) *April 1949 to June 1950* : The price- end took a new direction again with the onset the financial year 1949-50. A steady but ntinuous rise began to manifest itself before dia launched upon the policy of devaluation her rupee in line with the sterling devaluation September 19, 1949. The Economic Adviser's dex Number of wholesale prices, given below, ake this clear :

(See Table IV)

Price trends detailed in Table IV may be ided into three phases:

(*i*) Rising trend from April to October, 1949;

(*ii*) The downswing from November to December, 1949; and

(*iii*) The uptrend from January, 1950 to June, 1950.

(*i*) The General Index Number which ched the mark of 370.2 in March 1949 mbed to 389.8 in September 1949 approaching closely the pre-decontrol peak level of 382.9 (in July, 1948). It further rose to 393.3 in October, 1949, implying thereby a rise of 6.2 per cent over the price-index at the close of the financial year 1948-49. In this rise all the group and sub-group indices moved almost in the same direction. Food articles rose by 8 per cent; industrial raw material by 3.3 per cent; semi-manufactures by 3.0 per cent; manufactured articles by 7.0 per cent and the miscellaneous group by 14.3 per cent.

(*ii*) The downswing during November and December, 1949, was mainly contributed by an 8 per cent fall in the "Food Group"; the price trends in industrial raw material were slightly upward and in the case of other groups they remained more or less unaltered. The improvement in the food prices is traceable to the intensive state drive directed to achieve self-sufficiency through increased production of 4.4 million tons by the end of 1951, better procurement policies and also by stepping up imports from 2.8 million tons in 1948 to 3.7 million tons in 1949.

(*iii*) With the dawn of the new year 1950 the short-lived fall in food prices was converted into a price-rise. While foodgrains and industrial raw material experienced a spurt in prices, the semi-manufactures and the manufactured articles were steady. The general index of wholesale prices in June, 1950, stood at 395.6 as against 378.3 a year ago and 370.2 in March, 1949. The price-line could not have been held in check but for the eight-point[3] policy adopted by the Union Government with a view to offsetting the onslaught of devaluation on prices. The Reserve Bank of India observed in this connection :

3. *Reserve Bank of India Report on Currency and Finance, 1949-50,* pp. 46-47 may be seen for details.

TABLE IV

eriod	Food articles	Industrial raw materials	Semi-manufactures	Manufactured articles	Miscellaneous	General index number
Weightage)	(31)	(18)	(17)	(30)	(4)	(100)
rch 1949	376.5	462.8	322.4	329.4	515.2	370.2
il 1949	373.8	462.8	325.2	347.0	528.5	376.1
tember 1949	403.1	468.5	335.0	351.4	547.1	389.8
ober 1949	406.8	477.9	332.3	352.6	588.8	393.3
vember 1949	405.1	472.4	333.9	344.2	612.0	390.2
cember 1949	374.1	477.6	334.1	343.8	609.8	381.3
nuary 1950	379.1	486.2	335.5	344.6	614.9	384.7
e 1950	402.8	490.7	335.5	347.6	692.0	395.6

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"It is noteworthy that devaluation was not followed by a general upsurge in prices. Though the general index rose to 393.3 in October, 1949, it is difficult to say how much of this rise represented progress of the upward trend in prices, which had begun in April, 1949, and how much was due to the first impact of devaluation."[4]

(e) *July 1950 to March 1951* : The price-level attained new high-ups during this span of nine months as is revealed by Table V appended below :

(See Table V)

This period witnessed unprecedented spiralling up of prices primarily due to the outbreak of the Korean War. The speculative and hoarding activities dominated the economy of our country as also of those in the West. The index number rose to 438.6 in March, 1951, as against 397.1 on June 24, 1950. This works out to a rise of 10.9 per cent which is far less than that in many other foreign countries:

Countries	*Rise in price-indices over the pre-Korean level*
1. U. K.	27.4 per cnet
2. U. S. A.	20.3 per cent
3. Australia	29.3 per cent

The abnormal rise in Indian prices is explained by the fact that import bottlenecks and the enhanced demand for India's export commodities required for the defence needs of the belligerent countries resulted in acute shortages. The prices of imported as well as exported products shot up. The price-indices of export commodities stood as detailed below :

Export commodities	Pre-Korean War price-index	Price index* in March 1951	Maximum price index* during June 1950 & March 1951
Oilseeds	652	716	737 (on 20.1.51)
Black pepper	3030	3342	...
Leather	334	553	587 (on 31.3.51)
Hides & skins	358	701	...
Raw wool	701	931	...

* N.B.—Average of the weekly indices.

II. First Five-Year Plan Period

The year 1951 ushered in the era of planning and as such it marked the beginning of our struggle for economic emancipation under the aegis of the Indian National Congress which formed the spearhead of our political struggle against foreign domination. Our National Government declared a war, so to say, on poverty, unemployment, ignorance, death and squalor. And the weapon used for the triumph over these Five Giants was planned development. The entire economic structure had, therefore, to be geared to this new pattern of economic renaissance. The war-torn Indian economy with trails of potential inflation had to be switched on to a peace-time level. On the eve of planning, India had many economic ills, notable among which were food shortages, inadequacy of capital for feeding the existing or new industries, high prices and low production. It was a patent fact that inflationary prices eroded savings and disrupted our balance of payments. For accelerating the tempo of capital formation the Korean War boom had to be held under check. But even more important reason for "disinflationary measures" was that the poor Indian masses whose co-operation was deemed essential to the successful implementation of the first democratic plan, were particularly tired of war-time controls and inflation. To ensure public co-operation it was inevitable that a minimum amount of food consistent with the needs of health and efficiency was guaranteed. The planners therefore rightly held:

"Foodgrains occupy a pivotal place in the price structure, and if this latter has to be safeguarded, as it must be, the prices of foodgrains must be held stable at levels within the reach of the poor sections of the community."†

The Government, therefore, directed its attention and resources to boost up production of the essentials of life and followed the policy of "progressive decontrol."

Table V

Period	Food articles	Industrial raw materials	Semi-manufactures	Manufactured articles	Miscellaneous	General index number (100)
(Weightage)	(31)	(18)	(17)	(30)	(4)	
June 24, 1950	407.1	494.2	335.5	346.9	692.4	397.1
July 1950	422.8	505.9	339.6	348.2	708.9	405.2
March 1951	412.0	608.9	381.4	387.2	753.4	438.6

4. *Ibid*, p. 48.

† *The Planning Commission Reports of the First Plan*, p. 173.

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The price-pattern of the five years of planning (1951-52 to 1955-56) had to be so devised as to bring about an allocation of resources in the country in conformity with the targets defined in the First Plan. The structure of prices during this period, therefore, marked a distinct departure from that of the pre-Plan period. The price trends may be studied under four stages :

(i) *April 1951 to May 1952* : It was a good augury that the First Plan started with steady price-decline culminating in a steep fall in the months of July-August, 1951. This situation perpetuated in the subsequent months until in May, 1952, the Index number stood at 367.1 as against 456.8 a year before and 457.5 at the commencement of the Plan. This is evident from the data given below :

(See Table VI)

The general price-level over the financial year 1951-52 recorded a decline of 15.9 per cent as against a rise of 15 per cent during the previous year. During the months intervening those enumerated in the above Table the prices showed a stabilised behaviour. It will be observed that the maxmium fall has been experienced in the group Industrial raw material while in the food group the fall has been of the order of 17.5 per cent as compared with the over-all fall of 20 per cent over the fourteen months' duration under consideration.

An important feature, which is inherent in the agricultural bias of our economy, is that while the prices in the Korean boom period maintained an upswing tendency in India, as in other countries, the rise in internal price-level was less pronounced than in many other foreign countries, while the decline has been relatively more marked (Table VII) :

TABLE VII

Country	Percentage rise ( ) between June 1950 and April 1951	Percentage rise ( ) Fall (—) between April 1951 and March 1952
India	15.7	—17.6
U. K.	23.9	4.8
Australia	20.6	12.7
U. S. A.	16.8	— 2.7

CAUSES OF DECLINE

The causes which contributed to the precipitate fall referred to in the preceding paragraph in the general price-level may be enumerated as :

1. *International Factor* : The stockpiling[5] programme initiated by the United States with the outbreak of hostilities in Korea was abandoned or modified in March, 1951.

The growing impact of German-Japanese competition has had a restraining effect on prices.

2. *Commercial Policy* : There was a substantial decline in the quantum of exports of oilseeds, mica, hides and skins and jute manufactures during the latter half of 1951.

3. *Monetary Policy* : In mid-November 1951, the Reserve Bank of India had announced its decision to raise the Bank Rate from 3 to 3½ per cent. This increase in the Bank Rate restricted expansion of credit and the money supply dwindled to the tune of Rs. 172 crores from 1,979 crores. Tighter money policy slumped down the post-Korean boom in prices.

4. *Disinflationary Measures* : The following measures were undertaken by the Union Government with a view to bringing about a downswing in the price-spiral :

TABLE VI

Period	Food articles	Industrial raw materials	Semi-manufactures	Manufactured articles	Miscellaneous	General index number
(Weightage)	(31)	(18)	(17)	(30)	(4)	(100)
April 1951	412.5	683.1	387.8	411.7	751.5	457.5
July 1951	408.3	644.0	379.6	405.6	724.6	447.0
August 1951	408.8	590.6	376.1	399.1	729.7	437.6
February 1952	375.4	515.4	364.2	394.1	709.8	415.8
March 1952	342.7	424.2	343.2	383.8	625.6	377.5
May 1952	341.0	416.4	323.2	371.2	583.0	367.1
Percentage fall of (6) over (1)	17.5	40.0	17.0	10.0	22.5	20.0

5. As the year (1951-52) progressed the tempo of stock-piling was reduced while production showed increases in response to the earlier rise in prices, with the result that the boom petered out and a recession in prices followed.

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(*a*) The liberalisation of imports and restictions on exports of certain commodities required for building up industrial potential ;

(*b*) The various controls continued to operate *status quo* but in the latter part of the period under review, there was some relaxation in the production, price and distribution controls[6];

(*c*) The fiscal policy had been modified, *e.g.*, export duties on coarse and medium cloth and on groundnuts had been altered upward from 10 per cent *ad valorem* to 25 per cent *ad valorem* and from Rs. 80 to Rs. 150 per ton respectively. Export duties on oils had also been enhanced.

5. The increase in production level (except in foodgrains and oilseeds) also helped the prices to sag as the following Table VIII shows: (See Table VIII)

After the slight set-back noticed during 1949 and 1950, industrial production showed a marked improvement during 1951, the official general index of industrial output (base 1946—100) rising to 117.4 as against 105.2 in 1950 and 106.3 in 1949.

(ii) *June 1952 to August 1953*: The downtrend in prices which had set in since May, 1951, experienced a reversal in June, 1952. The rising tide continued slowly and steadily till August, 1953 when the Index Number of the Economic Adviser to Government of India stood at 410.4. In the two preceding months it was 405.4 and 407.7 respectively. This period was free from the sharp and sudden fluctuations which characterised the period from June, 1950 to May, 1952.

The 14 months' period under review (1952-53) may be sub-divided into five sub-periods as follows :

TABLE IX

Showing price variations in Wholesale Prices.

	General wholesale price index	Percentage variation over the precedidng period	Percentage rise of (7) over (2)
June 7, 1952	368.9	....	....
September 6, 1952	395.7	5.9	....
December 13, 1952	371.9	—4.8	....
March 21, 1953	386.6	3.9	....
April 11, 1953	382.2	—1.1	....
August 15, 1953	411.9	7.9	11.7

As is apparent from the above, the behaviour of prices has been of a hectic character. The international pulls which had greatly accentuated price variation in the post-Korean period had a subdued influence on the domestic economy largely owing to the new monetary discipline.

(iii) *September .1953 to May 1955* : The upward movement had steadied in June 1953 but in the latter half of that year visible signs of a recession in prices began to show themselves. In December 1953 the Wholesale Price Index Number slumped down to 389.4 from 410.0 in August of the same year. This ten-

TABLE VIII

Commodities	Unit	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55
Agricultural:						
Cereals	Mn. tons	50.0	51.2	58.3	68.7	65.8
Raw sugar	Mn. tons	5.6	6.1	5.0	4.4	5.5
Raw cotton	Mn. bales*	2.91	3.13	4.19	3.94	4.2
Raw jute	Mn. bales**	3.28	4.68	4.59	3.09	2.93
Oilseeds	Mn. tons	5.07	4.95	4.86	5.29	5.88
Industrial :						
Cotton textiles	Mn. yards	3718	4134	4770	4906	5050
Jute manufactures	Mn. tons	0.89	0.93	0.91	0.86	0.97
Iron & Steel	Mn. tons	2.55	2.82	2.78	2.73	3.01
Cement	Mn. tons	2.69	3.28	3.51	4.03	4.41

*1 bale—392½ lbs.
**1 bale—400 lbs.

N.B.—Figures for Agricultural commodities are from the Reserve Bank of India's Report on Currency and Finance, 1955-56, and for Industrial commodities from *India 1956*, p. 113.

6. It is interesting to quote here an observation made by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, the Union Finance Minister, at a meeting of the Pressmen held in Madras on October 6, 1956. It was wrong for the Government to have removed the zonal controls during the period of the Plan before the food production plan was ensured a success.

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ency persisted till May 1955 when the Index ouched the mark of 342.0—almost the same s post-decontrol level in February 1948, but ower than the pre-Korean War level.

The following data reveals the price-structure during the interval September, 1953 to Iay, 1955:

TABLE X

Period	Food articles	Industrial raw materials	Semi-manufactures	Manufactured articles	Miscellaneous	General index number
(Weightage)	(31)	(18)	(17)	(30)	(4)	(100)
eptember, 1953	399.0	475.3	363.8	364.4	717.4	403.8
ctober 1953	385.6	447.7	353.4	364.5	721.9	393.6
anuary 1954	381.5	481.1	361.5	364.3	709.8	398.5
une 1954	343.2	441.0	355.6	378.7	647.3	381.6
ecember 1954	318.0	436.3	347.4	375.1	579.7	367.8
Iay 1955	276.1	396.4	329.6	374.6	544.6	342.0

The 'Food' group registered a phenomenal imb-down of 31 per cent, while the manufacured commodities, unlike other groups, showed n increase of 3 per cent. The general decline ver the entire period was 15 per cent. This epression in prices is accounted for by the ubstantial" rise in agricultural as well as ndustrial output as shown in Table VIII on age 446. The impact of the increased output ad been "partially neutralised by the sharp ecline in the volume of imports generally, and particular, of foodgrains[7] and of some indusial raw materials, like raw cotton. The quany of exports, on the other hand, recorded a ight rise."

The policy of progressive de-control, as commended by the Foodgrains Policy Comittee was vigorously pursued. The *raison etre* of controls was challenged by the busiss class, particularly, because of the improvent in the supply position. The Government olished controls and withdrew completely od rationing schemes, although from the point view of economic policy of planned developent these steps were imprudent.

(iv) *June 1955 to March 1956*: The cession in prices during September 1953 and Iay 1955 was followed by a phase of recovery. July 1955 the Index Number of Wholesale ices soared to the level of 355.6 as against 2.0 two months earlier. A year hence it ent up still higher to 397.9. The price situaon thus underwent a remarkable change upward on the eve of the Second Plan. The rise in prices which had started with the dawn of June 1955 was of the nature of a corrective to the "slump" experienced earlier during September 1953 and May 1955. The food group showed the sharpest rise of 30 per cent in prices of all commodities included in the group.

This change in the trend was promoted[8] by:

(*a*) the lower output of cereals in 1954-55 (Se Table VIII):

(*b*) the increased exports of some industrial raw material during 1955-56:

(*c*) the "psychological depression" caused by unfavourable natural forces;

(*d*) the inventory build-up in anticipation of the accelerated industrial development:

(*e*) the expansion in consumption standards due to the increase in purchasing power; and

(*f*) the expansion in money supply necessitated during the year 1955-56 by the developmental schemes provided for in the First Plan.

Price policy: The rising trend of prices shifted the Governmen's policy from anti-deflation to anti-inflation. To achieve that end the Government adopted the under-mentioned measures:

1. Imposed restriction on exports of foodgrains, particularly jowar, maize, pulses, etc.

2. Government stocks of foodgrains were released for sale to the public at fair price shops.

7. Food imports in 1955 amounted to 7 lakh tons against 47 lakh tons in 1951.

8. Mr. A. C. Guha said in reply to a question in Parliament that the recent rise in prices of food, cloth and other consumers goods may not all be due to deficit financing. The main reasons for the increase are the somewhat smaller production of foodgrains particularly of coarse grains and the increased tempo of developmental expenditure in the country. Speculative trading is also somewhat responsible for the rise in prices of foodstuffs. (Quoted in *Commerce*, dated August 25, 1956, p. 382).

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3. Government decided to have imported food as heretofore. Burma agreed to supply 2 million tons of rice over a period of five years commencing from June 1, 1956. India became a member of the New International Wheat Agreement tenable for 3 years from August 1, 1956. The United States of America also agreed to give India foodgrains worth Rs. 175 crores over the Five-Year Plan period, 1956-61.

4. On May 17, 1956, the Reserve Bank of India gave an injunction to all the scheduled banks not to make advances for speculative purposes, especially against commodities, *e.g.*, rice and paddy.

5. The international factors also helped sustain the boomish tendencies in our country. According to the Reserve Bank of India:

"The year 1955-56 was one of the most prosperous the world has enjoyed with all-round expansion in production, particularly industrial production, investment and personal consumption, associated with a worldwide boom of unique pattern and unequalled proportions. Unlike some earlier booms, the present boom is marked by an unusual rate of growth of consumption and investment relatively to resources. It was a year, therefore, of mounting inflationary pressures in many countries of the world, which led to the further and frequent use of monetary weapons."

III. Post-First Plan Period

The Second Five-year Plan, which came into operation about six months ago, had to trudge its way through the travails of the price-spiral even in its early part of the long, and perhaps, arduous, journey. Since April, 1951, the prices have been soaring higher and higher as indicated below:

Table XI

Period	Food articles	Industrial raw materials	Semi-manufactures	Manufactured articles	Miscellaneous	General index number
(Weightage)	(31)	(18)	(17)	(30)	(4)	(100)
April 1956	360.9	472.8	377.0	375.6	496.7	351.2
May 1956	350.5	478.0	384.1	376.8	501.8	390.2
June 1956	366.2	479.4	391.8	377.6	518.6	397.9
July 1956	380.3	492.1	395.3	385.7	560.4	409.2
August 1956	397.0	500.5	406.4	387.7	656.3	418.5
September 1956	....	....	....	....	....	419.8

Source: *Weekly Commerce*, 1956 and *Ambala Tribune*, dated 22.9.56, page 7, column 3.

It is demonstrably evident that the prices are mounting[9] up. The rise during the last two months (August and September, 1956) has steadied at a level which is reminiscent of the Korean boom. The steady pace is due to the stern policy adopted by the Government to keep the inflationary potential in check. That the Government is very anxious to control effectively the domestic price-level is amply clear from that fact that the Government is considering the question of re-imposing certain "strategic controls," according to a recent statement made by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, the Union Finance Minister.

Controls Needed: The controls have become an imperative necessity of planned development of our economy cannot be gainsaid. It is high time that they are re-introduced as early as possible or desirable. Otherwise, the much-accursed deficit financing during the Second Plan period will impinge upon the prices lowering the already low standard of living. It has been estimated that the contemplated volume of 'created money' during the next five years would double the existing price level and halve the living standards. Poverty will thus accentuate and 'economic anarchy' will take the place of the 'economic order.' Hence, the need for controls.

Prof. C. N. Vakil, one of the leading Indian economists, has expressed the opinion in one of his articles:[10]

"In the case of under-developed economies, fiscal and monetary weapons are relatively powerless by themselves to keep the inflationary potential under check. There will have to be of necessity a resort to direct controls including procurement and rationing."

Prices and Deficit Financing

A word may here be said about deficit financing because it will have a direct and

9. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Director of the Delhi School of Economics, discounted the feeling common in certain circles that inflation was already with us and said that it was a mistake to synonymize rising prices with inflationary conditions. (*Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 18.10.56, page 5, column 1).

10. "Deficit Financing—II, Future Prospects," *Times of India*, April 17, 1956, p. 11, col. 3.

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erious repercussion on the pattern and tempo of prices. Some economists like Mr. B. R. Shenoy and Mr. K. C. Neogy, Member, Planning Commission, have assailed deficit financing as a "dangerous measure" to finance the Second Five-Year Plan. There is no doubt that 'created money' has the seed of inflation in its womb, but we must remember that "the orthodox methods of finance will not industrialize India within a reasonable period of time. For rapid industrialization we must have unorthodox methods. We may choose one form of created money or another, but from created money itself there is no escape."[11]

If, therefore, deficit financing or "pre-financing of output" is the only way (or let us say a necessary evil) to bring about planning, and through it economic emancipation, we should be out for it, whatever the price. For no price is too great for the liquidation of poverty rampant in India. We now stand committed to planning and planning without tears is impossible.

Again, if we were to compare our "inflationary" prices with that of Germany (where the purchasing power of the German Mark in December, 1923, sank to 1/162,000,000,000 of what it was in 1913) we find that all our fears about inflation are but fantasies. We, therefore, feel convinced that even if the country were soaked with paper currency up to the saturation point' our Plan cannot be wrecked, provided effective and timely controls are introduced.

Since physical or strategic controls will not alone help mitigate the crisis the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934 has recently been further amended to invest the Bank with monetary and fiscal powers in order to keep the inflationary potential in check. The "armoury of instruments of credit control" has been strengthened by giving the Bank the power to vary the statutory cash reserves kept by the Scheduled Banks with the former. This flexible cash reserve will help check multiple credit expansion by banks. Similarly, the Reserve Bank is empowered to extend financial accommodation for industrial, agricultural and trade purposes and help thereby increased production.

11. Prof. Brij Narain's *Economic Problems—Pre-War, War and Post-War*, Vol. II, pp. 200-201, 1944 edition.

Prices and Monetary Supply

Inflation is commonly conceived as a phenomenon resulting from "too much money following too few goods." In order, therefore, to formulate a price policy immediately applicable to India it is necessary to study the causal relationship, if any, between monetary supply and prices in the country.

We may recall in this connection Prof. Irving Fisher's Quantity Theory of Money, according to which if the quantity of money is doubled, prices will be twice as high as before, other things being equal. Similarly, if the money supply is halved, the prices will be one-half of what they were before, if other things remain unaltered. It would be interesting to study the validity of this doctrine with reference to India.

Money supply, as computed by the Reserve Bank of India, is taken to be the sum-total of the currency plus deposit money with the public.

Table XII gives an idea of the money-price relation:

See Table XII

It will be apparent from the percentage variations in money supply and the Economic Adviser's Index Number of wholesale prices that there is no precise and mathematical causal relationship as the Fisherine Quantity Theory would have us believe. In 1951-52, while the "Notes in circulation" and the "Money supply" registered a contraction of 8.9 and 7.2 per cent respectively, the General Index Number showed an upward trend. Similarly, while the "Money supply" increased considerably during 1954-55 and 1955-56 (by 7.1 and 13.7 per cent respectively), the price level declined.

This deviation in the money-price relationship was noticed in the case of certain Commonwealth countries, *e.g.*, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia as shown below:

Country	Percentage rise in money supply	Percentage rise in price indices
U. K.	1.5	13.5
South Africa	1.1	19.3
New Zealand	3.9	18.4
Australia	14.4	21.0
France	17.8	25.9
Mexico	13.6	19.4
U. S. A.	5.9	1.9

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TABLE XII

Year	Notes in circulation	Money supply with the public	Index number of wholesale prices (Base: Year ended August 1939—100)	Percentage variations [Rise (+), Fall (—)] of each successive year in Notes	Money supply	Index number
	Rs. crores	Rs. crores				
1947-48	1304.36	2236.73	308.2	....	....	....
1948-49	....	....	376.2	....	....	+22.1
1949-50	1120.35	1865.26	385.4	....	....	+ 2.4
1950-51	1238.60	1979.49	409.7	+10.5	+ 6.1	+ 6.8
1951-52	1128.29	1803.79	434.6	— 8.9	— 7.2	+ 6.1
1952-53	1119.06	1764.71	380.6	— 0.8	— 2.2	—12.4
1953-54	1150.17	1793.97	397.5	+ 2.8	+ 1.7	+ 4.4
1954-55	1236.44	1920.63	377.5	+ 7.5	+ 7.1	— 5.0
1955-56	1424.23	2184.31	360.4	+15.2	+13.7	— 5.1

The above data show that the percentage variation in the price indices is more than the proportionate change in the money supply in the case of the countries listed against items 1 to 6. But in the case of U.S.A. it is just the reverse.

In the case of India the inapplicability of the Fisherine Theory may be explained by the fact that the velocity of circulation of money, which is an important determinant of the effective money supply, is not considered. That is so not because that factor is insignificant but because the information on that point is inadequate. It follows that we cannot calculate the required volume of money to bring about a given price-level. This is an added reason to supplement the monetary and fiscal measures with other "economic and physical controls" for stabilising prices at a given level.

CONCLUSION

We have seen that the price trends in our country, since the dawn of Independence, have followed a zig-zag path. Before the inauguration of the First Five-Year Plan the price-line has, for the major part, been moving upward, during the Plan period it has been downward and after the Plan again upward. Graphically speaking, the prices have a double 'W'-shape. The ups and downs have made far-reaching influences on the economy of our country. But what is, indeed, tragic is that our Government has been following a slip-shod price policy. The policy of 'control, de-control and re-control' has been the rule. Even now, when the financial demands of the Second Five-Year Plan are pressing seriously against the limited resources, and deficit financing is in the offing, the Government authorities are fighting shy of setting forth a firm price policy in the context of perspective planning. It is needless to emphasize that controls have to play positive functions in our planned economy so as to safeguard the minimum consumption standards of the poorer classes and to prevent excessive or ostentatious consumption by the well-to-do. Prediction about price trends at any stage of development is difficult and therefore our Government will have to be ever vigilant about prices and planning making adjustments in the price policy so as to catch up with the dynamic forces, political, seasonal and international. Only a comprehensive price plan, both long-term and short-term, can help resolve the complex forces governing the price-mechanism.

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OUR HISTORIAN : SIR JADUNATH SARKAR

By Prof. DHARMA BHANU, M.A., Ph.D.

Whenever I think of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, I am automatically reminded of the year 1934. That year Sir Jadunath was very kind to be our guest. He had declined the invitation of the Maharana of Udaipur to be the State guest, as one of his disciples, Dr. Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, was then at Udaipur and had requested the Gibbon of India to stay with him during his sojourn in Udaipur. I had heard the name of Sir Jadunath from my father when I was very young, and I still remember that I used to chant the names of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Sri Rakhaldas Banerji little knowing at that time the significance of Sarkar's works or about Mohenjodaro and the Indus Valley Civilization.

I remember still that we had a big house at Udaipur and the first floor and the central wing of the ground floor of our house was vacated for the stay of our honoured guests. I cannot exactly tell the number of days Sir Jadunath and his party put up with us, but I do not err when I say that an unusually large number of visitors came to see him and have his *darshan*. The special arrangements made for his stay had created a little of dread in us—we very young children—and none of us dared to go alone to the first floor of the house so long as Sir Jadunath, Lady Sarkar and Miss Rama Sarkar were there. Not being even a dozen years old in 1934, my recollections of that occasion are faint indeed. However, this much is certain that in spite of the fear and distance at that young age I could never have realized that our guest was so great a person as he really happened to be, and as I regard him today. At that time I took him for an ordinary grey-haired historian—one like the many guests who normally visited my father from time to time. Since then he visited us many times; that was his first visit. I had the privilege of working in Sir Jadunath's library during May, June and July, 1952.

II

Jadunath Sarkar was born on December 10, 1870, in a rich Kayastha family of East Bengal. His father Sri Raj Kumar Sarkar was an enlightened, though conservative, zamindar of Karachmaria in the interior of the Rajshahi district. The old gentleman was fond of reading and had collected a good number of books in his private library. It was this library which served as the source of inspiration and preparing ground for young Jadunath and his brothers. Our historian received his early education at the headquarters of his district. After matriculation he joined Presidency College, Calcutta, and secured from there a double Honours course Degree in English and History in March 1891. He also obtained a scholarship of Rs. 50 per month. In December, 1892, he took his M.A. Degree in English Literature and stood first in order of merit, obtaining a First Class and breaking all previous records.

As a student, Jadunath Sarkar took regular interest in the extra-curricular activities of his College. He was a good player of Football and also a member of the College team. Interest in games, specially Football, remained with him for a considerably long time, and in 1922 he acted as a Referee in the Football matches at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

Sri Jadunath Sarkar was appointed to the Lecturership in English at Ripon College, Calcutta, in July 1893, and he was a success from his first day when he faced the B.A. Final class consisting of students far senior to him in age. While serving at the Metropolitan Institution (Vidyasagar College), Calcutta, the young professor of English won in 1897 the coveted Premchand Roychand Scholarship of Rs. 10,000. Next year in June he joined the Provincial Educational Service as Professor of English and was posted at Presidency College, Calcutta. After many a change he was finally transferred to Patna College, Patna, in January 1902 (Bengal was divided in 1905), first as the Professor of English and later he was shifted to the Headship of the History Department.

Patna was the venue of his literary activities from January 1902 to August 1917. Patna provided the young scholar the time and facilities

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for the preparation of his later work. It was at Patna that he created a position for himself in the academic world. While at this seat of learning he began the monumental work that he has done on the history of the Mughals and the Marathas. His life at Patna was very reserved, and he was derisively called an unsocial person. But the time others spent in gossip and loitering, this youngman was spending as usefully as he could. He tried to make the best use of every minute. He himself writes of these fifteen years at Patna that "no gentleman twice crossed my threshold" except his life-long friend Mathura Babu or Mathura Prasad Sinha, an advocate there.

When the Banaras Hindu University was established, Professor Jadunath Sarkar was offered the Chair of History, which he accepted and joined in August 1917. He was expected to build up the teaching and research Department of History at Banaras. The Professor did the work successfully and nourished the infant Department for two years. His own studies in Mughal and Maratha History continued uninterrupted.

In July 1919 the historian was admitted to the Indian Educational Service and posted as Professor of English and History at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. His only friend at this place was another great man of his day, Jogesh Chandra Ray Vidyanidhi. The historian, who had earned name and reputation due to his labours all these years, was as reserved at Banaras and Cuttack as he was at Patna.

The election to the Honorary Membership of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain is considered a great honour and a recognition of one's services to the cause of learning and scholarship. This honour was conferred upon Professor Jadunath Sarkar in April 1923. Within a few months of this the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society awarded him the Sir James Campbell Gold Medal in July 1923.

The historian was finally transferred to Patna College as Professor of History in October 1923, and he enjoyed his work till his retirement in 1926. He had come back to the place from where he had earned name and fame as a real scholar of History. In 1926 he was made a C.I.E., and retired in August the same year, laden with honours.

The Calcutta University hastened to requisition his valued services immediately and called him as its Vice-Chancellor. This job Professor Sarkar held for two years—1926-28, and during this period of two years he tried to clean the Augean stables of the University which was notorious for some types of corruptions and mal-practices. He was so serious and sincere in his duties that many a time he came into conflict with the people and the party in power. But he did not bend or accept corruption in the administration of the University. Finally the old Professor of History settled at the hill station of Darjeeling, which had been his favourite resort all along.

Honours came to the historian in quick succession one after the other. The greatest honour came in June 1929, when the Knighthood was conferred upon him in recognition and appreciation of his services to the cause of education in general and research and history in particular. The Dacca University felt honoured by conferring upon him an *Honoris Causa* D.Litt. Degree in 1936, and in 1944, the Patna University decided to snatch a similar opportunity and privilege.

III

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the doyen among the historians of our country, has produced the largest number of research publications of great merit. His work is unbeaten both in its scope and volume, as in accuracy and the depth of vision. Born in 1870, Sir Jadunath has given sixty precious years of his life to the reconstructon and re-writing of the Mughal and Maratha history. During this period of work and toil he has written over a dozen and a half volumes of authoritative research of immense value and edited about half a dozen books and historical documents.

The first work of historical research and study published by Sir Jadunath Sarkar was *India of Aurangzeb : Topography, Statistics and Roads,* which came out in 1901 when the author was 31 years old. From that time he engrossed himself in his monumental and immortal five-volume work on the last of the Great Mughals, Aurangzeb (1658-1707). Another early work, published in 1904, was *A Life of Chaitanya,* the greatest of the Bhakti saints of Bengal (1485-1533) who converted practically the whole of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa

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d Assam to his ideology and was popular as r as Vrindavan. The work was a translation of e Bengali book of Kaviraja Krishnadas, and s a flicker of religion the historian has inrited from his father. It is still considered be one of the best biographies of the saint. he Professor's third love—Economics—obined her share in his third book *Economics of ritish India* in 1909. This book remained a opular text-book for about a quarter of a entury.

Sir Jadunath wanted to keep abreast of all rogress in his three favourite subjects, English, istory and Economics. He tried to achieve is for some time. But at last he had to give Economics and then English also, as it was coming more and more difficult to retain touch ith the latest researches in the three vast anches of knowledge.

While at Patna, the historian published the st two volumes of his five-volume *History of urangzib*, in 1912. Volume I opens with the ign of Shah Jahan, and traces the early life Aurangzeb as a Prince, his education and aining and then goes on to describe the two riods of his Viceroyalty in the Mughal Decn. It closes with the illness of Shah Jahan 1657 and the preparations for the War of ccession among his four ambitious sons, each e master of a different character. Volume II a study of the War of Succession and gives account of the miserable and pathetic end the three sons of Shah Jahan—Dara, Suja d Murad—and ultimately the enthronment Aurangzeb, the new Emperor, in 1659.

Along with the two volumes on Aurangzeb s published in 1912 a companion volume ecdotes of *Aurangzeb and Historical Essays*. is the English translation of the Persian rk entitled *Akham-i-Alamgiri* written by mad-ud-din Khan Nimcha. It contains many ecdotes of the Emperor and some studies.

Aurangzeb loomed on the horizon of the udies of Professor Jadunath Sarkar both at tna and Banaras, and Volumes III and IV ere written at this period. Volume III dealt ith the early years of the reign of this puritan, e death of Shah Jahan in the prison in Januy, 1666, the Hindu reaction to his fanatical licy and the attempt to establish an ideal lamic State in the Empire. It also gives an count of the Rajput War and the ultimate rebellion of his son, Prince Akbar. Volume IV has details about the rise of the Marathas, the history of the Shia Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkunda and their ultimate conquest by the Emperor, his wars in Maharashtra, the capture and execution of Shambhaji and the accession of Raja Ram.

Aurangzeb's Deccan policy and his activities in the South led the historian to study Maratha History and the result was the still-unsurpassed *Shivaji and His Times*. It is a detailed and impartial study and was based on Persian, Marathi, Hindi, Sanskrit, Dutch, Portuguese and English records. Shivaji's services to his people in Maharashtra and to his country were assessed by Sir Jadunath. Shivaji, according to Sarkar, had the courage to challenge many enemies of his at one time and rebel against the Sultan of Bijapur and the Mughal Emperor "and thus teach his countrymen that it was possible for them to be independent leaders of war . . . He founded a State and taught his people that they were capable of administering a kingdom in all its departments . . . He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a State, defeat enemies . . . He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth. . . ."

Volumes III and IV of *Aurangzib* and *Shivaji* were completed by their author before he left Banaras in 1919 and became an I.E.S. The same year was published *Studies in Mughal India*—a collection of 22 essays on various topics related to the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. There are essays on the history of the Taj Mahal, the wealth of India in Mughal times, Art, Education and Revenue system under the later Grand Mughals and finally a chapter on the *firangi* pirates of Chittagong.

A later publication on Maratha History, *The House of Shivaji*, contains some stray studies of Maratha history and documents. The heroes dealt with are Shahji Bhonsle, Shivaji and Shambhaji. The book also contains biographies of four Maratha pioneers of historical research, namely, Kashinath Narayan Sane, Vishwanath Rajwade, Dattatraya Parsnis and Vasudeva Vamanshastri Kane.

During his study of Maratha History, the aim of Sir Jadunath was that truth must override prejudice and false sense of prestige, that

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science must demolish myth and romance. He has evaluated the work of Shivaji and his successors from all points of view, not on the basis of what Elphinstone wrote to Grant Duff as "gossipping *bakhars* and gasconading *tawarikhs*," but by the use of the French and Portuguese manuscript sources from Paris and Goa, official Mughal histories like *Alamgir Nama* and the *Akhbarats*, personal *Memoirs* of Bhimsen and the letters of Jai Singh, the skeleton Marathi chronicles like the *Jedhe Sakhavali*, the *Sabhasad Bakhar*, the *91 Qalmi Bakhar*, the account-books of Chhatrapati Shahu in the Peshwa's Daftar, etc., besides the more common works of Khafi Khan and Chitnis used by earlier writers like Grant Duff, Rawlinson and others.

The progress of the *History of Aurangzib* was interrupted at this time, for Sir Jadunath was entrusted with the stupendous task of bringing to completion and editing of the *Later Mughals* which was planned in two volumes and written mostly by Sir William Irvine but which he could not finalize and prepare for the press due to his sudden death. Sarkar was, therefore, compelled to divert his studies to the original sources of Irvine, revise the work and complete it by writing the chapters relating to the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739. These volumes were published in 1922 and cover the history of our country from 1707 to 1739. They also include chapters dealing with provincial affairs, specially about the Sikhs, the Jats and the Bundelas.

Volume V of his work on Aurangzeb was published in 1924. It covered the last phase of the life of that puritan Emperor, and gives the account of his futile campaign in the Karnatak, the Konkan and other parts of South India. It also contains a chapter on the settlements of the English traders at Surat down to the embassy of Sir William Norris. The final chapters are devoted to the provincial histories and also the condition of the people during the past fifty years along with a brief survey of the administrative machinery of the empire.

Later, the whole work was abridged under the title of *A Short History of Aurangzib* and published in 1930.

Meanwhile, a number of by-product books were published on the different aspects of Mughal History which supplemented the main work on the *History of Aurangzib* and the *Later Mughals* and provided an insight into the administration of the country, the life and conditions of the people, etc. *Mughal Administration*, published in 1920, was a valuable contribution to the study of the Government and the administrative machinery of the Mughals, the Government at the centre and the various ministers, the Provincial Government, the condition of the peasantry, the economic and industrial development under the Mughals, the causes of their downfall and finally the legacy of the Mughals to the posterity. *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, published in 1924, is a subsidiary collection of eighteen essays on different aspects of the life of that ruler and the country under him. *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb* as an independent work was published in 1925 and is a translation of the *Akham-i-Alamgiri*. In it are collected 72 anecdotes of Aurangzeb which reveal many unknown traits of the Emperor's character, his sayings and his principles of Government along with his attitude on life.

From all these works the portrait of the Emperor comes out vivid and clear. "Free from vice, stupidity and sloth," which were the usual weaknesses of all people in medieval times who were born with a silver spoon in their mouths, Aurangzeb was intellectually sharp and keen, had patience and perseverence in abundance, believed in unfailing industry and exertion and devoting full attention to public affairs and administration. He was a great diplomat, was a fine commander, and had zest and ardour for his duties. But the result of his fifty-year rule was a failure, chaos and confusion and the weakening of the Empire of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. In fact, as Sarkar has put it, Aurangzeb was struggling against "invisible and inexorable fate." This estimate of the ageing emperor of a decaying empire is really remarkable and a historian of Sir Jadunath's stature alone can reach the imagination it deserves.

In 1928, Sir Jadunath delivered the Sir William Meyer Lectures at the Madras University and the book *India Through the Ages* was published in 1929. It comprises six lectures and is a swift and masterly survey of the growth of Indian life and thought from the Vedic Age to the present day.

Between 1930 and 1950, the historian was

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actively engaged in planning and writing his monumental *Fall of the Mughal Empire* in four volumes. Sarkar decided to take up this work while he was editing Irvine's *Later Mughals*. The sources for this work were drawn from Persian, Marathi, English, French, Hindi, Rajasthani, Gurmukhi and Sanskrit—so voluminous and difficult to digest. Dr. Sarkar knew that the venture could not result in a "spectacle calculated to elevate the human mind or warm the human bosom," but he was sure that when completely worked out, the sad story of the downfall of the Mughals would serve as "the deepest instruction for the present." It was the story of headlong decay of the age-old Moslem rule in India and the utter failure of the last Hindu attempt at empire-building by the new-sprung Marathas" that he took up for his most mature study.

Volume I picks up the thread of history from the return of Nadir Shah and brings it down to 1754. Volume II gives an account of the Afghan-Maratha contest for supremacy in Northern India, and brings the history of the Mughals up to Shah Alam. It deals also with the rise of the Jats up to 1768 and the fresh developments among the Sikhs. The best of the performances is the account of the Third Battle of Panipat, which can compare with any standard military history. Volume III (1772-1780) is mostly a history of the Maratha domination at Delhi and the activities of Mahadji Sindhia. The fall of the Jats is given its due share. Volume IV brings the curtain of the Mughal rule down with the battle of Assaye (1803) and we find the blind old 'emperor' on the 'throne' of Akbar and Aurangzeb who accepted to become a pensioner of the British without demur.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar also edited during these years Volume II of the *History of Bengal* which was published in three volumes by the University of Dacca. Planning, guiding the workers and editing the work of the contributors and writing over 200 pages himself—this was what he did for this history. The history of Medieval Bengal has rightly been called a one-man's show. Later, he edited Volume II and Volume III of Abul-Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* for the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, while the Bombay Government entrusted him with the editing work of the *Poona Residency Correspondence* in collaboration with his life-long friend Rao Bahadur Govind Sakharam Sardesai. For the past few years the veteran has been busy on his latest work on the *Military History of India*. Many chapters of this work have been published in the Sunday Magazine section of the *Hindustan Standard*.

IV

Sir Jadunath Sarkar is an ideal historian. A great scholar and the master of his pen, he is the father of the modern Indian School of Scientific History, documented, accurate and matter-of-fact. He is the model for all real worshippers of the goddess Saraswati, the students of History in particular.

In him we find all the qualities, qualifications and equipments that a historian must possess. Besides having an historical imagination, a penetrating intellect and understanding and a flawless style, he is a linguist and knows Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Persian, Sanskrit, English, French, Dutch and Portuguese, and has tapped sources in all these languages for his researches. Above all, he has burnt the mid-night oil in the actual sense of the term, and has never wasted a moment.

When Sir Jadunath began his historical researches about sixty years ago, he found the ocean of History uncharted, the *apparatus criticus* outmoded and primitive, the ship not strong enough to weather the storm and stand the long journey on the high seas and the sailors and crew untrained and lacking experience. He had to attempt the huge task of reconstructing all this single-handed. His hunt for contemporary manuscript sources could well be compared with that of the Italian giant Niccolai Niccoli during the Renaissance period in Europe or to that of Ranke among the archives of European countries while writing his *Histories of the Latin and Germanic Peoples* (1494-1515). Of course, Dr. Sarkar was helped in his hunt for the contemporary sources by European scholars like Sir William Irvine, H. H. Wilson, Sir Edward Gait, and Sir George Forrest, and by Indian scholars like Rao Bahadur Sardesai, but their aid came only after our historian had already made a name for himself in the scholarly world. In the beginning he had to work alone and exert his resources in bringing to light the hundreds of documents never

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used before and buried deep in obscurity and forgotten, lying in private custody of the old important families or in public record rooms. In this search no effort was spared, no expenses grudged and all available resources tapped. He agreed with Ranke when that great historian and favourite of Sarkar warned all students of History that History depends "on the relations of eye-witnesses and the original documents" and that they should use even contemporary writings with caution "except where they (authors) possessed original knowledge." Sir Jadunath made these his guiding words.

The beginning of material collection was made at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and then the Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library at Patna was tapped. Later on manuscript sources in the possession of practically all Indian State Libraries and personal properties of rulers were collected. These sources were not accessible to researchers and writers so far, and the story of their discovery is a long one. Private papers, records and Persian manuscripts in the Rampur ruler's library were procured through the agency of Sir Edward Gait, then in England, who wrote to a British Commissioner in the U.P., the latter received as present from the Nawab, the records beautifully copied out and bound in leather; the transcript of the manuscripts was first sent to Sir Edward who forwarded it to Sir Jadunath! Shia agents were employed for getting access to the manuscripts in the library of Sir Salar Jang at Haiderabad. The news-letters and other records and *Akhbarats* in the Pothikhana and the private library of the rulers of Jaipur were acquired, again, through the agency of British officers and scholars. The old Maratha families do not allow any one to peep into their family records, much less help a scholar in reading and copying them. For this our historian had to go about in the disguise of an orthodox Brahman in *dhoti* and *chadar* and a *tilak* on his forehead, from place to place and copy out relevant portions. These labours produced a great result. No library either in India or abroad is as rich in original historical documents and manuscript papers relating to Mughal India as the library of Sir Jadunath Sarkar. No research on the later Mughal history or the early British Indian History is possible without consulting the library of Sir Jadunath.

With the great search for materials over, the historian studied the evidence critically, collated, sifted and edited them and ultimately revolutionized the study of history in our country and our approach to the subject. Khafi Khan, Sayyid Ghulam Husain's *Siyar-ul-Matakherin*, Elliot and Dowson, all gave place to the contemporary authorities—*Alamgir Nama*, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, *Insha-i-Haft Anjuman* and the *Akhbarat* of newsletters. Provincial records were also tapped for the purpose—the Ahom *Buranjis*, the Marathi *Bakhars*, the Rajasthani and Gurmukhi chronicles. The records of the European traders, the British Factory records, the French Factory records, the Jesuit letters, the Dutch and Portuguese accounts—all were given due weight of authority that they deserved.

Besides the above search in India, a hunt was made abroad and material was collected from the British Museum, the India Office Library, the Royal Asiatic Society Library, London; the Bodleian, Oxford; the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris; the Royal Library, Berlin; etc.

Sir Jadunath is thorough in all his work and does not leave any aspect of his subject undiscussed. He discussed them from every angle of vision and takes into consideration all the circumstances and the different interests acting and counter-acting. Thus we get from him a comprehensive work, encyclopaedic in nature and volume. It is never half done.

Impartiality is the first necessary qualification of a true historian. A historian has to play the role of a judge and not that of a lawyer or an advocate. Sir Jadunath is superb in this. To him all actors on the historical stage are equal—Hindus and Muslims, Indians and foreigners, Northerners and Southerners. Above all, the master craftsman of History does not allow his sentiments to affect his reasoning and judgment. With him truth alone must triumph, it must over-ride all prejudices. Science must give place to romance and myth. In this mission of his he is not afraid of hurting the sentiments of others.

Sir Jadunath never makes generalizations, for he does not believe in immature outbursts or slogans. Rather, he goes to the very bottom of the problem and discusses it thread-bare. That he is fond of detail, no one can doubt.

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Mr. Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China, gave a banquet in honour of the Indian Parliamentary Mission at Peking recently

Dr. Jose Maza, President of the General Assembly of the U.N. (*third from right*), met Sri V. T. Krishnamachari, Dy. Chairman and other members of the Planning Commission in New Delhi

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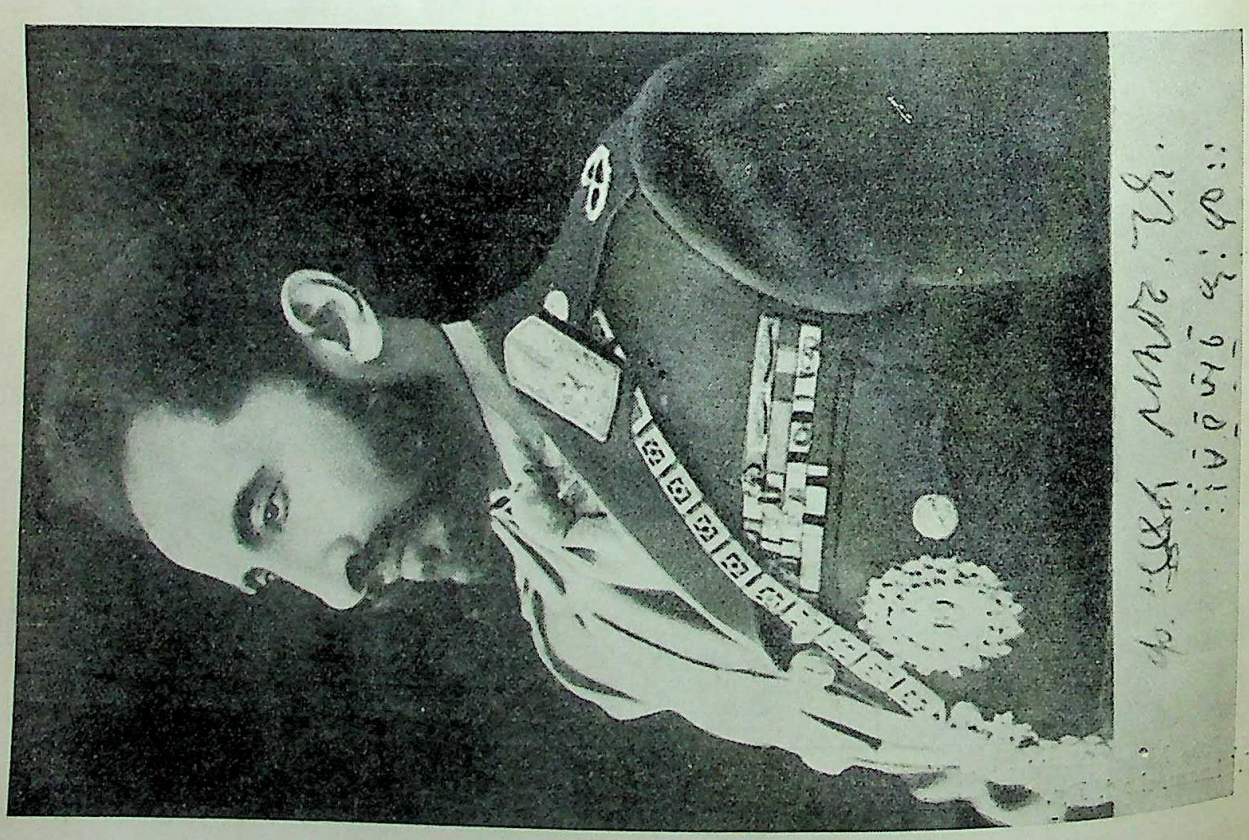
A Delegation of 11 Indian librarians left New Delhi on September 29, on a study tour of the U.S.A.



His Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia

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Details are the very soul of all History. In all his works we find a meticulous search for details and facts. Perfection in topography, chronology and facts has been the life-long goal of the historian.

The great historian dislikes ambiguous style and high-sounding, bombastic words. He prefers a clear, direct, simple and yet expressive and effective style. Though he started as a Professor of English, he rose above the temptation of a flowery style, for none knows better than Sir Jadunath that History is not poetry is some little fry labour to make it. History is both a literary piece and a work of scientific inquiry. It has dual masters: Science and literature, reason and imagination. Sir Jadunath holds a balance between the two. He approaches his subject with the cool calculating head of scientists and the style and expression of literati.

It is to the credit of Dr. Sarkar that though he studied minutely the life and work of great men like Aurangzeb, Shivaji, Mahadji Sindhia and other planets of Indian History, never did he lose his balance and praise or condemn a historical personality more than what he really deserved. Authors like Carlyle while writing about Frederick the Great and Macaulay while writing about William III could not hold their feet, but Sarkar achieved the high ideal he had set before him sixty years ago.

One may well say of Sir Jadunath Sarkar what Gooch wrote about Ranke:

"When he began to write, historians of high repute believed 'memoirs' and chronicles to be the best authorities. When he laid down his pen, every scholar with a reputation to make or to lose had learned to content himself with nothing less than the papers and correspondence of the actors themselves and those in immediate contact with the events they describe."

Our history and historical research in our country underwent a revolution under the guidance of Sir Jadunath. He perfected the machinery of research and set the standard for our scholars to follow and emulate. He trained and inspired many workers who are engaged today in discovering and processing from the archives the old records and stray finds of historical material, and producing on their basis readable and impartial, and as far as possible, accurate history of our country. Sir Jadunath has already become a tradition in the field of historical research and study. He is an institution in himself. It is in the fitness of things that we pay our humble homage to the father of modern scientific school of historical research in our country on his birthday, which falls on December 10, and pray for a long life for him, so that the younger generation of research workers in History may derive inspiration from his life and work.

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A Delegation of 11 Indian librarians left New Delhi on September 29, on a study tour of the U.S.A.

His Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia

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REFLECTIONS ON THE AMENDMENT OF THE U.N. CHARTER

By M. N. CHATTERJI, M.A.

When it took its birth at the San Francisco Conference in 1945, the United Nations Organisation was taken to be heralding the birth of a new era—the era of peace and prosperity after the unimaginable ravages and destruction that the Second World War brought upon the world. Naturally the sponsoring powers took great care to see that the organisation is made safe from the weaknesses from which the League of Nations suffered. The setting up of a separate organisation—the Security Council—to look after the maintenance of collective peace and security and the conferring of 'veto' power on the five permanent members were some of the novel methods of the new organisation and in effect went to demonstrate the sincere efforts of sponsoring nations to make the world body stable and lasting.

Ironically enough man's efforts to live in peace and amity had been challenged from time immemorial by his fellow human beings. The League of Nations was born and killed at the hands of men. Talking of recent developments one may perhaps say that the warning to the future of peace was given by the Atom Bomb that blasted Hiroshima which in one way may be said to have brought the end of the calamity that overtook the world. The very possession of the weapon perhaps made a mockery of the efforts of the nations made at San Francisco to build up the world organisation.

The experience of the last ten years during which the U.N.O. had been working demonstrates unmistabably which way the world is heading. Instead of coming closer, the very Powers who crossed their hearts for keeping their friendship everlasting are more and more drifting apart. Conflicting ideologies are clashing against each other to spread spheres of influence. The principles of reason, faith, tolerance and justice on which the UN Charter based itself were repudiated times without number to justify the supremacy of the one or the other Power bloc. The culmination of this madding spirit of the one to live on the destruction of the other has been the ominous experiments in nuclear weapons. This itself has sounded the death-knell of any hope for mankind, of any effort to live in peace, unless the race is stopped. Against such a background the need of a rethinking about the role of the U.N.O. —its efficacy to face the challenge of the new forces—is obvious. To fulfil that need it is necessary to consider the question of improvement on the U.N. Charter.

II

Any organisation dealing with groups of human beings—as the U.N.O. evidently does —can hardly be expected to be a static one. It has to adjust itself according to the character and behaviour of those human beings. Therefore, it should surprise no one if the U.N.O. needed some change after ten years of working. Possibility of changes was visualised even at the beginning and that was the reason why Article 109 was incorporated in the Charter. Even at the foundation conference at San Francisco some changes were foreseen when the great majority of the smaller States opposed the extraordinary privileges given to the Big Five. However, revision or amendment of the Charter having been itself a subject of 'veto' and at least one of the permanent members being consistently opposed to it, consideration for amendment would only be a matter of academic discourse.

III

Membership

Till the 'package deal' admission of sixteen new members at the tenth session of the General Assembly, the most vociferous demand has been for amendment to Article 4 which determines the question of membership. Although the edge of that argument is now lost, the exclusion of big States like Japan, Germany, Austria and some of the other smaller States does not give the U.N.O. that inclusiveness that it should have to create the psychological atmosphere necessary for the furtherance of world peace. To

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achieve the purpose the United States has long been suggesting elimination of 'veto' on the question of membership. Since this can hardly be expected to win the approval of the Soviet Union, a way might be found by spelling out more precisely the qualifications for membership and establishing definite tests by which the qualifications could be judged on a more objective basis. Something in the line was attempted when the General Assembly in a resolution in February 1952 expressed that the determination of the qualification of applicant States should be based on facts such as the maintenance of friendly relations with other States, the fulfilment of international obligations and the record of a State's willingness and present disposition to submit international claims or controversies to pacific means of settlement established by international law.

Representation

Since the emergence of the Communist China, the issue of representation has assumed great significance. In spite of her government being recognised by a number of countries including Great Britain, Communist China's non-representation in the U.N.O. has proved to be a great lapse of the world organisation. The U.N. Charter, however, does not make any provision for determining the representation of any member country. The matter is handled independently in each organ or subsidiary body of the U.N. Nevertheless the question was discussed in 1950 and the General Assembly in a resolution on December 14, 1950 resolved that

"Whenever more than one authority claims to be the government entitled to represent a Member State in the U.N. . . . the question should be considered in the light of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and the circumstances of each case."

It is plain that the resolution is as vague as can be possible. The fact, however, remains that the U.N. does not possess any authority to recognise a new State or a new Government of an existing State. This has created an anomalous situation. The importance of China, both for its vastness in area and in population as also influence on world politics, particularly in Asia, can hardly be ignored. Far from being ignored she has already been recognised when in finding out a solution of the Indo-China question a Geneva Conference with her participation had to be organised. This devolves on the part of the U.N. a more positive role in the matter of settling representation when that is under dispute. Recognition of a new State or a new Government of an existing State should come under the purview of the U.N.O. The rule of "collective recognition" by the United Nations as against the unilateral act now in practice should be embodied in the Charter.

Domestic Jurisdiction

A good deal of controversy has also arisen about the competence of the United Nations to intervene in the domestic matters of the member countries. Article 2 (7) of the U.N. Charter debars it from intervening in matters which are "essentially" within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. Under cover of this provision, the Union of South Africa has consistently refused to allow the United Nations to discuss the inhuman treatment meted out to the Indian citizens there. In the last session of the General Assembly, France also refused to discuss the question of the self-determination of the people of Algeria and actually staged a walk-out when the question was voted on the agenda. Naturally the provision has been looked upon as a measure to safeguard the interests of the colonialists. Moreover, as we are more and more advancing towards the conception of international community even the smallest individual issue comes under the purview of international organisation. Therefore, the limitation of the United Nations' competence in this regard runs counter to the spirit of the age. As Mr. Kenneth Younger points out :[1]

"The true difficulty is to say what is essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a State. We have had many instances where unjust treatment of minority has become a matter of international concern and a threat to peace. Must the United Nations keep its hands off all such questions until the threat of an international breach of the peace is immediate ?"

It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that such matters only should be deemed as domestic as are declared to be so according to international law. The word "essentially" in Article 2 (7) should be replaced by "according to international law."

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1. "United Nations Charter Review," *India Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 2.

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Security Council and the Veto

Nothing has raised so much of controversy and emitted so much of heat as the 'veto' power of the permament members of the Security Council. No doubt the provision was inserted because of the inescapable conclusion that international peace and security could be enforced or maintained if only the great Powers assured their sanction behind it. "It was simply the constitutional expression of an inescapable fact of power." Therefore in spite of the great many abuses of the 'veto,' its complete elimination would inevitably lead to the breakdown of the collective security system of the United Nations. But need has been felt for the restriction of its use in some ways. Under the existing rule even the pacific settlement of disputes, that is, the Security Council's power to recommend ways and means to settle disputes peacefully, come under the ' veto' power. Therefore, solution of any dispute before the actual breaking out of hostility—which calls for enforcement action—becomes impossible if the solution does not suit the interest of one or the other permanent member. Hence conciliation or pacific settlement of disputes should be kept out of the 'veto' jurisdiction and the rule of unanimity should be substituted by a simple majority of seven members including not more than three permanent members. At the San Francisco Conference Dr. Evatt aptly described conciliation not as the "power of the Council" but as the "duty" of the Council because he said, "by such means the dispute may be composed and the use of force prevented."

Consideration of the veto power brings in the general question of the role of the Security Council in the maintenance of peace and security. In view of the constant use of the veto power, particularly by the Soviet Union, resort has often been made to regional arrangements like NATO, ANZUS, etc., especially by the United States. This has in effect created less of reliance on the Security Council and more on the General Assembly. The role of the General Assembly has been further strengthened by the 'Uniting for Peace Resolution' in 1950, sponsored by Canada, France, the Phillipines, Turkey, the U.K., Uruguay and the United States. Under that resolution, the General Assembly established machinery by which it could recommend collective measures to maintain international peace and security if the Security Council were blocked by veto.

Since, therefore, some of the force of the veto has been taken away by the above resolution, there should not be much opposition to the permanent members' agreeing to curb its use. They should enter into a convention for the purpose of maintaining the terms on which its use was envisaged at the San Francisco Conference. At that Conference it was declared:

> "It is not to be assumed that the permanent members, any more than the non-permanent members, would use the veto power wilfully to obstruct the operation of the Council."

Furthermore, at the San Francisco Conference, the principle behind the measures for peace and security was that peace could not be the monopoly of the Great Powers. Accordingly, provision was made under Article 23(1) for 'equitable geographical distribution' so as to broaden the basis of the Security Council by giving adequate representation to the smaller States. But during the last ten years, all the seats in the Security Council have been distributed among the European and the American States. Africa and Asia have been practically ignored. To set matters right the number of elected members may be increased to enable the Asian and African representations to come in. The addition of at least one more permanent member from the Asian-African bloc is also desirable.

Regionalism and Security

The U. N. Charter permits formation of regional arrangements to strengthen the system of collective security under Articles 52, 53 and 54 under Chapter VIII. The sole responsibility for peace and security, however, remains with the Security Council and the regional organisations function only under the Security Council. Any enforcement action taken by them must have prior sanction of the Security Council. But the provision of the Charter leaves wide scope for discretionary use. Nothing has been said as to whether non-regional States could become members of the regional organisations. In fact, most of the regional organisations are composed of non-regional powers. The nature of such formations seemed to suggest that instead of furthering the cause of security, their sole conception has been to revert back to the old system of balance of power during the League era. Thus in the NATO, non-regional

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States like Italy, Greece and Turkey have been included obviously with the intention to check the spread of Soviet sphere of influence in the Mediterranean. Similary the SEATO although professedly a South-East Asian organisation, included Western Powers like Great Britain, France, Netherlands and the U.S.A. Therefore, the regional organisations, as the celebrated Indian author Mr. K. M. Panikkar pointed out,[2] "in matters of security, will become merely another instrument for the effective assertion of the supremacy of the Great Powers." The way these regional arrangements have been turned into predominantly military alliances, also leaves no shade of doubt that instead of promoting world security, they have everywhere made situations explosive. As a matter of fact, the wording of the relative articles in the U.N. Charter suffers from a number of weaknesses. Article 52(1) permits regional agencies to deal with "such matters relating to the maintenance of peace and security as are appropriate for regional action." Obviously the question arises as to who is competent to decide the appropriateness of a regional action. In discussing this aspect, Hans Kelsen[3] opined that the members concerned might have the power of deciding the question because the U.N. Charter does not authorise any particular organ to decide the appropriateness of regional actions. Now this, understandably, is a serious lacuna.

Moreover, under Article 53(1) "no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements . . . . . without the authorization of the Security Council." In practice, however, this has not been always respected. One may refer to the RIO Treaty of 1947 which later on developed into the Organisation of American States (OAS). Under that Treaty, a 'fact or situation or an aggression which is not an armed attack could bring about an enforcement action including the use of armed force.' Besides going against the spirit of Article 51 which authorises measures for collective self-defence only in the event of an armed attack, no mention is made in the Treaty as to the need of securing Security Council's authorization under Article 53 of the Charter. In the case of the Guatemala uprising in 1954, resort was taken to the collective security envisaged in the treaty by the OAS and the Security Council was debarred from putting the issue in its agenda.

"The organisation and development of such regional arrangements as the OAS" according to an expert,[4] "have demonstrated a trend in which the limited objectives of the arrangements have taken priority over the universal concept that the threat or use of force originating from any quarter should be met with collective action by the Security Council acting as an agent for U.N. members."

If that trend is to be checked, the scope of regional alliances should be strictly defined, as should be their area. Instead of giving them the liberty to usurp the security functions of the Security Council, they should be encouraged to concentrate on co-operation in the fields of economic development, social progress and allied matters. "Regional councils," to quote once again Mr. Panikkar,[5] "may have very useful functions to fulfil but their usefulness will depend on a clear definition of area and function."

Trusteeship System

Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms have been among the basic ideals of the U.N. Charter. Encouragement of fundamental freedoms which includes the right of every human being to a share in the political independence of the country, was, therefore, accepted as one of the objects of the Trusteeship system. But there are certain loopholes in the system. It makes a needless distinction between ordinary trust territories and those regarded as strategic with the control of the former belonging to the General Assembly and the latter to the Security Council. By doing so, much room was left to make use of a strategic trust area in the game of cold war politics. It would be evident if we compare the American Strategic Area Trust Agreements with some of the other Trust Agreements. Under the U.S. Agreement the entire territory of the Pacific Islands has been regarded as a strategic area vital to the security of the United States. The Agreement also provided under Article 13 that the requirements of the Charter for the submission of reports, petitions might be limited by

2. "Regionalism and World Security," *India Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 2.
3. *Law of the United Nations.*
4. John S. Gibson: "The Guatemalan Case and Universal-Regional Relationship," *Foreign Affairs Reports*, January 1955.
5. "Regionalism and World Security," *India Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 2.

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administering authority at its discretion in areas closed for security reasons. This is repugnant to the conception of the Trusteeship system. The distinction between ordinary and strategic Trust areas must be removed and all Trust areas should be placed under the general supervision of the General Assembly. The Security Council should have no say in the matter.

Another lacuna in the system is the discretion left to the former Mandatory Powers to enter into the system or not. While the majority of the former Mandatory Powers chose to conclude Trusteeship Agreements for areas under their mandate, the Union of South Africa did not in respect of South-West Africa. Despite General Assembly's repeated recommendations South-West Africa has been kept out of the Trusteeship system. A way may be found by amending Article 77 to make it read that all Trust territories formerly under mandates become *ipso facto* members of the Trusteeship system.

International Court of Justice

The Charter can be made or unmade by interpretation. Therefore, all questions involving interpretation should be dealt with by the International Court of Justice whose jurisdiction should be made as comprehensive as possible. In view of the conflicting interests of the Power Blocks, it is difficult to assume that any particular executive act of the U.N. would be completely free from prejudice and bias. Therefore judicial review of executive acts especially of the more important ones like admission of new members, or declaring a State as aggressor, is necessary.

IV

As pointed out earlier, these discussions about desirable amendments to the U.N. Charter seem to be merely academic since the position that now stands at present offers no chance of making it practicable. The vehement opposition of the Soviet Union during the tenth session of the General Assembly should do enough to brush aside any idea of revision. The decision also of the tenth session to put off the idea of revision for another two years was indicative of the attitude towards amendment. One should not forget that Britain and the USA were among the powers that sponsored the resolution for postponement. With these permanent members up against it, a strong neutralist country like India also maintained that

"If the Charter were to be revised it would require general agreement but if there was this agreement then revision would not be necessary."[6]

The problem of the revision of the U.N. Charter is much more a political than a legal one. Not even the most unimportant amendment can be made without the consent of all the five permanent members and this has not been possible so far. Nevertheless, as the *New York Times* Commentator Thomas Hamilton[7] writes:

"The Charter like the United States Constitution has already been amended by interpretation. The best example, since this development is accepted by both the United States and the Soviet Union, is the Security Council's practice of not recognising as abstention by a great power as a veto (Resolution on Korea in 1950). This is clearly a violation of the Charter which makes (for once) this clear statement that the 'concurring vote' of the five great powers is necessary for a decision on any substantial matter."

That resolution has been claimed to have saved the world or at least one part of it from aggression and hailed U.N.O.'s role as the watchdog of peace. Another change has been the "Uniting for Peace Resolution" by which the General Assembly assumed the functions of the Security Council. Whether some more changes would be possible under similar or more difficult situations and the U.N. would be able to play its desired role, it is only the future could tell. But one thing is sure that the United Nations must have to succeed. Because the only alternative to that, in the age of nuclear weapons, is the total annihilation of the human dynasty.

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6. Speech by Mr. Krishna Menon in the General Assembly, 17 November, 1955.
7. Issue dated 27 November, 1955.

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE CHINESE CONSTITUTION

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By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

Introduction

China is the first Asian country to achieve political independence through revolutionary means; she is also the largest Communist Republic in the world, representing the greatest human community on earth.[1] The international impact of the outcome of the civil war in China has been immense; according to an estimate the loss of China deprived the Western Powers 40 per cent of the colonial hinterland they still had in the days of the Second World War.[2] The experiments now being made in China have far-reaching repercussions—many observers have referred to that.[3] The scope of the present article is, however, restricted to a study of the Constitution—the political framework within which remaking of China is taking place today—rather some of its salient features.

A. The Theoretical Background*

"The Constitutionalism existing in the world—whether in Britain, the United States or the Soviet Union," Mao Tse-tung wrote sixteen years ago, "has always meant the promulgation of a body of basic laws, that is a Constitution, to confirm the success of the revolution, and actual achievements in democracy."[4]

Fourteen years later on another top-ranking political leader of modern China explained the significance of the new Constitution of the People's Republic of China as the legal embodiment of the new social and State system.[5]

B. The New Constitution

The new Constitution, according to Chinese and Communist Constitutional theories, confirms the success of the Chinese revolution. A true understanding of the new Constitution would, therefore, require an examination, brief though it may be, of the tasks before the Chinese revolution, how those tasks were tackled after victory and how the new Constitution registers "what has already been achieved and won in actual fact"—and this would be the main theme of this short study.

What then were the fundamental tasks set before the Chinese revolution? Referring to the task of the Chinese revolution, Mao Tse-tung wrote in 1940 :

> "Evidently, the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal character of present-day Chinese society determines that two steps must be taken in the Chinese revolution. The first step is to change a society that is colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal into an independent, democratic society. The second step is to develop the revolution further and build up a socialist society. In the present Chinese revolution, we are taking the first step."[6]

The Constitution, to accord with the definition, must register China's external independence and must also record China's strivings towards the creation of a socialist society. It does both in fact. That China has already overcome her semi-colonial status is quite evident to all and hardly needs any great elaboration. Professor Quincy Wright, the eminent American international jurist, writes:

> "There is no doubt whatever that the present government of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai is the effective government of China, and not only the effective government of China, but the *most effective government that place has ever had.*"[7]

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1. James Cameron : *Mandarin Red*, London, 1955, p. 100.

2. V. Avarin: "International Significance of the Victory of the Chinese People" in the weekly *New Times*, Moscow, No. 39. September 27, 1950. See also C. P. Fitzerald: *Revolution in China*, London, 1952, esp. chapter nine.

3. See for example: *The Prospects for Communist China* by W. W. Rostow, Richard W. Hatch, Frank A. Kierman, Jr., Alexander Eckstein, New American Library, 1954, pp. 287-88. Chester Bowles: *The New Dimensions of Peace*, New York, 1955, p. 365.

* Theory has always been accorded a very high place in Communist circles. "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice," said Lenin. For an interpretation of the place of theory in the Chinese revolution.—See Benjamin I. Schwartz: *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*, Harvard, 1952; Introduction, pp. 1-2

4. Mao Tse-tung: "New Democratic Constitutionalism" being a speech delivered at Yenan on Feb. 20, 1940, before the Association for Urging the Advancement of Constitutionalism in *Selected Works*, Vol. III. p. 184, Bombay, 1954. This view of a constitution was first formulated by J. V. Stalin according to whom a constitution "is the registration and legislative embodiment of what has already been achieved and won in actual fact"—Stalin: *On the Draft Constitution of the USSR* being a report delivered at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress on Soviets of the USSR, November 25, 1936—Moscow 1952 edition, p. 28.

"The State is a special organization of force; it is the organization of violence for the suppression of some class."—Lenin, "The State and Revolution" in *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1947, p. 156.

"In reality, the State is nothing more than a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and indeed in a democratic republic no less than in the monarchy."—Engels: Introduction to Karl Marx's *Civil War in France*.

5. Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Draft Constitution of China*, p. 60.

6. Mao Tse-tung "On New Democracy" in *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 110.

7. Quincy Wright: "The Chinese Recognition Problem" in the *American Journal of International Law*, No. 3, 1955, p. 321. Italics added.

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The Indian statesman and historian Sardar K. M. Panikkar says: "China had become, in fact, what it had always claimed to be, a Great Power."[8] Equally undeniable is the fact of the liberation of China's teeming million from the fetters of feudal slavery. Land Reform and redistribution was practically completed by the end of 1952.[9] Indeed, as one observer has pointed out:

> In four years (1950-54), the Minister of Agriculture in China, Mr. Liao Lin-yen had "caused more real estate to change hands than any other man on earth. Sixty-five million acres had been reshuffled between 400,000,000 peasants. The plan was characteristic of China's way and persuasive approach to a monstrous problem . . ."[10]

Registering the victory of the Chinese revolution led by the alliance of the workers and peasants against the imperialists, feudal landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie the new Constitution of China, adopted on September 20, 1954, by the First National People's Congress (Parliament) of China, describes China as a "People's Democratic State led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants."[11] The State is a unitary one[12] and dispenses with the traditional separation of powers between the executive, legislature and the judiciary; as well as the specifically Chinese five-fold division of authority between the executive, legislative, judicial, control and examination Yuan. All power in the State vests in the people who exercise their power through the various elected bodies at the apex of which stands the National People's Congress elected by universal, adult but indirect and unequal suffrage.

C. "People's Democracy"

It has already been stated that the first Chinese National People's Congress declared their State as a "People's Democratic State." At this stage, however, a definition of a "People's Democratic State" is called for since the term has assumed a technical connotation in political discussions. "People's Democracies" were unknown before the Second World War. The term gained currency only since the end of the war. Generalizing the features of the people's democracies that had emerged in Eastern Europe after the Second World War, Eugene Varga, the noted Soviet theoretician, wrote in 1947 that

> "People's democracy" signified a "state of affairs in a country where feudal remnants—large-scale land-ownership—have been eliminated, where the system of private ownership of the means of production still exists but large enterprises in the spheres of industry, transport and credit are in State hands, while the State itself and its apparatus of coercion serve not the interests of monopolistic bourgeoisie but the interests of the working people in town and countryside."[13]

The new people's democracy began, the Yugoslav political leader Edward Kardelj said,

> "where the working class, in alliance with all the other working masses held the key positions in the State power."[14]

The social structure of such states, (referring to the European people's democracies since China was out of consideration then), Varga added, differed "from all those hitherto known to us; it is something totally new in history of mankind" being neither a full-fledged proletarian dictatorship (socialism) nor a bourgeoise dictatorship (capitalism).[15] There was, however,

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8. K. M. Panikkar: *In Two Chinas*, London, 1955, p. 177. See also Chester Bowles: *The New Dimensions of Peace*, New York. 1955, pp. 115, 121. ". . . the revolution in China had produced a nation more united and, as far as one could see, happier than ever before, and that by every recognizable evidence they were peace-loving."—James Cameron: *Mandarin Red*. p. 102, London, 1955. See also Richard L. Walker: *China Under Communism*, New Haven, 1955, p. 269; Hugh Seton-Watson: *The Pattern of Communist Revolution*, London, 1953. pp. 285-290. Also see *The New Leader*, weekly. New York, 24.9.56.

9. W. W. Rostow and others: *The Prospects for Communist China*, p. 89. For a cogent summary of the effects of land reform see Jack Belden: *China Shakes the World*, pp. 201-20; K. M. Panikkar: *Op. cit.*, p. 137. Basil Davidson: *Daybreak in China*, pp. 51-68; C. P. Fitzerald: *Revolution in China*, pp. 177-179. For a critical study see Quentin K. Y. Huang: *Now I Can Sell*, pp. 185-222, New York. 1954; Walker: *Op. cit.*, p. 137.

10. James Cameron: *Mandarin Red*, p. 165. Mr. Cameron bitterly describes the lot of the Chinese peasants: "China counted its land by the ten thousand miles, the Chinese by the *mou*—the unit of personal possession: one-sixth of an acre." (p. 217, *ibid*).

11. Art. 1 of the *Constitution of the People's Republic of China*.

12. Art. 3, *ibid*.

13. E. Varga: "Democracy of a New Type" in the *Communist* (monthly organ of the Communist Party of India), September, 1947. p. 132. See also "The People's Democracies of Eastern Europe" by C. E. Black in *European Political Systems* edited by Taylor Cole, pp. 231-243, New York. Alfred A. Knopf, 1953; Zhdanov's report before the inaugural session of the *Cominform* published in the *For a Lasting Peace For a People's Democracy*, November 10, 1947; William Z. Foster: *History of the Three Internationals*. pp. 455-456, New York, International Publishers, 1955.

14. Edward Kardelj: *Report* on the activities of the Yugoslav Communist Party before the inaugural session of the *Cominform* in September, 1947.

15. Varga: *Op. cit.*, p. 132. *Cf.* "under present conditions the people's democratic regime is a new state form of revolutionary power."—A. I. Sobolev: *People's Democracy, A New Form of Organization of Society*. p. 9. Moscow, 1954. See also Mao Tse-tung: "On New Democracy" in *Selected Works*. Vol. III, pp. 118-119.

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no unanimity[16] among the Communist leaders on a definition of people's democracy as an altogether *new* form of State organization. At any rate, such strict distinction between the Soviet system and the people's democracies is no longer insisted upon in later authoritative Soviet writings on the subject.

"In essence," writes the Soviet author, A. I. Sobolev, "Soviets and People's Democracies are synonymous: *their content is the dictatorship of the working class.* The difference is *in the form* of political organization of society."[17]

The characteristic features of the "People's Democratic State" as a new form of the proletarian dictatorship are stated to be (*a*) the existence of active political parties in addition to the Communist Party; (*b*) mass popular political organizations of the people's front type composed of Communists and all other political parties; and (*c*) the "indispensable condition that the Communist Party is the *only* leading and guiding force of the State."[18] Mao Tse-tung, the master revolutionary, says:

"If the State system, which is the common property of the people and not the private property of the bourgeoisie is supplemented by the leadership of the working class then this system will be the dictatorship of the people's democracy. . . ."[19]

The Chinese State approximates the ideal of "people's democracy" in a very high measure. As has already been noted, feudalism has been abolished and it would presently be shown that the State, led by the workers who in turn are guided by the Communists, controls all the key positions in the national economy of China—fulfilling all conditions for a valid claim to be called a "People's Democracy."*

The present system, the coalition of various classes called People's Democracy, "is symbolized by the five stars on the flag, representing the workers, peasants, national capitalists and petty bourgeoisie under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party."†

D. Leadership of the Working Class

The Chinese State, as the Constitution says, in the light of the "People's Democracy," is led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. The working class leadership of the State is also one of the distinguishing marks of people's democracy. How is such leadership exercised by the workers in China where there are only three million industrial workers constituting barely 0.51 per cent of China's 582,584,839 people?[20] Here again a reference to theory is necessary before an answer can be attempted. According to accepted Communist theories workers may exist as a class "the members of which stand in the same relation to the means of production, have the same status in production and in society, the same objective common interests and yet *not conscious* of their common fundamental interests" which lay in overthrowing capitalism to usher in the era of socialism.[21]

"The history of all countries shows," Lenin writes, "that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, *i.e.*, it may realize the necessity for combining in unions, for fighting against the employers and for striving to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation, etc. The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic, historical and economic theories that were elaborated by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, the intellectuals . . ."[22]

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16. The Bulgarian Communist leader, Georgi Dimitrov told a meeting of the 5th Congress of the Bulgarian Party that "the Soviet regime and the People's Democratic regime are two forms of one and the *same system* of government. . . . Both are based on the dictatorship of the proletariat."—Quoted in Hugh Seton-Watson: *The Pattern of Communist Revolution*, p. 260, London, 1953. Foster, the Communist historian of the international Communist movement, also refers to the initial confusion among world Communists on the characterisation of People's Democracy. See *The History of the Three Internationals* by W. Z. Foster, p. 465. The People's Democracies, according to him, showed a new road to socialism.

17. A. I. Sobolev: *Op. cit.*, pp. 106-107. Italics in the original.

18. *Ibid*, pp. 107, 108.

19. Mao Tse-tung: "Dictatorship of People's Democracy" in the weekly *Crossroads*, May 26, 1950, Bombay.

* The Chinese State has been remarkably free from the violence that characterized the life of the European People's Democracies. In a like measure the Communist Party also has been relatively free from bloody purges characterizing Stalinist Russia and the post-war European East. In early Soviet pronouncements, China was not accorded equal status with the European people's democracies. Lately, however, her status has been raised in their eyes and she is now bracketed with the Soviet Union at the first place as leaders of world revolution.

† Mary Austin Endicott: *Five Stars Over China*, p. 153.

20. For an estimate of the workers in China, see Richard L. Walker: *China Under Communism*, New Haven, 1955. Mr. Walker quotes official figures for Chinese labour force including technical and administrative personnel and school teachers as fifteen million or approximately 2.6 per cent of the total population (p. 154, *ibid*). According to the latest official figures, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions which virtually embraces all the "workers" in the country had a membership of about 12,400,000.—*China's Workers March Towards Socialism*, Peking. 1956, p. 9.

21. See for example, F. V. Koustantinov: *The Role of Socialist Consciousness in the Development of Soviet Society*. Moscow, pp. 68-69. Italics added.

22. V. I. Lenin: "What Is To Be Done?" in *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1947, pp. 167-168.

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In such circumstances, socialist consciousness could grow among the workers only through the efforts of outsiders (non-workers)—the Communists. This historical limitation of the working class points to the need of a Communist Party in each country charged with the task of engendering socialist consciousness among the workers of that country and organising them for a forcible overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Equipped with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism (the theory of proletarian revolution leading to the overthrow of capitalism) the Communist, through logical deduction, becomes the "vanguard and organised detachment" of the working class. In this way Communist leadership is generally equated with working class leadership in Communist academic circles.

E. The Communist Party and the Leadership of the Working Class

An examination of working class leadership thus leads to an examination of the position of the Communist Party in modern Chinese society. The Communist Party is mentioned only once in the Constitution—in the Preamble. As a marked contrast to the Soviet law the Communist Party of China has no valid constitutional recognition. But the absence of any direct constitutional recognition of the Communist Party of China does not in any way negate the unique position of leadership of the party at all levels of the State structure. The leading role of the Chinese Communist Party in the affairs of China is recognised both by the Chinese Communists themselves and by the non-Communist observers as well. Lin Shao-chi in his report on the draft Constitution of China emphasizes the leading role of the Communist Party, which, he says, "is the core of the leadership of our country."[23] In keeping with theory (may be practical necessities also) other parties are tolerated no doubt[24] but their influence is dwindling. The virtual monopoly of leadership by the Communist Party of China was confirmed in 1952 when the other parties in the Democratic United Front agreed not to campaign for membership among the industrial workers and peasants (the two classes between themselves accounting for 95 per cent of China's population). The Communist Party membership goes beyond a crore and stretched down to almost every village in China. In recent years, however, particularly since 1949 workers have been sought to be recruited in larger numbers to the party[25]—in keeping with both theory and the practical necessity of associating a larger number of workers with the new regime.

Working class leadership of the Chinese State is ensured in another way by giving the workers a favourably weighted representation in all levels of State administration from the country level upwards.[26] Great efforts have been made to train up workers to hold more and more responsible positions.[27]

F. The "People"

It is evident from the foregoing paragraphs, the State being a people's democracy a definition of 'people' is also called for. Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of China, says:

> "There is a difference between 'people' and 'national'. 'People' include the working class, the peasants, the petit bourgeoisie, the national capitalists and certain other patriotic democratic elements. The remaining reactionary elements are not within the category of 'people' but are 'nationals' of China. For the time being they cannot enjoy the rights of the 'people' but they have to observe the obligations of 'nationals'."[28]

Who are the reactionary elements? They are the feudal landlords and bureaucratic capitalists.

> A feudal lord is one who "owns land but does not engage in labour or only engages in supplementary labour, and who depends on exploitation for his means of livelihood. Exploitation by the landlord is chiefly in the form of land rent, plus money-lending, hiring of labour . . ."[29]

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23. Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, p. 63.

24. Recently the Communists declared themselves in favour of a long-term co-existence with other parties. See Li Wei-han's article in the fortnightly *People's China*, August 16, 1956, pp. 8-9. For an interpretation of the toleration of non-Communist parties in People's Democracies, see, C. E. Black: "The People's Democracies of Eastern Europe" in *European Political Systems*, pp. 232-233. For an account of the various political parties in China immediately on the eve of the adoption of the Constitution, see S. G. Kashikar's article in the *Hitavada*, Nagpur, July 23, 1953; also *A Guide to New China*, Peking, 1952.

25. See Peng Cheng's article in the fortnightly *People's China*, July 1, 1951.

26. See Articles 14 and 20 of the *Electoral Law* promulgated in 1953 which apparently still retains its validity.

27. Re: Chinese Communist effort to train up the workers and peasants, see Basil Davidson: *Daybreak in China*, Ch. XI, esp. pp. 121-122; *Chinese Workers March Toward Socialism*, pp. 65-78. "By 1952 workers and Chinese students constituted 80 per cent of the total enrolment in the nation's primary schools; 60 per cent in secondary schools, and 20 per cent in schools of higher learning."—Liao Kai-lung: *From Yenan to Peking*, Peking, 1954, p. 168; Walker: *China Under Communism*, pp. 128-176; Bowles: *The New Dimensions of Peace*, p. 123.

28. Quoted in *Far Eastern Governments and Politics: China and Japan* by Paul M. A. Linebarger, Djang Chu and Ardath W. Burks, p. 220, New York, 1954, D. V. Nostrand Co. See also Mao Tse-tung: *People's Democratic Dictatorship in A Documentary History of Chinese Communism* by Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank, London, 1952, p. 456.

29. This definition follows an official Chinese decision of August 4, 1950.

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"The bureaucratic capitalist," Professor Fitzerald explains, "is the official who controls the economy for his own profit, rigs the exchange, manipulates the market, establishes monopolies, seizes State property for his own in other words the Kuomintang."[30]

The power of the landlord was broken through the decisive operation of land reform and that of the bureaucratic capitalist through outright confiscation, The landlords and the bureaucratic-capitalists are deprived of the right of voting but they are nevertheless assured of a means to earn a living "in order to enable them to reform through work and become citizens who earn their livelihood by their own labour."[31]

G. Democracy in Chinese State

What is the character of democracy in the modern Chinese State? Democracy, in Communist political thinking, is always tied up to one particular class. In a capitalist society real democracy, it is held, is enjoyed only by the "money-bags" and the vast majority has to suffer oppression. In a State where political power is in the hands of the working class real democracy is enjoyed only by the workers and their allies and the decaying (defeated) capitalist or feudalist elements can have no freedom. As Mao Tse-tung puts it:

> "Democracy is realized within the ranks of the people, who enjoy the freedom of speech, assembly, association, etc. The right to vote is given only to the people, not to the reactionaries. The combination of these two aspects, democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries, means the people's democratic dictatorship."[32]

As a matter of fact, the Constitution contains a chapter on fundamental rights and duties of citizens guaranteeing among others, "freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of procession and freedom of demonstration."[33] The State guarantees to the citizens enjoyment of all the rights. For all practical purposes, however, there is no freedom to advocate a change in the people's democratic order.*

30. C. P. Fitzerald: *Revolution in China*, p. 170.
31. Article 19 of the Constitution. According to James Cameron, the counter-revolutionaries in China technically embraced four categories: (a) direct agents of Kuomintang; (b) leaders of secret counter-revolutionary bodies; (c) bandits or saboteurs and (d) counter-revolutionary despots and landlords—*Mandarin Red*, London, 1955, p. 96.
32. Mao Tse-tung: *On People's Democratic Dictatorship*, Peking, 1953, p. 13.
33. Article 87 of the Constitution.
* The present article forms part of the author's book on the new Chinese Constitution awaiting publication.

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JESUIT FATHERS

By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.T. (India)

Early Jesuit history may be said to begin with that of Father Ignatius Loyola and Father Francis Xavier in Spain; or with the scholars of the college of St. Barbe in Paris; or with the Pope's Bull of approval in Rome, since he alone can sanction a Catholic Religious Order. Both Loyola and Xavier were natives of the Basque country in Navarre, a country which lay four-fifths in Spain and one-fifth in France across the Pyrenees on the shores of the Atlantic. Both the families claimed descent from renowned ancestors, and both lived in castles which at that time abounded in Spain. These two particular castles had been demilitarized by Spanish kings, the one to curb the Feudal military ardour of the Loyolas, and the other during a war with the French Crown to whom the Xavier family was ever loyal. But though their early days had much in common, their future lives were to be spent in very dissimilar circumstances. Loyola, to the end of a long useful life, was to be fettered by the burdens of office to the General Headquarters of the Catholic Crusade against a strong Reformation movement in Europe. In this capacity he tactfully distributed and directed his faithful followers in the work best suited to their capacities and temperaments. Xavier, on the other hand, was destined to travel to distant lands and to labour under the most trying conditions. Six thousand extant letters, exhorting, entreating and comforting, testify to the skill with which Loyola fulfilled his office. And, on the other hand, the thousands of churches, convents, hospitals and schools spread over many lands serve as enduring memorials of the accomplishments of Loyola, Xavier and their followers.

Ignatius Loyola was born in 1491. Up to the age of 30, he was "given to the vanities of the world" and "his chief delight consisted in martial exercises with a great and vain desire to win renown." Backed by his comely appearance and his family connections, he entertained a rather hidden devotion to a Spanish Princess. Although tonsured, and hence bound to a certain religious decorum, he was not beyond participating in "gentlemanly exercises" and on at least

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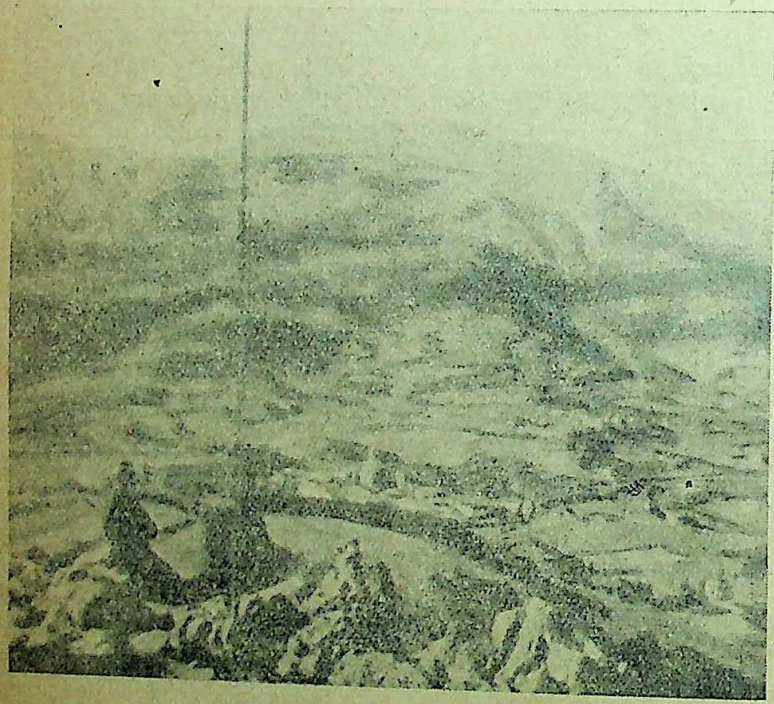
one occasion his tonsure did not save him from censure for his part in a brawl at the age of 24. He was, however, always chivalrous and generous to those whom he bettered on jousts at arms or in less formal contests. In the last battle of his life, Ignatius was wounded by a cannon ball while defending the fortress of Pomplona, the capital city of Navarre, against a French assault in 1521. It may well have been a cannon ball fired by the brother of Francis Xavier which wounded him and brought about the complete change in his life. He was taken captive and treated in a hospital. There he had to undergo operations, "butchery" as Loyola called them, which he bore very bravely. But despite the operations, Ignatius limped for the rest of his life. The French honoured him for his gallantry in attempting to hold the fortress against



Loyola Castle today

impossible odds, and released him, sending him on a litter to Loyola castle.

During his convalescence he asked for something to read, desiring to distract his mind with romance and tales of chivalrous adventure. But he was given the only available literature in the castle, books about the lives of the Saviour, the Apostles and the Saints. Strangely enough, these books came to fascinate him and he imbibed them in a spirit of penance and loathing for his vain past life. There was born in him a longing to visit Jerusalem. The persuasions of his brother to resume his promising military career and the offer of a Commission from the Duke of Navarre left him undeterred in his resolve. Abandoning his dreams of Knighthood, he set out for Montserrat across the country. At the first village he discarded his fine dress and equipment for sack-cloth, pilgrim's stuff and a water bag. Limping towards Barcelona on the Mediterranean, he proceeded to Manresa and from there applied to the Pope for permission to make his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. But the permission was delayed, and plague broke out in Barcelona. Once proud, gallant and chivalrous, he now lived on alms, slept in hospice, cell or cave, paying little heed to his appearance. The stay at Manresa was forcibly protracted from the intended week to 10 months. During this time he was favoured with visions and dreams.* It was at this period that he sketched his famous "Spiritual Exercises" of Christian prudence, humility and devotion to Jesus Christ. His austerities, deliberate self-deprivations and long hours of prayer twice brought him to death's door.

In 1523, he set out for Barcelona. From there a free passage with a kindly Captain brought him, after many tribulations, to Rome. He obtained the Pope's permission for his pilgrimage and trudged over 300 miles to Venice, tending the sick, living on alms, praying and fasting, succouring the poor with most of the alms received, giving away all money that came to him. He faced the Doge in the ducal palace and obtained a free passage in a government ship to Cyprus and then in a special pilgrims' galley to Jerusalem where he intended to pass the rest of his life. But he was forced back after an exhilarating fortnight, and returned by the same tedious and hazardous journey of 100 days the way he had come. Back in Venice, still dependent on charity, he made the momentous decision to continue his studies so as to be more useful for the Lord's work. After a very risky journey he came to Barcelona. Since his recovery, seven years had been spent in Spain, Italy and far-off Palestine. At Barcelona, at the age of 34, he studied Latin for two years in the company of little boys, living without shelter on alms which he shared with vagarants. Then he went to the free University of Alcala and, unattached and unadvised, attended classes on various subjects such as, dialectics, physics, theology, etc. While in Alcala he lived the same austere life on alms, succouring the poor and giving the Spiritual Exercises. Here he was joined by three ardent followers.

In the uncertain condition of the time everyone

* We have recent examples in Ramakrishna in this country.

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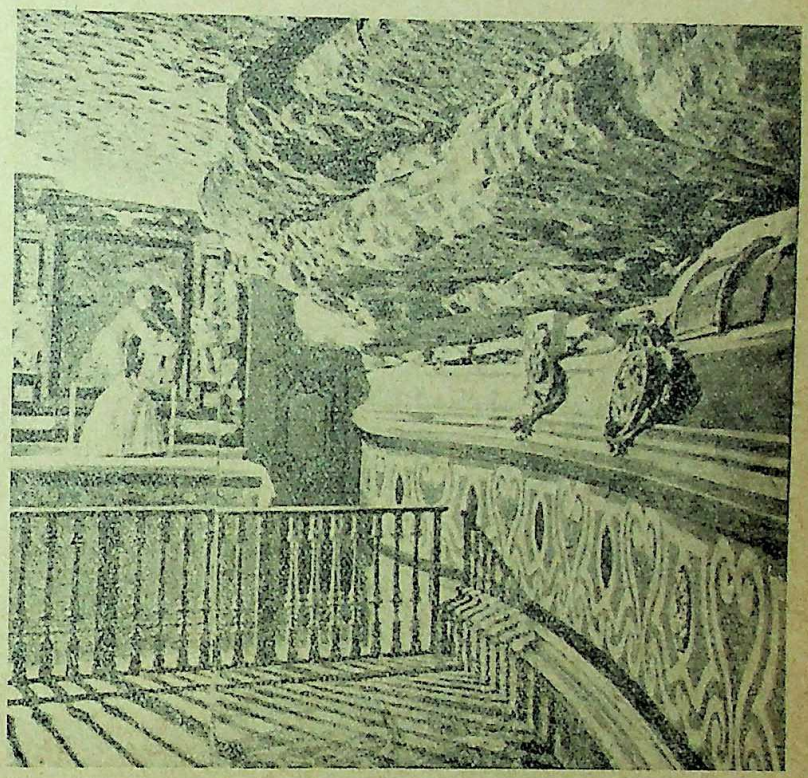
as suspect, and Ignatius was tried for spying by the ver-vigilant inquisitors.† Ignatius was sent to prison ut was released later under restrictions which forced him to go to Salamanca. Here again confinement and ial followed. Set free again under restrictions, he alked penniless in bitter winter through an alien nemy country to Paris in 1531. As advised, he rought some money with him but was cheated of it y a fellow countryman with whom it had been eposited.

In pursuing his studies, subsistence n alms and residence in a distant oor-house took up most of his me. So in his offer to serve as a rvant, his limp and his age (37) ood in the way. He went to landers and England and secured me funds on the advice of a panish Friar. On his return he ndertook a journey of 84 miles to ouen, bare-footed and fasting for ys and succoured the sick Span-rd, who had cheated him. A pas-ge on ship bound for Spain was cured for him and letters of troduction to his (Ignatius') llowers at Salamanca were given him. But they had deserted his use, as did three others at Paris, ter on.

Ignatius' choice of the first college Paris was a mistake and in 1529, joined the Arts course at the int Barbe, at the age of 39. Short funds he was obliged to share room with two others, much unger in age but vastly superior studies. One of them was Francis Xavier d the other Peter Favre, who in course of me became his faithful followers. Peter was sily won over and became the first Jesuit. About avier, not much is known regarding his early life. s family history has been touched at the beginning. e may surmise that he got his later athletic habits om grazing the sheep, when he was very young. He ose a priest's life, it is said, to avoid a military e, and left for Paris at the age of 19 and was 11 ars at the college. When short of funds, he appealed his influential brother. He fell into bad company the college, but corrected himself. An offer of the sition of a Canon in his own Parish, later in his e, did not attract him. In later years, he proved always intense, practical, steadfast, uneffusive and completely self-forgetful and of the unique Basque mentality, as his preceptor St. Ignatius.

Xavier at the time was advanced in erudition and conscious of his nobility. So he could not take kindly to the advances of the opposite character of Ignatius. It took 3 years of persistent efforts to win him over. Two others, very clever but loyal, Laynex and Salmeron, fellow-students at Alcala, who had also come to Paris in 1533 for higher studies, followed suit. The



Cave of Manresa

next convert was Nicholaus, called Bobadilla, an unknown poor wandering scholar. Then Simon Rodriguez, noble and head-strong, joined Ignatius, but was the cause of great anxiety to him. Lastly came the roving Jerome Nadal, who was of a suspicious nature and took 10 years to actually capitulate. Ignatius employed these early followers, except Xavier, in his work in Europe, in favour of the Catholic Church. Xavier was sent to the East. By 1554, in spite of advanced years (53), destitution and ill-health, Ignatius outstripped his brilliant young disciples and graduated as Master of Arts. It was then that Ignatius and his six followers came to a decision to go to Jerusalem, after being ordained as priests, in a body, but without any thought of starting a new religious order. They were to meet at Venice in January 1537. If after meeting, it was found that the pilgrimage was not feasible within a year, *i.e.*, by January 1538, for any reason, they would return to Rome, as was the custom of returned pilgrims, and place themselves ready for any

† Inquisition had different meanings in different ages from burn-d by religious fanatics, of heretics who would perhaps not repent n under torture, to excommunication of the present day. Similarly, ry in early days was not considered as inhuman as at present.

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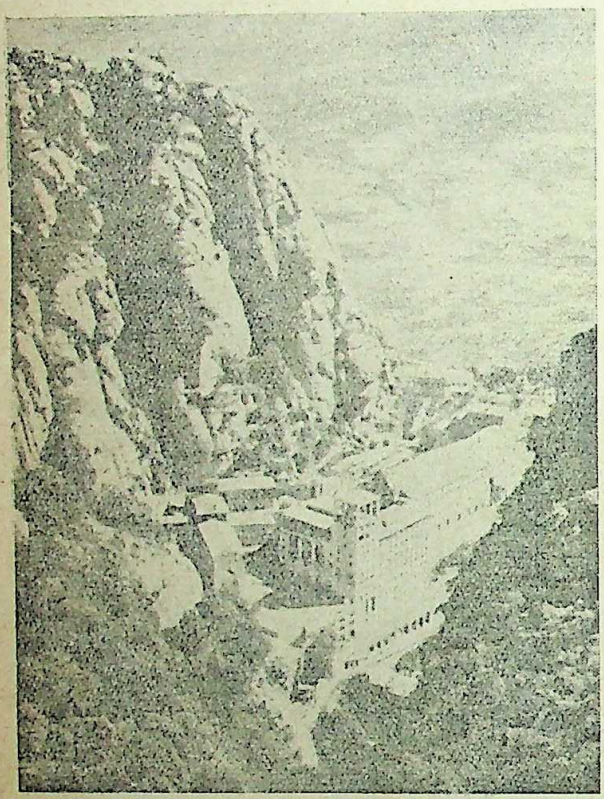
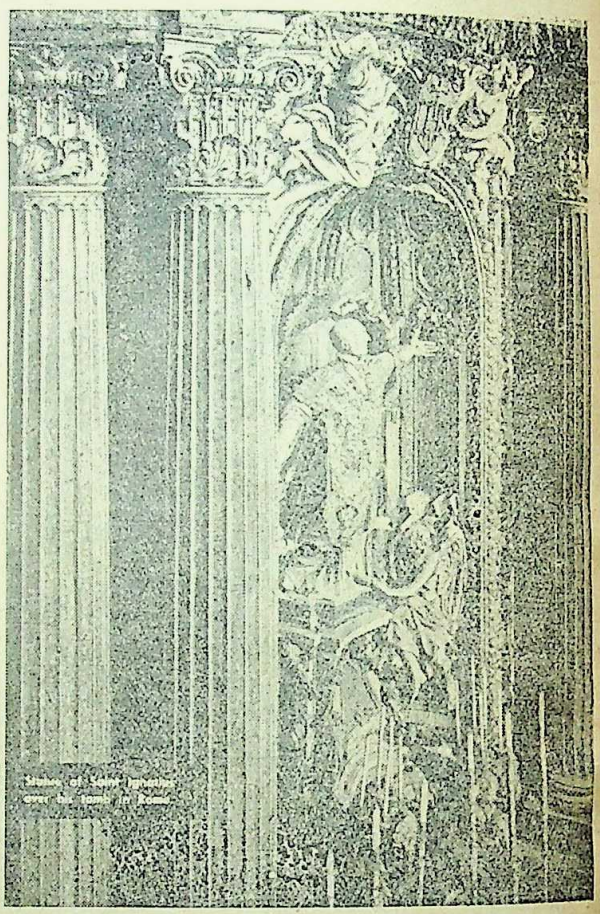
task that the Pope might give. The scholars used to have excursions and discussions together and at a meeting in an unused Chapel at Montmarte took the vows of poverty and chastity and of going to Jerusalem. Now Xavier made the Spiritual Exercises for the first time. For many years Ignatius had been trying unostentatiously to get him into his fold, even by helping him to find students, when Francis took to teaching and was in a bad way, fianancially.



Montserrat today

Favre was already ordained as priest in 1534. Ignatius now began the study of theology under the Dominicans and learned to revere the teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas, who was later chosen as the intellectual master of the Society of Jesus. Long years of self-imposed austerity and privations, having gravely injured the stomach, Ignatius was advised by the Doctors to take rest in his native land, Spain. This he intended, while the others were graduating. His rest-cure began with his usual life in a poor-house just outside the Loyola domains, and preaching, in spite of importunities to go and live in the castle. Then he began to look up, always on foot, the families of Xavier, Laynez and Salmeron, Bobadilla having no family. He walked a hundred miles to see his disciple Castro of early Paris days, near Valentia. From Valentia he sailed to Genoa, despite risk of falling into the hands of Turkish pirates, and met a fierce tempest. Worse experience befell him when he slipped from a foot-bridge crossing the Appenines from Genoa towards Bologna. After a week in hospital, he proceeded to Venice instead, towards the end of 1535 and living his usual life, he studied theology. Here another disciple Hoces was won. While he was waiting for the others, he was again suspected, tried and released.



Statue of St. Ignatius over his tomb in Rome

After having obtained their Master's degrees and not waiting for their D.D., the Paris party made a hurried start for Venice as war broke out between France and Spain. They were joined by two priests, Jay and Broet, and Codure, attracted by the spiritual charm of Favre. Thus five Spaniards and four Frenchmen started for Venice through neutral Lorraine, Germany and Switzerland, owing to the war, speaking French or Spanish, as occasion demanded. On the way, having no shelter, they had to pray publicly, which brought heated debates with the Protestants, who filled the country. This intensive walk amidst turmoils of war without any knowledge of German was a great feat. After eight weeks they arrived at Venice in January 1537, and found Ignatius, who had long spent all his substance and was being maintained by help sent from Spain.

As there was no sailing to Palestine at that season owing to war and weather, the pilgrims began their usual austere life and work in the hospitals. Expecting

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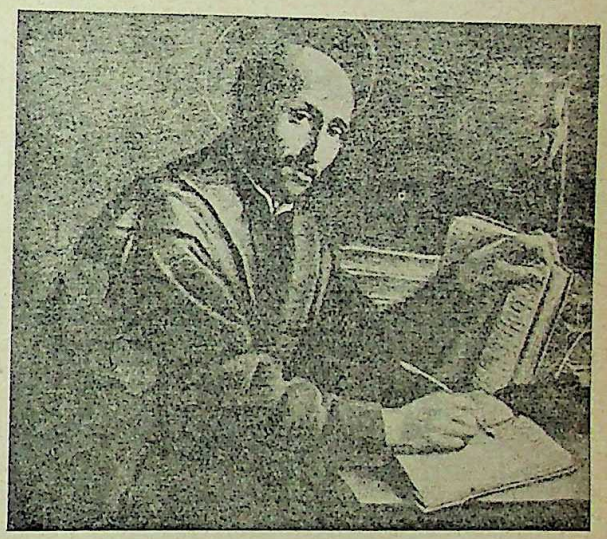
e weather to improve later, they decided to go to ome to obtain the Pope's blessing on the pilgrimage, gnatius remaining behind fearing opposition in ome. They divided into parties and splashed in mud d water, starving or having very little food during eir long eight months' journey of over 300 miles. avier was once cleaning the suppurating sores, as of leper, when to crush his rebellious feeling of avoid-g contagion, he swallowed the filth. A similar story in se of a plague patient is recorded about Ignatius.

At Rome, His Holiness blessed them after receiv-g them in audience and granting a faculty to receive Holy Orders from any Bishop "on the sufficient atrimony of learning." The Pope and some Spanish entlemen gave unsolicited monetary help for the ssage to Jerusalem and they came to Venice. Leav-g out Favre, already a priest, 5 out of 6, including natius and Xavier were now ordained as priests. hey delayed saying their Mass (unusual these days) t left Venice in parties to seek seclusion, for forty ys, Ignatius, Favre and Laynez going to Vincenza. fter their seclusion, the others joined them there. The urkish war continued and the visit to Palestine seemed r off. So it was decided that Ignatius, Xavier and aynez would go to Rome and put themselves at the sposal of the Pope. Others were to go to various niversities in North Italy, in parties to attract student llowers. But before separating, they decided to call e Society the Company of Jesus. Ignatius was ain accused of heresy (for the eighth time). He oved the Governor of Rome and the Pope for a orough investigation, even when the detractors cked out.

The Pope was already sending out Jesuits to ferent places for Evangelical work as protagonists in nter-reformation. The mission to Ireland, under-en under great difficulties against grave warnings Lyons and Edinburgh, was abandoned within five eks, owing to Protestant inroads at the time. vier was sent to the East. Others were going to erica and Africa. In fact, these missions were very ch in demand, not only to convert the natives, but o to keep the Empire-builders virtuous.

In view of the Pope's constant demands on the uits to go to work in distant stations, it was ided after much deliberation to bind themselves ether under a vow of obedience to one of their n members, as superior or General, elected for life. was to be helped by a council of members present the time. Ignatius was unanimously chosen General d took office in spite of his reluctance. The Society uld become thus a new religious order instead of a untary association, as hitherto, if the Pope ap-oved it and did not compel them to join any of the sting orders. Thus was the plan of a compact unity ceived and fortified by the election of a General, en if the Pope did not support it. Training of new members would involve a two-year noviceship. Now-a-days a novice meditates on the Spiritual Exercises for two years. Then he takes the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. After 2 or 3 years of study of languages, he takes up philosophy for three years. Then follows three years of Regency-teaching or special studies. Then he studies theology for 4 years, being ordained "Priest," after the third. The "brothers" on the other hand, after three years of noviceship and two years of practical work after taking the same vows, do the secular work. Apart from the first two years, all these are intellectual work for the Fathers, as the priests are called, and the course is finished with another year of spiritual studies, in Tertianship, before being sent out for field work. Normal period is thus 15 years.



St. Ignatius (Loyola)

The vow of obedience without question to the Superior and to the Pope was a later development, while the vows of chastity and poverty, already taken at Montemarte, were introduced from the beginning. Whether Divine office were to be individually recited instead of being sung in a choir, was the subject of considerable controversy. It was argued that the latter would hamper the work of charity and apostolate.

The Pope when approached. directed that it should be scrutinised by Father Badia, who highly commended it. The Pope then gave his preliminary approbation. However, a Cardinal, who was to draw up the Papal Bull (edict) opposed it on the grounds of exclusion of Choir duties, election of Superior for life and obedience to Pope, the last being superfluous. The Pope then turned to another Cardinal, who, while generally approving the whole, was basically against the starting of a new religious order. Ignatius then reverted to his usual remedy in difficulties, *i.e.*, to praying and vowing ten thousand Masses for a change of heart in the Cardinal. Ignatius further did a little

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propaganda work. Recommendations came from outstations, where the Pilgrims had done good work. The Cardinal finally yielded and the Pope gave verbal approval in 1539. The Bull, however, establishing the Society of Jesus, bore the date, 1540. The missions in Europe continued with vigour, but we are more concerned with the mission to the East, which Xavier undertook.

We may notice a parallel in modern India, where Gandhiji's propaganda and Satyagraha or fasting to change people's hearts, produced unimaginable results.

We now come to the Xavier mission, one of the many, sent out by the Pope. King John III of Portugal who had endowed the Saint Barbe College at Paris during the time of Portuguese expansion, importunated Principal Diego for priests for India to keep his doughty conquerers in the path of righteousness. The Jesuits were prepared to go anywhere, provided the Pope supported the proposal. So Diego wrote to the King, who approached the Pope nine months later. The Pope, however, would not give his support, unless the mission was voluntary, as the journey was very hazardous. The king after investigation about the Jesuits, asked for two of them from the Pope. Some were proposed for the mission, but illness or other causes intervened, until Xavier, not initially marked for the Indian mission and acting as secretary to Ignatius, was appointed to it at very short notice. He accompanied the Portuguese ambassador to Lisbon, *via* Bologna, Loreto, Regio, Parma, sacred places, and Lyons and Xavier, where he had a last look at the castle from a distance. Arriving at Lisbon, he lived in a hospice and on alms, rejecting the King's offer to live comfortably as his guest. The King fascinated by his work detained him for eight months. Then his long journey with two followers, Paul and Mansillas, accompanying the Portuguese. Governor, began. The vessel was cramped with passengers, merchandise, provisions, food, clothing, dirty water and all sorts of diseases. The sea was infested with pirates and there was danger from tempests, shoals and fire. He got busy with his usual work on the journey, preaching and tending the sick. At Mozambique, he fell ill himself. He met the Moslems for the first time at Malindi. The Christians he found at Socotra, were persecuted by the Moslems. Knowing that help could have been easily given by the King, Xavier wrote to him. He reached Goa after thirteen months.

In India, Calicut was first visited by the European

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Pedro in 1486. Vasco da Gama came in 1497-98. During the Portuguese expansion, Albuquerque conquered Goa in 1510, establishing a number of stations. He also conquered Cochin and Ceylon in Southern India and Malacca on the opposite coast in 1511 and Ormuz at the head of Persian Gulf in 1515, thus paving the way for Xavier's activities. Albuquerque was a pious, firm and wise ruler, building the fine hospitals and the Church at Goa. The atrocities of the early conquerors as attributed to him were due to fear. Equally unfortunate was the defeatist mentality of the early missionaries who considered that when rational creatures and potential converts did not respond, Christ had no duty towards them. Such deeds and such attitudes, perhaps, explain the slow progress of Evangelical work in India notwithstanding the great endeavours that Xavier made, which interest us most in the Jesuit history. Real India was not touched—too few missionaries came despite earnest importunities of Xavier to the King and the Pope. The quest was for both pepper and spices (trade) and for the soul (conversion) backed by the Portuguese Armada. The pepper predominated. Portuguese rapacity appeared no whit less unconquerable than Indian customs regarding child marriage, Sati rites as noticed by foreigners.

At Goa, hospitals, prisons and slaves in the market kept Xavier busy in his own way of service. After five months at Goa, he proceeded to Cape Comorin, where barefooted, in tattered gown, he lived in the Fishery Coast for two years. He slept anywhere, amidst rats, snakes and mosquitoes and ate anything available. Language was also a great handicap, but he Baptised 10,000 souls in a month, 1 every 2 minutes, counting 12 hours work in the day. He arrived at Cochin in 1545 and sent a strong protest to the queen regarding the profligacy of the Portuguese. He walked or voyaged to many places: Cochin, Goa, Negapatam, whence he earnestly appealed to the King and to the Pope for Portuguese assistance, but without avail, even when wild tribes, helped by a local Raja massacred 500 Christians. He then spent four months at Madras at the shrine of St. Thomas.

In 1545, he sailed for Malacca, the outpost of the Portuguese Empire, beyond the Indian land and in his usual service, converted a Japanese, Yajiro, who drew bright pictures of prospect in Japan, full of Universities and easygoing, steadfast people. In 1546, he sailed for Ambonia in the Straits through the pirate-ridden seas and was for 3 months at Moro, amongst the head-hunting aborigines. He then returned to examine the progress in India that was left behind, and visited Cochin, Kandy (Ceylon), Goa, Bassein, Goa, Fishery Coast, Cochin, Goa, Cochin, Bassein and Goa in quick succession walking or voyaging 5,000 miles. He also sent a mission to Ormuz. With letters of credit, constituting himself as Portuguese Ambas-

sador, he left Goa in 1549 with two priests, Yajira and two other Jesuit converts for a 6,000 miles voyage. The latter part of it was in a pirate boat, where idol worship and superstitions nauseated Xavier. In spite of the efforts of the skipper and others to winter in a Chinese port, luck took them to Japan.

The trip to Japan proved a great disappointment. Japan at the time was under a nominal phantom king, a nonentity. It was really ruled by powerful rival chieftains, some of whom were friendly to Xavier in the hope that trade would prosper or follow in his wake. He shuttled from one chieftain to another under most trying conditions and once walked 300 miles in dead winter to post a letter in a Portuguese boat. Universities described by Yajiro proved to be Buddhist Monasteries. He was kept in virtual confinement by a chieftain as a bait for merchants to come. Yet he sought to meet the King at the Capital Kyoto in 1550 and made a journey of 300 miles in advanced winter, without shoes in land, and with all sorts of abuse on the sea. He was even pelted with stones by children, which almost broke the patience, even of Xavier. He was given no shelter, until helped by a nobleman, whose troop he followed as a lackey to the Capital. But he could not get an audience with the king, as he was without any presents, having left them with his follower Toress in the stronghold of a chieftain. To bring the presents, he undertook a tedious and trying journey back, of 500 miles in two months, having made his garb more decent, as advised, for a better reception. However, he abandoned his previous ideas and thought of giving his presents to the chieftain. He gradually realised that there was nothing

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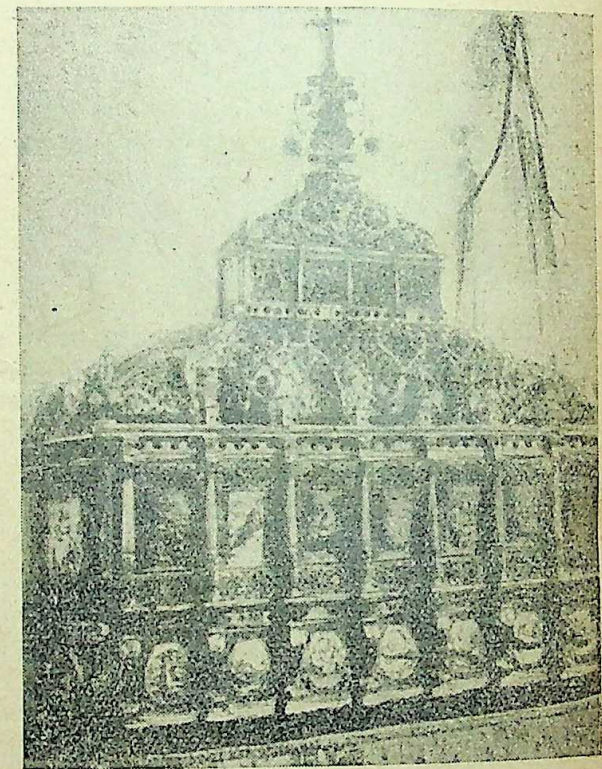
doing in Japan. He came to think that as Japan held the Chinese as their ideal, in scripts, arts and philosophy, it would be best to convert China first, as a short cut to conversion of Japan. Not having received any mails for a long time also, he hastened and left Japan in 1551, after making 2,000 converts, all the same. Near Hong Kong he met Piere, from whom he learnt about 30 Portuguese seamen rotting in the dungeons of Canton, being caught as smugglers, against the king's express orders, prohibiting all trade. Earlier Xavier had met Piere in Japan. Having received offers of the use of his ship and of meeting all expenses, he decided to have Piere as the Portuguese Ambassador to the King of China, officially to be made by the Viceroy at Goa and to return to China early with fresh presents for the King and to release the Canton prisoners. While Piere was outfitting his vessel at Malacca, he returned to Cochin to find the College and Churches functioning well. Reaching Goa in 1552, he dismissed the unadopted high-handed Principal Gomes of the College and visited some other stations. He spent a huge amount of money purchasing pepper and other merchandise as well as presents for the Chinese King. Then he returned to Malacca, where Alvero was the Grand Captain of the Malaccas, in command of the harbour and the channel. He wanted to be the Portuguese Ambassador himself and detained Piere, though Xavier carried the diploma from the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa appointing Piere as Ambassador to the King of China. He had, however, left the precious document constituting himself the Apostolic Nuncio of the East, behind. From Malacca he undertook his last journey of 1,500 miles against all warnings and reached Sanchien, a small island near Canton, on the main land. No vessel would take him ashore. All Portuguese ships sailed away in time and ration ran short. Xavier, left with one companion, caught high fever and was bled but to no avail. He soon died (1552). His body, covered in lime in a coffin, was twice removed until it found a last resting place at Goa in the great shrine.

St. Xavier



Shrine at Goa

Immediate subsequent history of the Jesuits in India was their contact with the Mogul Emperors. Babar conquered India by defeating Ibrahim Lodi in 1510. Akbar, his grandson, reigned from 1556 to 1605. The first Jesuit mission was sent to Akbar at his invitation in 1580 to Fatehpur Sikri from Goa. But he had met the first Jesuit in 1573, and Periera from Bengal was sent to him in 1578. Two Jesuit Fathers accompanied Akbar in his Kabul campaign in 1581. He used to hold religious discussions with them sometimes late in the nights, as with other religious preceptors. The second mission to Akbar at Lahore dated about 1591. The third mission, dated 1595, accompanied Akbar to Kashmir in 1597, returned to Agra in 1598, went to Deccan in 1599 and continued with him until the end of his days at Lahore. But it appears that besides making a deep impression, there was no change of faith. Akbar's successors also kept some

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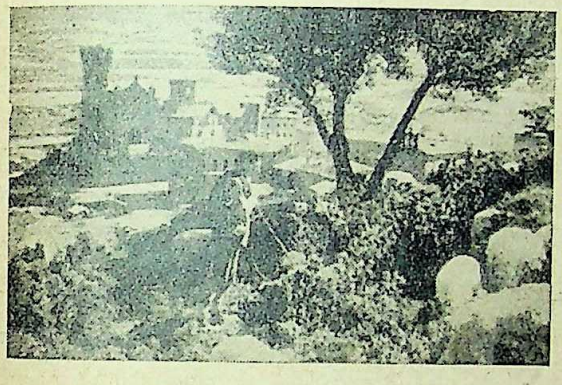
contact with the Fathers until the time of the orthodox Aurangzeb.

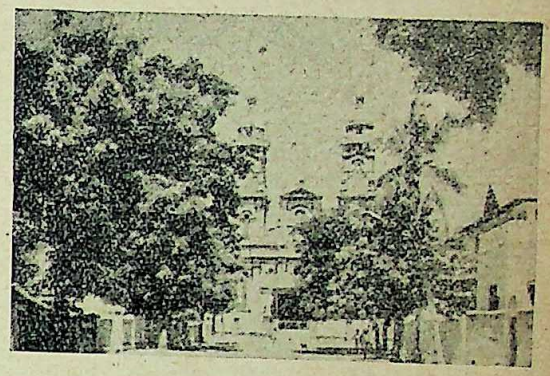
The Jesuits became very powerful and appeared very pushing in their methods. They were very popular with the common people and began to interfere in politics, particularly in South America. All these the ruling Princes of Europe could not ignore. They were, therefore, banned. Later, the Pope also was influenced to ban the Jesuits, as he was at that time, one of the ruling potentates and not simply the Episcopal head without temporal powers, as now. All this went on during the third quarter of the 18th century until the Society stopped altogether in 1773. Only Russia did not join the ban, belonging to the opposite political party and wanting Jesuits to educate



Xavier Castle today

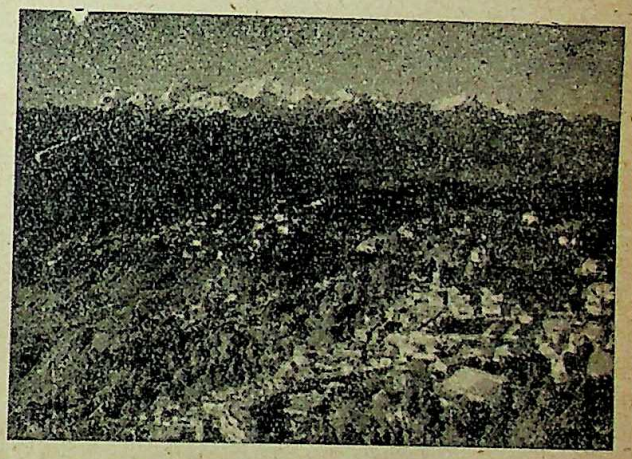
the country. So the Jesuits clustered there for the time. The Pope removed the ban from certain countries in 1805 and generally in 1814. This became effective in India between 1836 and 1850, when the Jesuit Fathers came and started work from four Centres. The first was from France in Madura in South India; the second from Belgium in Bengal (Calcutta); the third from Germany and later Spain in Bombay; and the fourth from Italy in Bangalore. But now the foreigners are dwindling in numbers or have left and there are more and more Indian Jesuits only. Gradually these enclaves expanded into many districts or Provinces, under a Superior directly under the General who is helped by six assistants in Italy.

There grew big training institutions in Kurseong, Shembaganur and Poona. and minor ones in other centres, such as, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, etc., for parts of the complete course. Students come from various districts, such as, Darjeeling, Patna, etc., and are partly maintained, except perhaps in Southern India, from alms from abroad. The St. Mary's College at



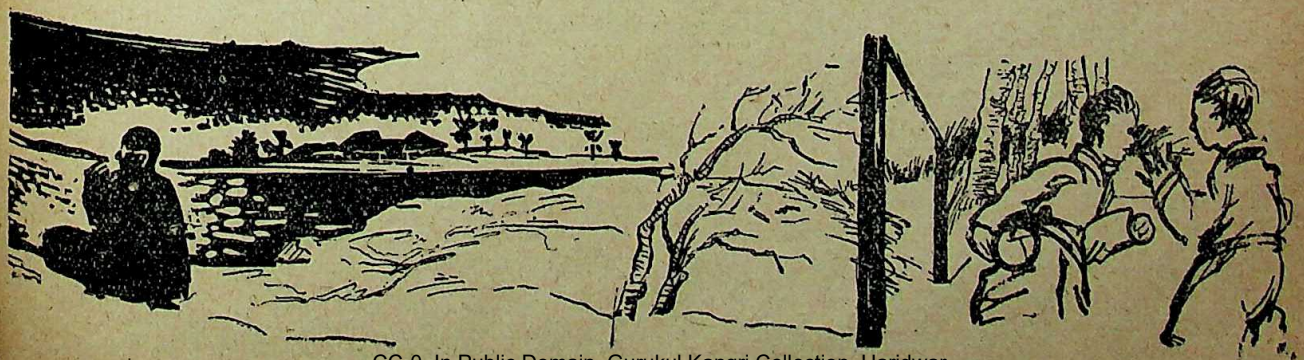
Cathedral at Cochin

Kurseong is, however, under the Calcutta district as an exception, being built up from there. The present



St. Mary's College, Kurseong

position and the benevolent work of the Fathers here have been dealt with in another article of mine, "Way Back From Darjeeling."



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MERCARA—THE CAPITAL OF COLOURFUL COORG

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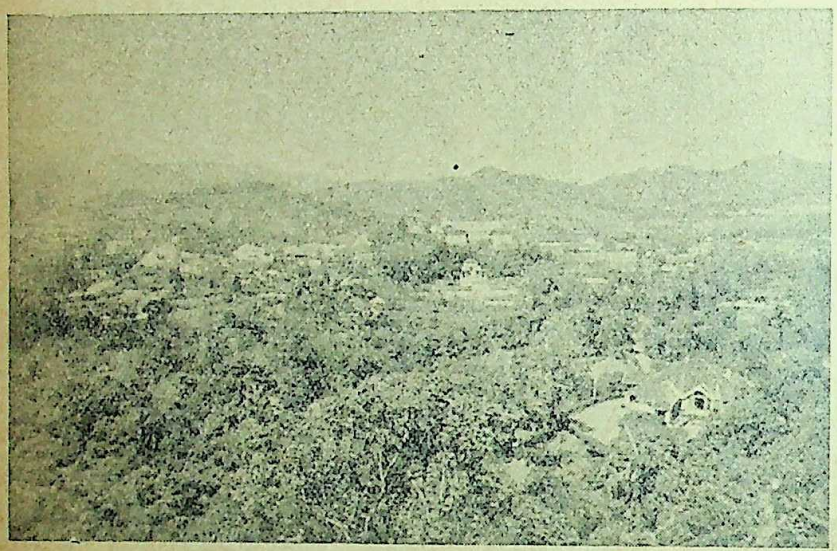
By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

"Where on earth is Mercara?" is what even most of the Indians ask. Like a shy, self-conscious maiden, this charming town is still wrapped in mystery and is yet to be fairly known by connoisseurs of Nature's beauty. Cradled in the uplands of South India, surrounded by dense forests and watered by the sacred Cauvery, Mercara is the dreamland of one and all. With its band of enterprising people and glorious historical background, the town offers a way of life and thought altogether new and novel.

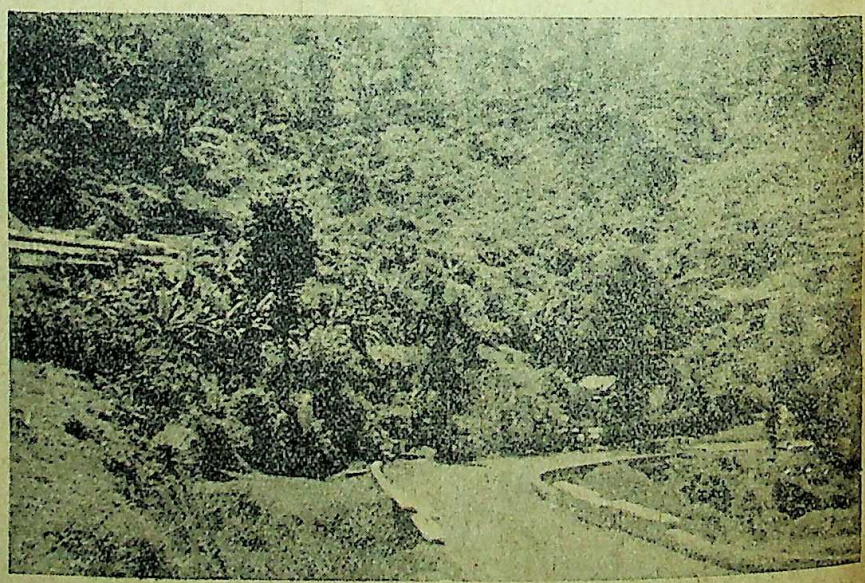


Mercara Town—The Capital of Coorg

Perched at an average elevation of about 4,000 feet above sea-level, Mercara, the metropolis of Coorg State, enjoys a lovable climate with enough rainfall to feed its coffee and cardamom gardens and paddy fields. The town is flooded with numerous estates of pepper, sugar-cane, oranges, plantains and coffee. Almost bordering the zigzag roads of Mercara are the dense forests, rich in flora and fauna. Besides offering a variety of useful timber to its people, these jungles are the haunting grounds of the sportsmen who come here for big-game hunting, fun and exhilaration.

The eighty-mile motor drive which lasts for about 5 hours takes us from Mysore City to Mercara. The journey is fascinating in itself. As one moves on in the bus or in car, one sees long-lingering sights of green wooded mountains, tiny waterfalls making their way right through the winding road, the gently flowing Cauvery and the pleasant pastoral scenes.

The Coorgs or Kodagas, as the dwellers of Mercara are known, are noted for their pleasing manners, hospitality and graceful traditions. They are Hindus by religion and martial by blood. The mountain homes and awful surroundings of nature have moulded them to be aggressive and fearless. No wonder, then, that they have given some of the finest soldiers to their motherland. The first Indian Commander-in-Chief, General Cariappa, hails from Mercara and also Lt.-General Timmiah who is now heading for the same honour. The national dress of the Coorgs, the white turban and the black long coat with the inevitable *Odi Katti*, certifies the fact that they are warriors by race and lovers of pastoral life. These "children of the soil" have never known anything called famine even in the most trying times.



A street view in the heart of Mercara. The winding road actually touches the forest and coffee gardens

Perhaps, nowhere else in the whole of India is the fair sex so much adored as in Coorg. The women of Mercara hold an honourable position at home and in society and enjoy the same sort of freedom as their men-folk. While child marriages are extinct, the Coorg women marry only after adolescence or they

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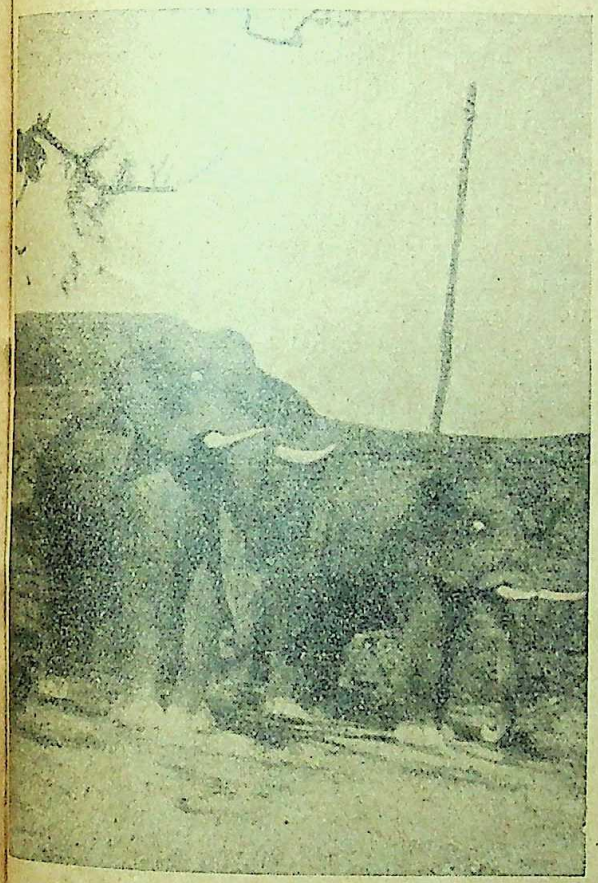
y even live the life of "single blessedness" if they desire. Female education is widespread and is gely responsible for their advancement in different lks of life.

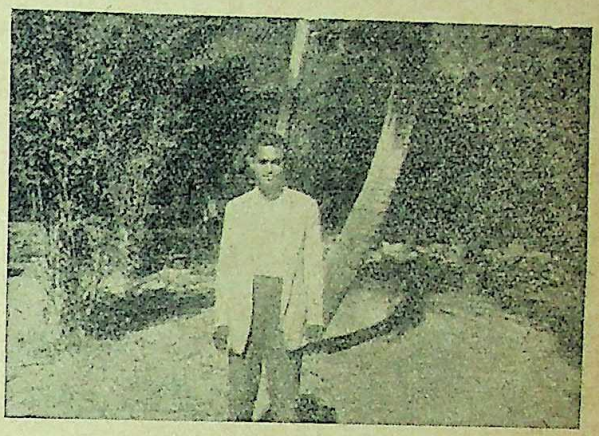
Mercara is a comparatively less known hill-station ere the temperature hardly shoots up beyond 75 g. even in the hottest summers. The houses, most which are tile-roofed and single-storeyed, are often parated from each other as they are built on the ll-tops. This Capital town has a civil hospital, parks d playgrounds, a Convent for girls, a High School



The stone-elephants in the Fort area at Mercara. These are life-sized and evoke awe and wonder at first sight

boys and a Government College. The Legislative embly and the Secretariat are housed at the Old t which is practically the last remains of the erful Linga Raja who once ruled over Coorg. The of elephants in the Fort area are a great attrac- to tourists who can hardly make out at first ht that they are only made out of massive stones. e current Five-Year Plan of the Government of ia gives enough scope for furthering the prospects agriculture and industry, thus promising a better ure to its citizens.

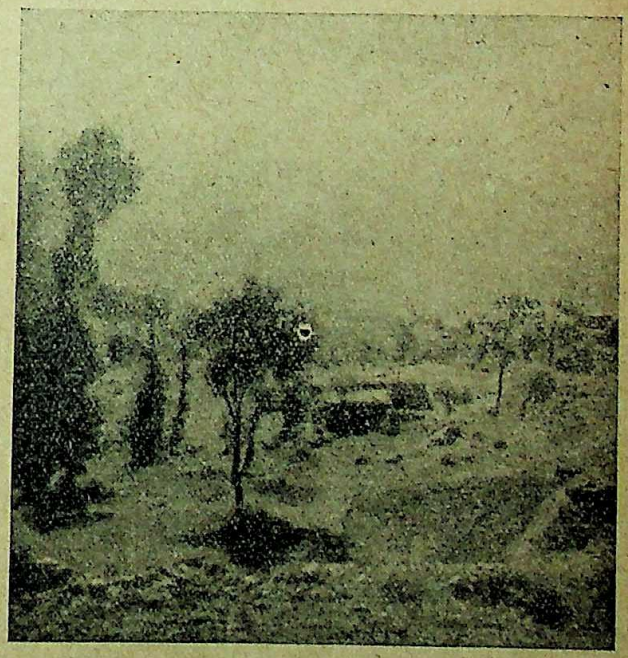
The *Raja Seat* and the *Stewart Hills* are the most ght-after beauty spots of Mercara which none can afford to miss. The far-off mountain ranges touching the lazy black clouds, green pastures and the swift-flowing Cauveri can be sighted at the *Raja Seat* where one is lost in oneself in the presence of Nature's majesty. Everyone has paid one's humble tribute to this charming piece of land.



The writer in the colourful land of the Kodagas

"Coorg has been compared to *Meru* among mountains, jasmine among flowers and to a string of pearls around the neck of an enchanting girl."

A Coorg wedding is an affair which should be seen and must not be missed by anyone. It is very



A typical hamlet in the Coorg State

different from other Hindu weddings as the Kodagas neither believe in Brahmins nor in Fire worship There is a lot of anxious "to do" on the wedding day. Right before the auspicious hour the guests, dressed in their pleasing multi-coloured attire, assemble and add lustre to the scene. Presently the bride, dressed in

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The bride (*centre*) carrying water to the bridegroom's house

her best and laden with ornaments, overwhelmed with joy and pleasure, is brought to the *mandapam*, the wedding place, by her friends and relations. To the music of band and pipe are added the marriage songs of the priests. After certain religious rites the bride's father requests the guests for a sumptuous dinner. After dinner there is an exciting dance. Similar proceedings have been in progress all the while at the groom's place and it is only late in the night that the couple are united. Again, there is a feast, drinks and dance after which the bride leaves with her husband in a complex atmosphere of deep agony and unknown pleasures.

This lovely hill station, with its peculiar customs and delightful way of life of its own, should no longer be allowed to play the "hide and seek game" with the world at large. Every one can be familiar with it only when the bashful face of the town is unveiled, when better hotels are opened and means of transport improved further. A great future awaits Mercara which already occupies a pride of place in the hearts of world trampers.

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PLEASE TAKE MY CHILDREN

OVER the years, George and Josephine Morris had built a rich life together—a life which was all the richer, in their eyes, because both had worked so long to reach it.

Birthdays come almost every month, with a cake and party for each

Biscuits for dinner—3 panfuls—are appreciatively eyed by Janett, age 5

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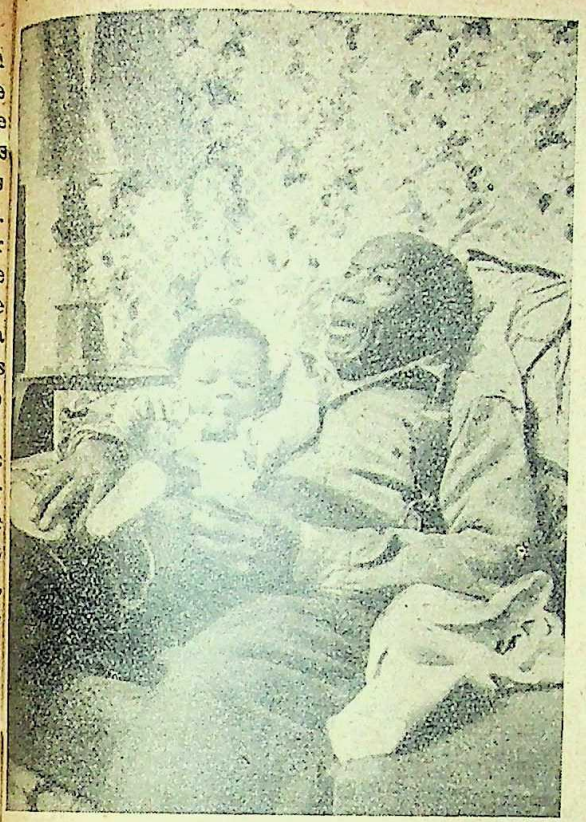
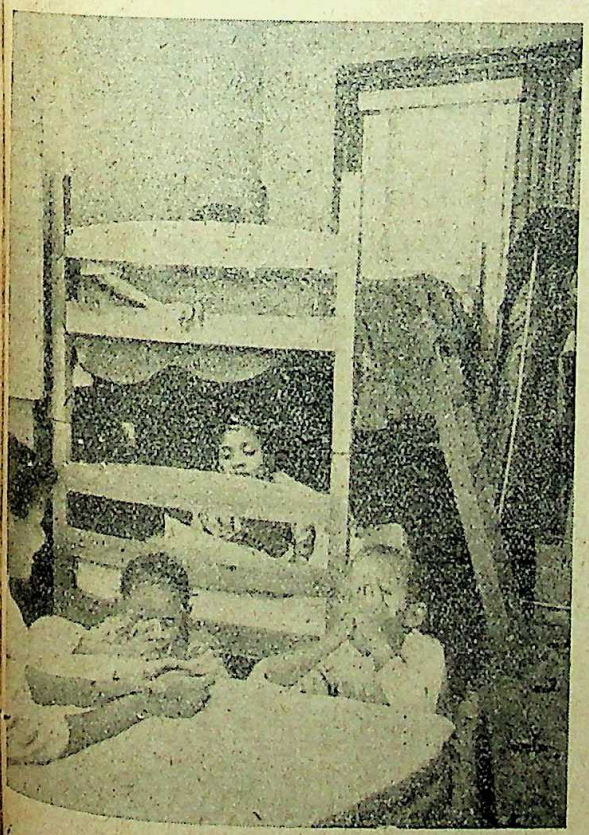
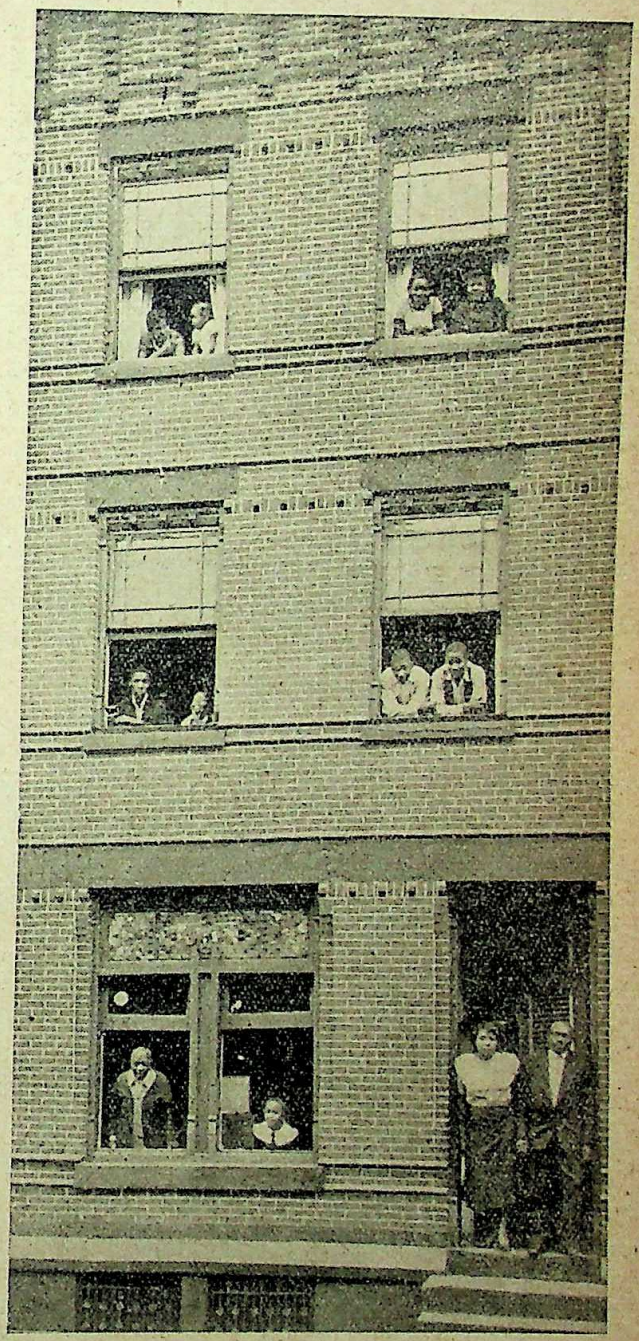


Senior member of the family is grandfather Paulhill, Aunt Jo's father. He walks 5 miles for exercise and will teach a dance step to any child



Pattie (lower bed) and Adelaide listen in while young Jo hears the little girls' prayers

Four years ago George and Josephine, then in their middle forties, and Mrs. Morris's father were living quietly and comfortably in the same eight-room house here which the Morrises had bought soon after their marriage in 1942. They had no children. After years of hard work and saving, George Morris had



This neat three-storied house was bought by Morrises in 1942. Girls sleep in 1 room, boys in 2

built the labor organization and the career in labor he had dreamed of. Today he is business agent of the Window Cleaners and Maintenance Union, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor. For the first time in his life he was able to save regularly. Josephine worked and was saving too.

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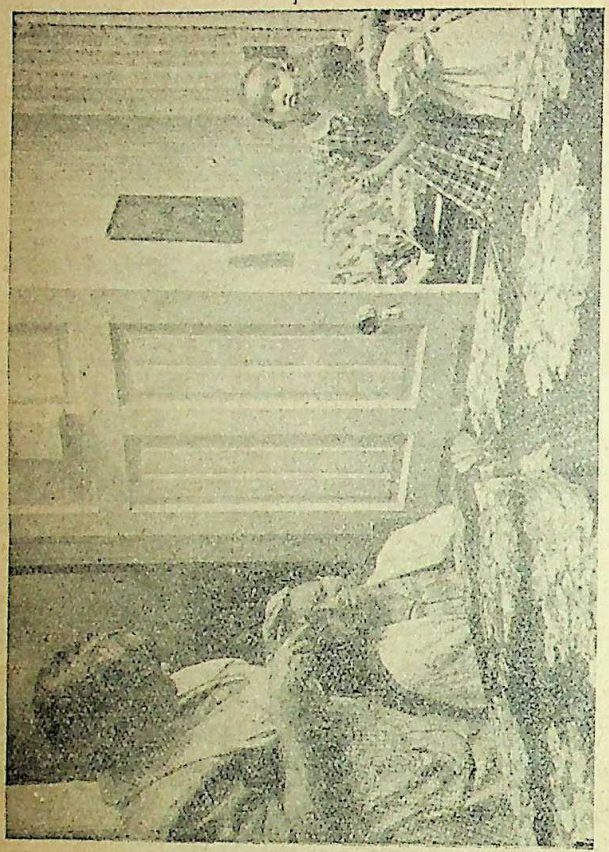
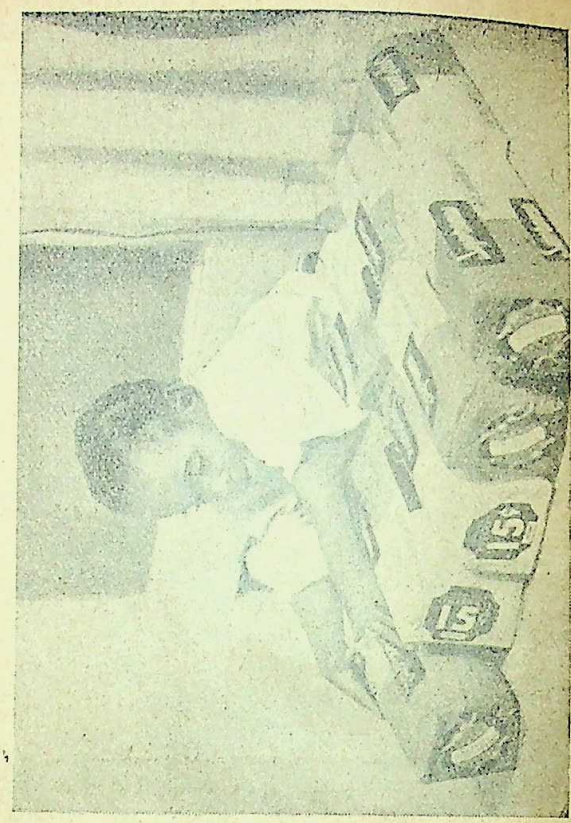
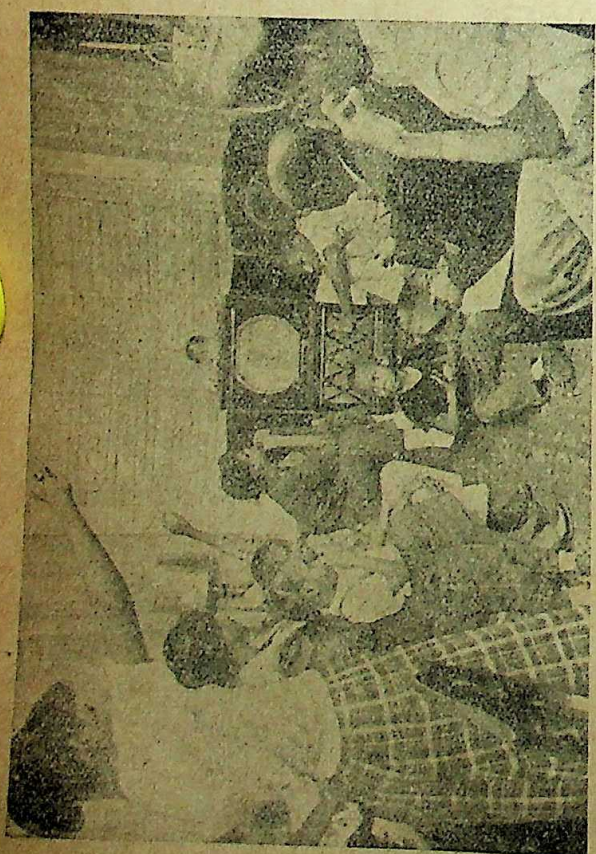


Home haircuts save money, but the older boys object. Uncle Billie explains that a small fund of money has to take care of all their little brothers and sisters



After-school snacks help use up 6 to 7 loaves of bread a day. Aunt Jo buys fruit and vegetables, meat in bulk



The television set is in big demand and the programme is selected by the majority of the party

Fanny yawns after an exciting day and Aunt Jo relaxes

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Suddenly, in 1951, something happened which completely changed their way of life. It became necessary to use their savings, yet both unhesitatingly say, "Our richest years began when our savings disappeared."

One morning in April 1951, Josephine's younger sister, Amanda, died unexpectedly after the birth of her ninth child. The older children were staying in the Morris home while the mother was in the hospital. A few hours after Josephine telephoned the news from the hospital, George Morris called the children together and said simply, "Your mother is dead. From now on you live here."

There had been no time to talk with Josephine about it. When he said, "You live here," he spoke on impulse, thinking of the days just ahead. Because the children almost never saw their father, Amanda had been their security, the center of their lives. There was no way to soften the news of her death, but George Morris wanted to assure them at once of a home and someone to care what happened to them.

The Morrises were the only relatives able to take the children and keep them together as a family. Donald, the oldest, was away in service in the Air Force. State authorities would see that the other eight, from Fanny Rebecca, not yet two days old, to Lawrence, fourteen, were placed in institutions or foster homes. The children would, of course, be separated. In addition to losing their mother and their home, they would lose each other. The older boys, fourteen, twelve and nine, were already having adolescent adjustment difficulties about which Amanda had been consulting Mr. Morris before her death. All of the children needed to "belong." What would happen if all the order they had known were wiped out at once?

For Josephine, who loved Amanda's children dearly, there was no alternative. "There was nothing else to do," she says simply. But she admits she will never forget her wonder that Mr. Billie (Mrs. Morris's nickname for her husband) should so willingly agree, to give and do so much for children who were not his people, but mine."

So it happened that for the Morrises there was nothing gradual about parenthood. With their ready-made family they found that problems and concerns which many parents face one or two at a time, and over a period of years, "just fell in our laps all at once." In addition to the newborn baby, not yet home from the hospital, there were a two-year-old, just beginning to feel independent; a five-year-old starting kindergarten; three children, seven, nine and eleven, in grade school; a twelve-year-old just ready for junior high school; a fourteen-year-old who would enter high school within months; and a boy in service soon to be sent to Korea.

The decision was made in love, but neither Mr. Billie nor Aunt Jo underestimated the changes in their own lives this decision would bring.

Mrs. Morris would have to leave her job. The constant care of a new baby and a two-year-old would keep her on her feet many more hours, day and night, than she was used to. Uncle Billie and Aunt Jo worried secretly about the effect the new life would have on the other (and they still do) but both felt, deeply, that they had to try.

First-floor hall is the only "free space" used for play, sorting laundry, checking off chores on a blackboard. Married Donald's 2-year-old son also tries it out for basket-ball

The first year was hard, they admit. During those first weeks the new baby's crib was a market basket. Until the Morrises could get more beds, some of the children slept on the floor, with the front bedroom an improvised dormitory for the boys, the back bedroom for the girls. Mrs. Morris's first purchase was $60 worth of sheets and pillowcases. Until they could get chests to provide more drawer space, she used a large table in one of the bedrooms for the children's clothes. They ate meals in two shifts or, when the family did sit down to dinner together, in different rooms. The overflow from the dining room ate at the kitchen table.

One of the first projects was to have the long oversized table made for a corner of the kitchen (the dining room isn't large enough to hold it) because "we hated not being able to eat together." Wall benches

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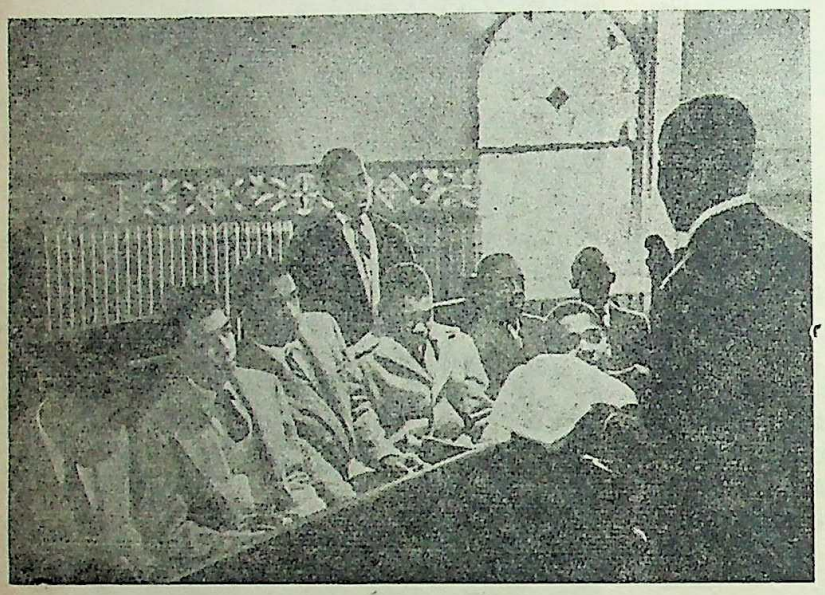
were covered in soft yellow plastic cloth to match the bright tabletop. Then a new heating system for the house, an electric freezer to preserve large quantities of food, an automatic washing machine, bunk beds and chests quickly reduced the Morris's savings.

With so many children in school, Mrs. Morris joined two Parent Teacher Associations (she belongs to three now), and she and Uncle Billie began having occasional talks with the children's teachers. Luckily all of them make good grades and all of them, so far, like school and hate to miss more than a day.



The Morris family is active in religious circles. Here John recites at a church youth gathering

Mrs. Morris is gratified that the children's teachers agree with her on one point. "We can't give them much: our food isn't fancy; they have to wear hand-me-downs; we can't afford allowances. But this is a happy house. Our children go off to school happy, and the teachers say that's the most important thing."

Aunt Jo found that the only way to work out the early-morning scramble of getting six off to school was to establish a few rules—the order of precedence in the one bathroom, who would help get breakfast, who would help get Victor ready for kindergarten. Then she saw that the rules were followed and let the young ones get themselves off.

The two oldest girls have been invaluable help from the beginning. Eleven-year-old Adelaide is the first downstairs in the morning, gets breakfast for everyone, packs lunches for those who will need them. Josephine (named for Aunt Jo), three years older than Adelaide, can turn her hand to any household job.

For the older children that first year was hard too. The boys, especially, found adjustment to a new household and new rules hard. They didn't like having to ask permission when they went out. But the Morrises, with so many to care for, felt they had to know where the children were.

For the Morrises the days and weeks of those first years as parents run together in their memories. But with every memory shared the new family has grown closer. As each Thanksgiving Day and Christmas finds the family together, the children happy and growing, the Morrises give added thinks—and happily buy a larger turkey.

The Morrises feel that their children have co-operated to an amazing extent. The children know how much it means to be together. The older ones understand from acquaintances at school that even having to tell where you are going and having to be home by a certain time is better than having no one to care whether you come home or not.

Part of the accord, too, comes from the children's background. Thanks to Amanda, they came to the Morrises with the habit of love and of being a family, and with the habit of work. Amanda had kept them together, and happy, on even less means than the Morrises.

The house on North Gratz Street in Philadelphia doesn't really come alive until the children start arriving home from school in the afternoon. But there is an order of events under all the noise and fun. First comes the change from school clothes to work clothes. Then to the kitchen for food. Aunt Jo, picking up the news of the day from each arrival, is busily preparing the early morning wash to be ironed. But part of her thoughts are on the children's chores to come. Victor didn't clean the bathtub this morning. Butch still has the stairway to do. Pattie can get the little girls dressed after their afternoon naps and help Adelaide with dinner. The clothes are sorted into piles for John and Josephine who will be busy at the two ironing boards in the basement for an hour or so.

When Uncle Billie comes home a little after six, chores and homework are nearly finished, the television set is turned on in the living room, and dinner is ready to go on the table.

George Morris was born on a farm in Maryland and worked his way through Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia. When he came to Philadelphia with his machinist's certificate he couldn't get a job without a union card and couldn't join a union without a job. So he took the first work he could find, cleaning windows. Window-cleaners and janitors were not organised into unions in the early 1920's. He and a friend decided to do something about it and

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worked for twenty years to organize a union. To make himself more effective, Mr. Morris took special courses in writing and speaking. Today as business agent of the Window Cleaners and Maintenance Union, he helps with all first-level arbitration for wages, pensions and other benefits for the members of his union. He is a member or officer of numerous committees and organizations for education, labor, and racial understanding.

The Morrises sometimes worry that they cannot save any money, but they are deeply thankful that they have been able to keep food on the table and clothes for the children.

It has been hard, "but if it had been even harder, we would still do it." For Josephine remembers that four days after the Morrises had made the decision to take the children, she found a letter in her sister Amanda's personal things which read, in part: "My sister Josephine, please take my children and do all you can for them."—*USIS*.

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MY PILGRIMAGE TO HELSINKI, USSR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By SACHIN SEN GUPTA

III

Czechoslovakia

A gala reception was given to us when we crossed over into Czechoslovakia. The warmth of the Czechoslovakian people assembled at the border-stations, their generous hospitality and their cordial expression of fellowship freed us from the mental depression we had been seized with since we parted from our Russian friends. It took a whole day and the early hours of the night to reach Praha (Prague) by railway.

Czechoslovakia is a brilliant, beautiful, country. She has a smile as sweet as the smiles her children have. She has a strength too that cannot but be noticed in her serene calmness. On looking at her fields through the window of the railway compartment where I was seated I thought that a vast multi-coloured carpet had been spread obliquely to give us the full view of its beauty radiant against the grey background of the mighty Tatras mountains, and the whole panorama encased in a bright blue dome. The skill and care with which the cornfield carpet was woven brought to my mind images of men and women who had woven it with full knowledge of the art of agronomy and hearts filled with pride and faith. Unless the workers were so, their work could not have attained that height of perfection both in respect of production and decoration. Not an acre of land I found fallow. And yet, I was told, Czechoslovakia was not self-sufficient in food. But Czechoslovakia is rich in industry. She can well afford to buy food for her children from abroad. And that she is not miserly in feeding her sons and daughters is evident from their shining smiles, brawny muscles and sturdy work by which they have made their little country one of the most advanced industrial countries in Europe.

The famous Skoda works tempted many an aggressor. Hitler too wanted to have it at any cost. He had had it through the infamous deed of Chamberlain and also through the betrayal of some weak-kneed persons who held the administrative machinery of Czechoslovakia in their hands at one of the most crucial moments of the nation's life. Wells wrote:

> "The German armies advanced into the regions of Czechoslovakia assigned to them (through the Munich Pact) and then kept on. By March, 1939, Czechoslovakia had ceased to exist, and the Skoda works were turning out munitions for the ever-strengthening German armies—the German pressure on the contracted lines continued. One most effective weapon in their hands were the Skoda tanks."

Czechoslovakia was liberated by Soviet Russia in 1944. Since then Czechoslovakia has made a tremendous stride forward. She has not only retrieved her shattered industry, but has made Skoda and other works more productive and effective organisations of national utility.

But her greatest achievement has been the union of the Czech and the Slovak peoples. Imperialists had always tried to keep them at loggerheads as they had done in other parts of the world. Today the Czech and the Slovak peoples stand united on the foundation of a Peoples' Democracy. We visited the Czech and the Slovak regions and found both the peoples happy and proud of the union they had been able to materialise. Equity and equality have cemented the union. And this is no miracle, but a scientific social order that is sure to be reached if no selfish grouping is allowed to grow through artificial and arbitrary social and political systems. Czechoslovakia has not

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only solved her age-long racial problem by fostering the cause of the two peoples born and grown within her bounds, but has also set an example how agreements may be reached where dissensions keep races apart and antagonistic to one another in a multi-racial and multi-lingual country. The pioneer power to prove it is, of course, the union of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

A tiny little country though, Czechoslovakia, used to be known as Bohemia, had always given birth to men who loved freedom more than their lives. Martyrs and fighters for freedom had made her history fascinating and inspiring.

We remember that as far back as 1398 John Huss exposed the autocratic and corruptive rule of the Latin Church in a series of lectures in the University of Praha. His mission was to liberate the people from the bondage of a church that instead of helping the people on to a better life was demoralising and degrading them. That John Huss voiced the feeling of the people was proved by the fact that although he delivered his speeches before the learned section of the society assembled within the walls of the University, the masses outside it also were touched by the spirit of revolutionary thoughts about the religion they had been practising so long. That was in a sense the first awakening of the masses in Bohemia. John Huss seized the opportunity by direct preachings from the pulpit of a special church erected for the purpose of cleansing Christianity itself.

Adherents of John Huss increased in numbers so rapidly that the council of the whole Church was called and John Huss was invited to participate. A safe conduct was promised by the Emperor himself. But the council treacherously seized hold of John Huss. He was charged of heresy and was burned alive. This treacherous murder committed by the Church Council infuriated the followers of John Huss. They formed themselves into a fraternity, renowned later on as the Hussites, threw out a challenge against the vitiated Latin Church. The Pope declared crusade against the Hussites. But the army sent by the Pope was beaten back by the Czechs of Bohemia to the chagrin of the Latin Christendom. Five times in succession armies were sent against the Hussites and five times were they repulsed. The crusaders got so unnerved that they used to beat retreat without facing the Hussites whenever they scented the approach of the latter. Finally, the crusade had to be withdrawn and a compromise was arrived at with the Hussites by yielding to some of their demands.

The Bishop of Czechoslovak Church himself took the trouble to show us round the church where John Huss used to impart his teachings to the people. It was a memorable coincidence that while we were visiting the church we found there in person the wife of another martyr of the recent past, Julius Fucik of Czechoslovakia. Previous to this meeting in the church Madam Fucik honoured us by sitting with us for lunch at the hotel where we had stayed.

The Bishop of the Czechoslovak church is a charming personality. His genial temperament, his liberal humanitarian views, his sympathy for the people and his love for righteous peace made him dear to us. I believe that his own people cannot but take him as a dear. I have already told what his church, the progressive church of Czechoslovakia, stands for. I need not repeat it.

But I owe an explanation to the readers of this report why I have, more than once, referred to the Church and Christianity. It has been a fashion to call the capitalist democracies as Christian Powers and to put the stigma of non-Christianity on the Peoples' democracies. Because Communism does not take cognisance of the common Fatherhood of God and the image of God in every man and also other concepts of Christianity, the Christian Powers want to establish that co-existence with the peoples' democracies is not possible for adherents to Christianity. Rev. Candy of Canada referred to it in the Helsinki Assembly for Peace. President Eisenhower also had touched it in his report on Geneva. But, nevertheless, many a man and women of the peoples' democracies are Christians. They have a right to ask the Christian Powers whether those who are found to be sticking to colonialism and imperialism and economic exploitation of the undeveloped peoples may rightly be called Christians. Those are expressions of man's greed and lust and selfishness that tempt him to do unrighteous deeds against which Christ warned his disciples.

Whatever the Communists say or believe, the existence of Christians in Communist countries cannot be factually denied. There are Christians there, there are also churches there. But there are no Christians there who believe that Churchianity is greater than Christianity which stands for humanity. There are Christians who have accepted Communism as a social order congenial to the growth of Christianity, to what it exactly should be. The socialist aspect of Christianity, they believe, was nipped in the bud by the imperialist and the capitalist systems. It should be allowed to blossom forth is the desire of many a Christian dwelling in the Communist countries. The Communist States do not suppress them or gag them either. I have already quoted from the speeches of the Metropolitan Nicholas, a member of the Holy Synod of the Russian orthodox Church. I have also tried to explain the views of the Czechoslovak church in regard to Progressive Christianity.

The Communists of Czechoslovakia do not ignore the contribution of John Huss because of the fact that he was a Christian; on the contrary, they are immensely proud of him, proud of his followers, the Hussites, who like many other true Christians in many

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other parts of Christendom valiantly fought against the Church which by expressive claims, by unrighteous privileges, and by an irrational intolerance destroyed that free faith of the common man which was the final source of all its power. 'The story of its decline tells of no adequate foemen from without but continually of decay from within,' this assessment is from H. G. Wells.

Christians in Communist countries, living in Secular States, envisage Christianity not as a doctrinal thesis but as a humanitarian and a socialist view of life for which stood Waldo, St. Francis, Wycliff, John Huss, and many other martyrs throughout the Christendom.

I have mentioned that I have observed that a spiritual urge for the betterment of the lot of mankind has been working in the minds of the peoples of the Secular States of the Peoples' Democracies. I am not sure if our hosts would take it seriously or laugh it away as a ridiculous observation. But as an Indian, I believe, I know a little about the distinction between religion and religiosity, between Christianity and Churchianity and between the material way of life and the spiritual way of life. I know that a progressive mind is sure to develop a spiritual sense unless it loses its progressive urge for fulfilment. The citizens of the Peoples' Democracies by their selfless service to the cause of the common man do convince a visitor that the urge for the material welfare of their States and their peoples gathers strength from a source which the earlier pagan powers, dipped in materialism, did not discover. The pagan way of life is non-spiritual but not so the life of the citizens of a Secular State. The Peoples' Democracies are Secular States but they are not anti-Christian or un-Christian to that extent that co-existence with them should be ruled out on that ground alone. The message of Christ has gained a material form in the Peoples' Democracies more than anywhere else in Christendom. It is not a Christianity for the peoples that stands in the way of a fruitful co-existence but the Christianity that strengthens the hands of the capitalists and the colonialists and the expansionists is found to be irreconcilable to the principles of co-existence, *viz.*, mutual respect of each other's territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. These principles emanated from the heads of the world's two largest republics. These republics are Secular States. The principles were originally enunciated by Lord Buddha six hundred years before Christ was born. But these principles do not in any way contradict the teachings of Christ. Secular States, Communists or non-Communists, do not find them impossible to accept, but Christian Powers do. Progressive Christians, therefore, want to know how they are irreconcilable to Christianity and what has Christianity to do with Pancha Shila or the Five Principles enunciated by Prime Ministers Chou En-lai and Nehru. These Progressive Christians believe that a time has come when a re-orientation of Christianity is needed. It does not mean that by feeling like that they have gone back to the pagan way of life. Among the 75 religious figures who participated in the World Assembly for Peace, the majority came from the Christian faith. They did not think that co-existence with the Communist countries was an un-Christian thought and deed. Neither the Progressive Church thinks so. There are plenty of true Christians in Czechoslovakia and other Peoples' Democracies.

"I have lived with my flock for 35 years, I shall die with them," declared the parish priest of Lidice when the Nazi aggressors promised him mercy if he would renounce his congregation. He had John Huss's Christian blood flowing in his veins. He defied the Nazi Christians and fell a martyr as John Huss did. The difference was that the Council of Latin Church burned the person of John Huss alone and the Nazi-Christian first tortured the parish priest, made him see his church destroyed, burned the entire village, and then shot him along with the other villagers.

The last place we visited in Czechoslovakia was Lidice. We found the rebuilt Lidice, the symbol of Czechoslovakia's determined will to wipe off scars of vandal dark deeds, by Christian charity, piety, and human sympathy. 'Lidice must live' was the solemn cry that rose to the heavens when people came to know of the horrible fate of that unknown village and its innocent inhabitants—men, women and children. The cry was the outcome of a righteous indignation against the Nazi Christians. Lidice has lived again out of the ashes of her past existence, a beautiful village has sprung up with broad roads, picturesque houses equipped with all the amenities of modern life. Some of the surviving women inhabitants have come back from their captivity at the Nazi concentration camps and have found homes built for them. Some of the children, too, could be recovered and rehabilitated where their grandfathers, fathers and brothers had died martyrs' death.

But what is, after all, this Lidice? It is a substitute village for one that existed during the Nazi occupation on the hollow near below. There stood the original village which the Nazis had obliterated from the face of the earth. And why? Well, that is a story the like of which you find in plenty on the pages of the history of conquests, colonial expansions and dominations of nations.

Lidice was a tiny speck of a village not far off Praha. It was inhabited by a handful of miners, workers, and peasants. The Nazis occupied it along with the rest of Czechoslovakia but thought they had failed to bring it into total submission. They wanted that it would not exist. But to efface out an entire

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village a pretext had to be manufactured. The Nazis found one such in the murder of one of their Chocolate-fuhrers named Heydrich. Nobody knew who had murdered him. It was given out that two unknown parachutists had dropped down from the blue above, killed Heydrich, and disappeared. The Nazis charged the villagers to hand over those assailants to them. But how could the poor villagers, innocent of any knowledge about the identity of those persons, produce them before the mighty masters of the occupying force? The whole village was declared to be guilty of abetting and aiding the murder and also of keeping the culprits in hiding. An exemplary punishment was hatched in secret by the officers-in-charge.

In one dark night the Nazis raided every house of the village, dragged out of bed sleeping men and women and children, separated the women from their relations, and marshalled the male members of the village, including even those who were in their teens, to some barn-yard or a school house, I do not recollect now. They were then placed in a line against a wall and shot one by one—miners, farmers, shop-keepers, teachers, the parish priest, everyone they found in the village that fatal night. The women were transported to concentration camps outside the country. The kiddies were either offered for adoptions or suffocated to death in gas-chambers.

But that was not all. The church and all the private and public buildings were looted, blown up, and the vestiges were burned into ashes and the ground on which Lidice stood was ploughed and placed within a barbed-wire ring to keep it barren for all times to come, so that future generations of the Czechs might know by the sight of the wasteland how mighty were their masters, the Aryan Christians, known as the Nazis.

The sordid story I listened to in sad silence. I saw the common grave which contained the charred but sacred bones of one hundred and seventy-three helpless but indomitable Czechs. I also visited the little museum where articles used by the victims and documentary evidences of the brutal deed were preserved. I stood for a while looking at the cross raised high on the common grave. I then separated myself from my colleagues and dragged my body back to the waiting omnibus. I wanted to be alone. And alone I sat for over an hour in the lonely bu on a lonely street. Visions of images flashed in and faded past before my mental sight. The exploits of the Portuguese pirates in lower Bengal, the terrible vendetta of soldiers and officers of the East India Company of the British merchants after the Sepoy Revolt proved to be a failure, the Jalianwallabagh massacre, raids on villages by the British police and the army during the Freedom movement of 1942 appeared before me as phantoms. I saw faces of Bengali men and women who were carried away by force from their land of birth and sold into slavery to Christian planters by the Christian Portuguese pirates. I saw dangling and bullet-ridden corpses of innocent villagers supposed to be participating in the Sepoy Revolt hung on the boughs of road-side trees as object-lessons to passers-by. I saw those innocent men and women and children who had assembled in Jalianwallabagh to celebrate the birthday of Lord Buddha, the messenger of peace and non-violence. An Irish general of the British Army took it into his head that it would not be safe for the British regime to allow such a vast multitude of unarmed devotees to assemble at one place when the country was passing through a political unrest. He asked the celebrators to disperse. And without allowing them a time for dispersal ordered his machine-gunners to shoot at the crowd. The square had only one exit. And the machine-gunners placed their guns just at the gate, and mowed down men and women and children by hundreds. The General had to be packed off. But his christian countrymen raised a big sum of money and rewarded him for his heroic effort to save the crown of a Protector of the Protestant Christianity. During the Indian freedom movement in 1942 when Congress leaders and workers were put behind the prison-walls a part of the fighters went underground. They did not keep the movement strictly non-violent. They felt that the time for the break of the shackle of foreign domination had at last arrived. Now or never should be the final bid for freedom. The people also thought like that. A man-made famine was fostered by the administrators in collaboration with the profiteers and black-marketeers. Three millions of men, women and children, mostly villagers, lost their lives of starvation and a bigger number than that lost their lands and livelihood. The fighters for freedom, who went underground, dismantled railways here and there, snapped telegraph wires wherever they found any opportunity to do so, burned police stations and declared independence in certain localities of Eastern, Western, Northern and Southern India. The British armed police and the military were engaged to retaliate by guns and fire. Many a village were sacked by them and their inhabitants were shot down or carried away as prisoners for their sympathy for the fighters for freedom or for harbouring the fighters.

Sitting in a lonely omnibus on a lonely street of Lidice I saw visions of all those excesses committed by the Christian Powers of the West to keep in bondage the Eastern peoples and to rob of them whatever wealth they still had in kind of raw materials, and minerals yet unexplored.

Suddenly my sight caught the cross planted on the common grave of the Lidice martyrs. Yes, it had a justification to be there in all its glories. Those who had planted it there, those who had made Lidice alive again, and even those who had survived the atrocities,

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d pardoned the offenders with this Christian belief at the perpetrators of that abominable crime against umanity did not know what they had been doing. They were befooled by a monster with a false hope at their Fatherland would profit by crimes of that ature. But the poor dupes learned at the cost of the eedom and the integrity of the very same Fatherand that crimes had never been found paying dividnds but had alyays worked as recoils hitting hard the erpetrators to prostration and frustration.

It is really wonderful to think that those who had urvived that terrible ordeal and those who thought to be a sacred duty with them to make Lidice alive gain were found to be supporting actively the demand or German re-unificaion and restoration to her of the eedom she lost through her own faults. And more an wonderful is the sublime fortitude the surviving ives and mothers have shown. I heard the tragic tory of Madam Petrakova's life. She had been, for ears, kept confined in a concentration camp. Her iner husband and her brother were murdered in idice along with their comrades, three of her ildren suffocated to death in gas-chambers. And this ife and sister and mother, grief-ridden and lacerated heart though, managed to keep herself living, and me back to the place where she had once a sweet ome a little after the Nazi Power had collapsed. But ot for a moment even she thought of vengeance and endetta. She devoted her life and soul to service, ervice to the memory of Lidice victims by making idice alive again and service to the cause that would revent for ever any repetition of child-murder in ny form in any part of the world. Her own children ere indeed parts of her flesh and blood, but she alized, through her loss and grief, that children of l mothers all over the world were also inseparable rts of her soul which desired for a better world of etter men and women. She has filled her heart with elixir of affection for every child in every part of e world menaced by nuclear war. They are no less ear to her than those she had herself given birth d had lost in gas-chambers. In them she had found resh what she had lost.

We Indians call this realization a spiritual transrmation into a universal motherhood. We believe a other who attains it becomes the source of a dynamic ergy that strengthens man and leads him to victory. e worship that mother in the symbolic expression *viswajanani*, the mother divine, the mother of the iverse. I do not know what the Christians think of ch a mother. But I have come to know that the zechoslovak people and the government have cepted the view of Madam Petrokova that children ould be the first care of those who dream of a better rld for mankind. Starting right from the creches up the Institute of Physical Training and ensembles arts there are different organisations for different age-groups of children to take care of the florescence of children into blooming manhood and womanhood. All the infants and young pioneers and students we saw in Bohemia, Moravia and Bratislavia, looked healthy, happy, bright and brisk. I remember some pictures of the National Spartakiade held shortly before we had visited Praha participated by three hundred and sixty thousand children and young athletes of both the sexes. Those pictures looked like huge gardens of human flowers in different formations. In Bratislavia a boat excursion on the Danube was arranged for us. We had on that occasion, the pleasure of the company of quite a number of young pioneers and young workers from the factories. I talked with some of the pioneers, and I was amazed to find the interest they had grown for children in other lands besides their own. On our way to Bratislavia we were given a grand reception by the kiddies of a village. They wanted to listen about Indian children and persuaded me to promise to them, while we left them, that I would speak of them to the children in India.

Czechoslovakia's treasure in children is making her richer every day in every field of her activity. It is known to many that Czechoslovakia is one of the world's best toy makers and the producer of the best puppet films in which toys are made to tell a story and to play the drama in it. This has been possible for the love for children the world-renowned women directors of those films have in them and the subtle but sound approach to child-mind they are able to make. Treated as precious national assets children in Czechoslovakia grow sweet in fragrance and solid in physical strength.

As I had been thinking of children in terms of flowers my eyes naturally fell on the rose-garden laid over an extensive area of land on which stood a part of the extinct Lidice. The rose-garden is a symbolic expression to the significance of New Lidice, a part of the planning itself. The slogan 'Lidice will live' was raised by democratic peoples all over the world. Money to help the re-building of Lidice came voluntarily from several sources. It came from the British miners, came from the miners of Sweden, from the Egyptian Lidice Society, from the Czechoslovaks living abroad, from the wage-earners of the Americas, and several other parts of the world. Although the government and the people of Czechoslovakia shoulder the entire burden of finance on themselves, these generous and spontaneous contributions from abroad are precious tokens of a growing relationship between man and man. To perpetuate this fraternal sympathy and the active service lent to build a road connecting the rebuilt Lidice with the highway leading to Praha by the participants in the World Youth Festival held in Praha in 1947, this rose-garden has been grown with plants sent from countries far and near.

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From Lidice we went straight to the air-port for our journey homeward. But the skymaster chartered to carry us back to India had not arrived. It had been waiting in Amsterdam for our instruction. We had to spend the whole day and the greater part of the night in the waiting halls of the big airport of Praha. Needless to say that our hosts were, as usual, by our side to see us comfortable. During our rush from one place to another we had hardly any time to think of our lovely hosts accompanying us. But when the time for our departure drew nearer every moment, I could not help thinking how nice and sweet and friendly they were to us. I have already spoken of the wonderful Bishop of the Czechoslovak church. He came to the port to bless us once again. Engineer Pushman stuck to us till we had boarded the plane and by his pleasant conversations and sparkling humours kept us cheerful. Dr. Dusan Zbavilel and his pupils and colleagues who helped us with interpretations during our private conversations and public speeches were still on close attention to our needs and feelings. Mr. Kubin's enthusiasm always inspired us to be on continual move. And above all, was the fraternal guidance and forbearance of Dr. Krasa of the Department of Cultural Relations, Ministry of Culture. I have come across many a leading personality in my own country in the course of my long and chequered life, but I do not think I have found many among them as unassuming and as devoted to the people's cause as Dr. Krasa is. His sharpness of intellect, his zeal for enlightening his friends, his ability for organizational work, and above all, his charming personality drew out of us deep respect and no less love for him. We left our friends and Praha at 2 a.m. in the morning by one of the Skymasters of the India Airlines Corporation.

I can hardly sleep a wink while on a plane-journey. The vast blue or the dark blank has a great appeal to me. I also find a kind of music in the monotonous bummings of the motors. But this time my mind was occupied by the memory of Lidice. I know that the crime committed in Lidice is not the only instance of man's brutal expression. Histories of wars, conquests and colonial expansions are full of them. I have cited some of them from the history of my own country. But Lidice is justly glorified not for the fact that she was obliterated altogether but for the determination of the people to see her alive again and for the fact that she is really alive today not only through the untiring efforts of the people of Czechoslovakia but also through the goodwill and blessings of peoples from every corner of the earth. This fact make a lot of difference between the Czechoslovak Lidice and other Lidices we find in histories of nations.

In 146 B.C., the Pagan Romans committed the same crime on Carthage that the Aryan Christians were found to be committing in Lidice. The population of Carthage was about a quarter of a million then. All but fifty thousand only perished before the Roman sword and fire. Those fifty thousand were then sold into slavery. Alike Lidice, the city of Carthage was demolished, burned, ploughed and sown ceremonially. Peoples of other countries looked at the atrocious deed in silence and worshipped the Romans as heroes.

The atrocities I have cited from the history of my own country were supported by the British citizens because they were tutored to believe that Law and Order imposed on a subject-nation were more sacred than its national freedom, and that they must be maintained even at the cost of the lives and properties of the subject-people. India did not receive any material help or spiritual support from abroad to break the shackles off her feet. The atrocities reacted on her to arouse in her a soul force which could not be kept in bondage. India won her freedom.

When the neutrality of Belgium was violated by the Hohenzollern Power during World War I, some of the Western Powers did not, indeed, come forward to beat back the aggressors. But that it was due to no determination of theirs to protect the sovereign right of a nation got exposed when the text of the Versailles Treaty was available to the public.

When floods of invasions were let loose on the new born and internally distressed Soviet Russia between 1919 and 1921, nine of them in three years, nobody thought of extending a helping hand to her. Her former allies, on the other hand, fomented and assisted them even, to see Soviet Russia obliterated altogether.

In 1935, Abyssinia was gassed into submission by the Fascist Power of Italy. The latter had totally disregarded the International Law of Warfare. But the League of Nations as well as the Western Powers did not raise a finger in protest. Likewise, the military clique of Imperialist Japan launched several attacks on China and occupied several of her provinces by sheer logic of might is right. The Christian Powers watched it unconcerned.

The waves of aggression and forceful occupation receded back on European lands. Public opinion had, by then, all over the world, taken a shape to resist the play with the fate of the peoples the Western Powers had indulged in. And it was when the Spanish Civil War was on the point of being turned into an aggressive war by the Fascist Powers that voluntary aid was rushed to those who stood for the people's cause in Spain. It was for the first time demonstrated to the administrators of States that there was a force known as the Public Will which was not less stronger than the armed forces of the Powers.

Baffled in Spain, the Fascist Powers fell on eastern Europe. Annexations, intimidations and aggressions followed one another in such a lightening speed that

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public opinion came to be confused and utterly nonplussed.

It was only when the Christian Power of America dropped Atom Bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and made insignificant the brutalities in Carthage perpetrated by Pagan Romans and those in Lidice repeated by the Nazi Christians, that public opinion voiced, after the first shock mas over, a deep note of protest. It would not tolerate any such atrocity. In Korean war, it helped to forge the force of resistance against any more violation of any people's birthright by Powers, however mighty might they be. The Korean War had to be stopped. But the Powers contrived to keep on the cold war by repeated demonstrations of the irresistibility of atomic weapons.

There are reasons to believe that the explosions were more in the nature of demonstrations than tests or experiments. Experiments made in public may also help the rival Powers to some extent. Why should a Power help its rivals even to that extent? Russia does not fanfare her atomic explosions. Russia has no intention to intimidate peoples. But America believes in it. America knows Russia is well-equipped with atomic weapons. Russia cannot be terrorised by explosions made in the Pacific islands but, on the other hand, she may gather experiences from the results of those explosions. America takes that risk only to terrorize the peoples of Eastern Asia and to coerce them to join the anti-Communist block built up and nurtured by her.

The peoples of Eastern Asia have on several occasions protested against the bilateral defence treaties concluded with the puppets planted on Asian soil by American politicians. The Bandung Conference believed that the Manila Pact was useless. The Asians themselves fear no Communist conquest. Governments of South-East and East Asia have mostly accepted the Chou-Nehru principles. The Soviets and Yugoslavia have accepted them. Why does not America accept Panchashila and tear into pieces all the bilateral treaties she has contracted with her Asian puppets? Why does not she liquidate the Manila Pact? Her economic aids have been gratefully welcomed everywhere in Asia. But her political debut in Asia is resented by every free Asian. The conference of the Asian peoples in New Delhi and the Bandung Conference of the heads of the governments of the States of Asia and Africa gave genuine expression to the feelings of the Asian and African peoples as a whole. They are not prepared to tolerate any extraneous authority over them. They are determined to shape their own destinies. No other force than the force of aggression, they believe, is necessary to prevent aggression. No other method but the implementation of Panchashila, they believe, will be able to dispel distrust and fear of conquest and to bring about friendly relationships between nations and nations.

The Panchashila has been working wonders. We have observed how sacred and humanitarian is it considered to be, not only by the people of the Soviet Republics and the People's Democratic Republic of Czechoslovakia, but also by progressive peoples of those sixty-eight countries of the world who had sent their representatives to the Helsinki World Assembly for Peace. The Helsinki Assembly has been able to arrive at a unanimous agreement that

> ". . . the principles adopted by the Bandung Conference have proved that, over an entire continent, peaceful co-operation between countries with different social systems can be based on ideas, such as those proclaimed by China and India."

The excerpt above is culled from the Helsinki Appeal issued by the World Assembly of Peace. I have already described the scene of jubiliation that was witnessed when its unanimous acceptance was announced. The scene demonstrated the spirit the agreed appeal had aroused. We found it manifest wherever we had visited. It had succeeded to set to work that 'real transformation of relations between nations' which Jean-Paul Sartre desired to find fulfilled. New men and women have, indeed, born to give this world a new civilization based on Panchashila. This is the experience we had gathered while we were abroad in Finland and the Soviet Republic and the Peoples' Republic of Czechoslovakia. We felt we were on a pilgrimage which rewarded us with the knowledge of man's march to victory over wars and dominations —political, social, and doctrinal.

GENEVA

We have not been in Geneva. But the picture of Geneva was always in our mind. The Helsinki Assembly was, in fact, summoned to let know the Heads of the Big Four what exactly the peoples of the world expected of them. It wanted to impress upon them the necessity it felt for an immediate settlement of problems which were driving the nations from the existing cold war to an all-devastating atomic conflagration.

On the ashes of the League of Nations met for the first time in ten years the victors of World War II. The prospect of their meeting was hailed by all. The World Assembly for Peace hoped:

> "For the first time in ten years in this divided world the Four Great Powers are going to meet, thanks to the efforts of public opinion. On them lies the burden of a universal hope. Their first duty will be to overcome their mutual distrust."

This hope that the Assembly had nourished was not blasted into ashes to add to the ashes of the late League of Nations. And, as a matter of fact, the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Chou En-lai, with the active support of Mendes France and our own Krishna Menon, had already turned the Geneva ashes into a fertile soil on which

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grew and took shape the agreements on Indo-China and the subsequent cease-fire. On the wake of those agreements came the momentous declaration of Panchashila in New Delhi over the joint signatures of the two Prime Ministers of the world's two largest Republics, the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indian Union. It would not be irrelevant to mention that Chou En-lai flew to India and conferred with Prime Minister Nehru immediately after he had succeeded to conclude favourably the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China. Geneva has since then been the source of the growth of a spirit now known as the Geneva Spirit.

This new spirit was indeed brought to Geneva by Chou En-lai who along with Nehru forced an armistice in the Korean War. This spirit has been constantly gathering force through the declaration of Panchashila and the ever-increasing support to it by the peoples and governments of Asian and African countries, and the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia. The heads of the Four Great Powers met in Geneva just when this Geneva spirit had been blowing off mutual distrusts and had been at the same time creating an atmosphere of goodwill and friendliness. A change had really been noticed in the attitudes of the heads of the governments of even those countries who were not favourably disposed toward Panchashila.

I have in the beginning of this report quoted at length from *Crusade in Europe* to show that President Eisenhower, while he was the Supreme Commander of the Allied forces, had been seriously thinking of a friendly relationship between Russia and the United States of America, because he was sure that 'no other division among the nations could be considered as a menace to world unity and peace.'

When he had said 'no other division' he had obviously meant the ideological division which had created the two opposing power-blocs, the Communists and the anti-Communists. He did not then take into account the non-Communist nations of the world, because none of them was then free from colonial bondage.

General Eisenhower by virtue of his martial abilities won the hearts of the people of America and their political support, and became the President of the greatest living pattern of Western Democracy. Even as a President he continued to explore the possibilities of founding a friendly relationship between his State and the State of U.S.S.R. In pursuit of it he discovered that the relationship he sought for might be founded if Communism could be knocked off. He started a campaign against Communism. The capitalists and the church organisations of his country lent him unqualified support. A crusade was declared, and a network of military bases established around the Communist bloc. Demonstrations of nuclear weapons were publicly made to terrorize peoples who had no such weapons, nor means to manufacture them or to make them available to them. Pacts like the Manila Pact were so forged as to threaten the sovereignty of independent States where the balance would indicate a swing toward Communism. Treaty organisations were manipulated to asphyxiate Communism. An intolerable tension was created. Apprehension of a third World War seized the peoples and made them extremely uneasy. All these were done by him while he had been sincerely looking for a just and lasting peace.

He took ten long years to realize, and to admit it too, that the ideological differences between nations should not be taken as insurmountable barriers against peaceful negotiations. And it was exactly to carry on such negotiations that he agreed to meet the other three heads of the Big Four Powers in Geneva. He did not go back to his country disappointed either. Before he left for Geneva he had said to his people:

> "We realize that one ingredient has been missing from all past conferences. This is an honest intent to conciliate, to understand, to be tolerant, to try to see the other fellow's viewpoint as well as we see our own. I say to you if we can change the spirit in which those conferencese are conducted, we will have taken the greatest step toward peace for future prosperity and tranquillity that has ever been taken in the history of mankind."

On his arrival back in the United States from Geneva he made a report on the conference to the citizens by radio and television, in which he gave his personal impression in these words:

> "Now for myself, I do not belittle the obstacles lying ahead on the road to a secure and just peace. By no means do I underestimate the long and exhausting work that will be necessary before real results are achieved. I do not blink the fact that all of us must continue to sacrifice for what we believe to be best for the safety of ourselves and for the preservation of the things in which we believe, but I do know that the people of the world want peace. Moreover, every other individual who was at Geneva likewise felt this longing of mankind. So, there is great pressure to advance constructively, not merely to re-enact the dreary performance, the negative performances of the past."

He also apprised his listeners how he felt that a change in the negative performances is imperative. He explained:

> "There seems to be a growing realization by all that nuclear warfare pursued to the ultimate, could be practically race suicide. There is a realization that negotiations can be conducted without propaganda and threats and invectives. Finally, there is a sharp realization by the world that the United States will go to any length consis-

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tent with our concepts of decency and justice and right to attain peace. For this purpose we will work co-operatively with the Soviets and any other people as long as there is sincerity of purpose and a genuine desire to go ahead."

That a new spirit of conciliation and co-operation guided the Geneva discussion was thus told by the President :

"We talked about a free flow of news across the curtains of all kinds. We talked about the circulation of books, and particularly we talked about peaceful trade. But the subject that took most of our attention in this regard was the possibility of increased visits by the citizens of one country into the territory of another, doing this in such a way as to give each the fullest possible opportunity to learn about the people of the other nation. Now in this particular subject there was the greatest possible degree of agreement . . . Now, of course, we are profoundly hopeful that these assurances will be faithfully carried out."

While he spoke he was not sure how his speech and his endeavour in Geneva would be received by his listeners. He, therefore, assured them:

"I can assure you of one thing: there were no secret agreements made, either understood agreements or written ones. Everything is put before you on the record. Now outside of these conference meetings, there were numerous official meetings, conversations with important members of the other delegations and, of course, very specifically with the Soviet delegation. In these conversations a number of subjects were discussed, and among them the Secretary of State and I specifically brought up more than once American convictions, and American beliefs, and American concern about such questions as the satellites of Eastern Europe, and the activities of international Communism. We made crystal clear what America believes about such matters as these."

The above was obviously meant for the diehard elements of his listeners who were made to believe that the Communist powers were still preparing themselves to swallow the rest of the world. Does the President himself still hold the same view? He would not have been the President if he did not. He said America had 'convictions' and 'beliefs' and 'American way of believing things'. So have the other peoples of the world. The Helsinki Assembly for Peace have showed that there are peoples in sixty-eight Communist and non-Communist countries who have this 'conviction' and this 'belief' that world-Americanism through chains of military bases, puppet-States, and treaty organisations is a growing menace to world-peace. From the 'numerous conversations' with important delegations and very specifically with the Soviet delegation, the President, if not his Secretary of State, must have been able to gather that in spite of their 'convictions' and 'beliefs' on aggressive world-Americanism they have been sincerely working for conciliation and co-operation and against further repetition of the 'negative performances of the past.' That was really the Helsinki spirit and that was again the spirit that the President had found working in Geneva to sweep away mists of distrusts and doubts.

The President felt that a search of hearts was needed, a policy of give and take had to be adopted. He had searched his own heart. He found himself, as a person not as a President, prepared for conciliation and co-operation. He knew what the obstacles were. But those did not discourage him. He had caught the Geneva spirit. He had searched his heart to find it filled with the Geneva spirit of conciliation and co-operation. He told it not only to his own people but to all the peoples of the world. But have all Americans searched their hearts? The honest President did not know. The industrial magnets and the church organisations possibly loomed large in his mind while he had been speaking on the Geneva spirit. But he meant to be frank as he always had been, and continued to spin:

"A gulf as wide and deep as the difference between individual liberty and regimentation, as wide and deep the gulf that lies between the concept of man made in the image of his God, and the concept of man as a mere instrument of the State. Now if we think of those things, we are apt to be possibly discouraged but I was also profoundly impressed with the need for all of us to avoid discouragement merely because our own proposals, our own approaches, and our own beliefs are not always immediately accepted by the other side."

Once more my mind goes back to the Helsinki Appeal which on the eve of the meeting of the Heads of the Four Powers gave out the hope:

"The work of peace can at last be done if forces for peace whose aims are similar, particularly peace movements and big political organisations of Christian or socialist tendencies—unite their efforts to dispel mistrust and win peace."

"Step by step, the contradictions in the world can be resolved and the hopes of all people fulfilled."

The President concluded his report on Geneva with this exhoration:

"We, all of us, individually, and as a people, now have possibly the most difficult assignment of our nation's history. Likewise, we have the most shining opportunity ever possessed by Americans. May this truth inspire and never dismay us. I believe that only with prayerful patience, intelligence, courage and tolerance, never forgetting vigilance and prudence, can we keep alive the

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spark in Geneva. But if we are successful in this, then we will make constantly brighter the light that will one day guide us to our goal—a just and lasting hope."

When we had read the speech above, we thought America would rise up to the occasion as her President expected of her. But America is too deeply obsessed with her own 'convictions' and 'beliefs' and 'American way of thinking' to agree to conciliation and co-operation. Her Foreign Secretary came to the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers with exactly the same blue-print she had prepared when she founded NATO. Without a united and armed Germany netted in NATO European Security could not be founded on sure ground was one of America's strongest 'convictions' and 'beliefs.' A strong wall of resistance against the Communists was essentially needed for European Security was just what was really the 'American way of thinking'. The last two World Wars were not caused by any offensive movement of the Communists. The Americans know it. But as they are bent upon making history, they are determined not to be swayed by the lessons of history like most of the past imperialists. The British and the French Foreign Ministers forgot their very recent past, and wanted a re-armed and re-united Germany as a bulwark against Communist aggression. Chamberlain died disgraced by his conservative compatriots but his ghost won a spiritual victory over them in Geneva. Chamberlain appeased a monster which was ultimatlly killed by a wonderful alliance of Communist and capitalist powers. The present Conservative Ministry of Sir Anthony Eden wants to resurrect a fresh monster in Germany to fight Communists on behalf of the French and the British. Chamberlain believed it was possible. He paid the penalty of his folly by his dismissal. But that did not prevent the terrific air raids on London and terrible casualties due to them.

President Eisenhower had said that a new spirit of conciliation and co-operation was assured by each side to the other during the conference of the heads of the four powers, and the acid test would begin in October at the meeting of the Foreign Ministers. All world watched anxiously the crucibles containing the basic metals of conciliation the Foreign Ministers had taken with them to Geneva. No sooner were they put to test, disagreement was found to be the distinctive reaction. The Western Powers wanted the whole of Germany within the fold of NATO while they had previously netted the western part only. Obviously they proved themselves very loyal to the American President by closely following his advice of give and take. Molotov could not concede to it. He was then dubbed as an irreconcilable trouble-shooter. Capitalist papers proclaimed that Molotov wanted to Communise the whole of Germany. Molotov made it clear that Russia wanted to see the whole of Germany as a free but neutral State, free from any kind of foreign bondage, including that of NATO. Was that unreasonable? The Western Powers thought it was so. Molotov suggested a panel of supervisors composed of European States to maintain European security. The Western Powers ridiculed the idea as another contrivance of the Communists to capture power in their hands. The Geneva spirit failed to sweep away distrust from the minds of the Foreign Ministers of the Western Big Three. The Acid Test rather demonstrated that the distrust had gathered too deeply to make it almost an element giving no reaction to any acid.

Was Molotov prepared for a give and take? He was found ready to give both parts of Germany to the German people. He stood for a European security under the supervision of European States plus America. But a free and neutral Germany was inconceivable to the Western Powers. He had come to take it as a certainty that a free and reunited Germany outside NATO would inevitably go Communist. It would be hundred times better, they supposed, if by keeping West Germany bound to NATO, Germans may be made to fight Germans than a neutral Germany. In that case Russia may be trapped in, and her credit in the world movement for Peace may be lowered and shattered even.

It is not the German might that the Western Powers are afraid of. Have not they twice crushed it? They have, as the world knows it. It is the awakening of the people that they are afraid of. An emperor or even a Fuhrer may be crushed by military force, but not so a conscious people. The German people are increasingly growing conscious of their potential power as a people. It is not likely that any future Fuhrer is going to have any chance of leading the entire people once again to a war. Neither is it likely that the awakened and conscious people of Germany would any more allow themselves to be used as pawns in the game of power politics. This progressive outlook of the people is what the capitalist States and Christian politicians dread the most, and this too they call Communism.

But what about President Eisenhower's appeal to his people 'to bear in mind the shining opportunity ever possessed by Americans'? How did America work in Geneva to 'translate into specific agreements' the new spirit which warmed the President's heart while he talked with the other three heads of the Big Four? The acid test could show nothing. It is really unfortunate. The Big Four powers have disappointed the peoples who want an end to the cold war.

The American President reported on Geneva on the evening of July 25th, 1955. His Assistant Secretary of State, Walter Robertson, spoke at the John Hopkins University on "Nationalism and Progress in South and

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South-East Asia" on August 8, 1955. The highlights of his speech are:

"Communism has destroyed the true independence of several countries in Asia, and threatens all the others with every technique in its arsenal from subversion to armed revolt to external aggression."

It is an example of the 'American way of thinking.' Their 'convictions and beliefs' suggest to them that China by evolving a People's Democracy has lost her independence and only a part of it has been preserved by Chiang Kai-sek in the Chinese island of Taiwan through the grace of American forces.

The next remarkable passage of his speech was raised to this strain of seeming truthfulness:

"No free Asian nation today is under major Communist influence, as the Bandung Conference clearly showed."

And yet he could not resist the temptation to strike terror by declaring:

". . . The people of Asia are reluctant to face the fact that they and their work are threatened by an implacable enemy dedicated to their destruction by stealth or by force."

This certainly does not give expression to the Geneva spirit by which the President and his Secretary of State was deeply impressed. Nevertheless the Assistant Secretary once more got inclined to be generous. He commented:

"While recently, as we have seen, the gale-force winds of Communists have become softer, and the Communists have professed their wish to live peacefully with their neighbours it is too soon to tell whether this is a change of heart or a propaganda."

But he had no patience to wait and see. He continued once again to hit the nail:

"The best efforts of the people of Asia toward self-development, massive American economic assistance, would not serve to keep armed Communism across the border if there were no force available to resist. The Communists are interested in the conquest of Asia, not in the welfare of its people."

The American President's reference to the new spirit was useless. The American way of thinking had undergone no change whatsoever. It is no wonder that the American President would have a mild heart attack. The Secretary of State went back to Geneva not inspired with the New Spirit the President supposed he was imbued with, but with the same old slogan of 'Resist Communism at any cost.' He convinced his Western counterparts that the security of Europe depended not only on the segregation of the Communists but on their total elimination. Conciliation and co-operation and co-existence should never be thought of. His French and British counterparts were amazed, but dared not to contradict him. They expressed their desire to keep open the doors for further negotiation. The American Secretary of State indignantly kept silence over it although his President counselled prayerful patience, intelligence, courage and tolerance and a lot of pious qualities. As soon as the Geneva conference was over the Secretary of State gave wide publicity of his intention to visit immediately South Korea, Taiwan, Japan and Manila. Indonesia and South Vietnam was not mentioned. Probably he wanted to show a tightening of belt. The Geneva spirit must not be allowed to grow. It has weakened the stout heart of the veteran winner of the war, who knows that it would not affect other stony hearts?

The peoples are vitally concerned with the Geneva Spirit. Although they do not find any place in the summit conferences held in Geneva, they have rightful places in the Cabinets and Ministries and Parliaments and fields and factories, in all the public and private sectors of all the systems all over the world. They will not allow the Geneva Spirit to be frittered away. Ever-increasing pressure must be used to make heads of governments agreeable to conciliation and co-operation. Public opinion must stand stubborn against the policy of strength as declared by Helsinki Assembly. The Helsinki Spirit will sustain and strengthen the Geneva Spirit. And the combined will of governments and peoples will give the world a just and everlasting Peace.

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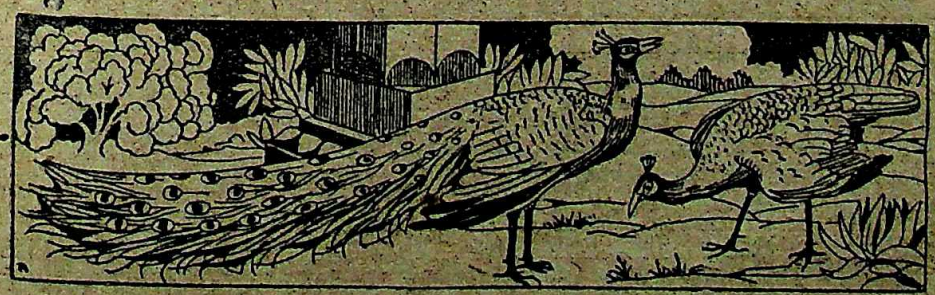

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Book Reviews

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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY: *By Jitendranath Banerjea, Ph.D., F.A.S. Second edition. Revised and enlarged. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1956. Pp. xxxvii + 655. Price Rs. 30.*

This is a work of immense industry and learning, being the fruit of the author's life-long study of the subject in all its bearings. The special feature of the first edition which appeared in eight chapters with ten Plates in 1941 was the author's attempt to trace the development of individual iconographic types in the light of extant specimens of the sculptures, and more particularly of the coin and seal devices of early times. As a whole, however, it dealt with "the general principles of Hindu iconography, the early iconographic types and the iconographic and iconometric technicalities." In this second edition the author has made an addition of four chapters (on folk-divinities, on Vishnu and Surya, on Siva and Sakti and a number of miscellaneous and syncretistic divinities), while reshuffling the material and re-arranging the matter of the three Appendices. Its value has been further enhanced by the substitution of an analytical table of contents, a list of forty-eight well-selected Plates (in place of the original ten) as well as a General Bibliography. Throughout the work the author shows mastery of the widely scattered material as well as an excellent judgment in weighing the evidence and examining the views of his predecessors. It is evidently not possible to notice here even a considerable portion of its contents, but a few points may be noted. In the first chapter, the author gives a good account of his original sources under two broad heads, namely, archaeological and literary, the latter being further sub-divided into works of a general and of a technical character. The second chapter contains a valuable discussion of a question which has seriously engaged the attention of Indologists from the time of H. H. Wilson, namely, whether the Vedic Indians were worshippers of images. In the third chapter, the author carefully explains the part played by the commingling of the Aryan and the indigenous cultures and more specially by the cult of *bhakti* in developing image-worship, and he brings together the literary and archaeological evidence from the pre-Christian centuries to indicate the prevalence of image-worship in those times. The fourth chapter gives an exhaustive account of the representations of the Brahmanical divinities (especially Siva) and their emblems on the early Indian coins (indigenous and foreign) down to the Kushan period. In the fifth chapter, the author gives a necessarily provisional account of the religious beliefs and practices of the Indus valley people in the light of the figures and the scenes depicted on the Mohenjodaro sealings. This is followed by an exhaustive study of the figures of the deities and their emblems on the early Indian seals belonging mostly to the Gupta period. The sixth chapter deals with the icono-plastic art relating to the manufacture of images as well as an analysis of the factors contributing to the same. The seventh chapter is concerned with iconographic terminology after the technical works on such subjects as hand-poses and the poses of figures of the deities, while the following chapter deals with the canons of iconometry after the ancient texts. The last four chapters deal exhaustively with the evolution of the Brahmanical cults from their dim (Vedic and non-Vedic) beginnings down to their highly developed and complex forms, while they give (except in the notable instance of the Sakta cult) nearly complete accounts of the various iconographic types with illustrative references. Of the three Appendices the first two deal with various iconographic and iconometric texts (in translation or in the original or both), while the last seeks to apply the iconometric test to some specimens in the galleries of the Indian Museum as well as the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University.

The above brief sketch will give the reader some idea of the comprehensive scope of the present work as well as its authoritative and exhaustive treatment of the subject-matter. Suffice it to say that it is the most important work that has appeared on Hindu iconography since the publication of T. A. Gopinatha Rao's two monumental volumes on the subject in 1914 and 1916. It will remain as such a standard work of reference for a considerable time to come.

U. N. GHOSHAL

OUTLINES OF HINDUISM: *By Dr. J. M. P. Mahadevan, with a Foreword by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Published by Chetana Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 7-8.*

A modern pedant like William James might have characterised God as wet-nurse to humanity and branded religion 'a narcotic.' But that does not tell the whole truth. The old type concepts of compartmentalized human mind gave birth to different ideas of religion as emphasising one or the other of the three principal activities of man's mind, *viz.*, thinking, feeling and willing. All these concepts overlooked the fundamental unity of man as man and consequently they missed the fundamental unity of all religions. Religion is man's response to the call eternal. This contingent world of ours, the telos or purpose that is evident everywhere in this vast creation lead us to the Formulation of an Idea which carries the guarantee of its own reality. That Idea is God with the

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on this Idea from his own peep-hole, big or small. The nature and size of this peep-hole gave birth to the pantheon of the Hindus, their multi-coloured philosophy and ethics, and above all, their diverse modes of living.

The volume under review brings out this fundamental truth of our religion. Prof. Mahadevan has done a singular service to the strife-torn humanity by bringing into them the unifying and elevating message of Hindu wisdom, that is embodied in the religion, Ethics and Philosophy of the Hindus. 'For the Hindu, the aim of religion is the integration of personality which reconciles the individual to his own nature, his fellowmen and the Supreme Spirit.' This process of reconciliation is diverse and Hinduism has found room for them all. Its catholicity accounts for its hoary past and its dynamic present. This dynamic character of Hinduism was evident to Mahatma Gandhi when he said with the utmost confidence at his command: 'I have no other wish in this world but to find light and joy and peace through Hinduism.' Hinduism is a living force and it could still hold out to the rest of the world its valued claim that it could deliver the goods. Prof. Mahadevan's illuminating discourse will help everybody to understand the core of Hindu religion and it is quite in the fitness of things that such a book will come out when resurgent India is making rapid strides in all avenues of human activity.

The book under review is written in nine chapters. Appendices I and II are valuable contributions as embodying the Fundamentals of Hinduism in modern terminology. Prof. Mahadevan's definition of religion touches on the fringe of a universal religion and it has been rightly fitted in the broad compass of Hindu religion. We unhesitatingly recommend this book to all lovers of religion and to all serious students of theology.

A Foreword by Dr. Radhakrishnan has enhanced the prestige of the treatise. The publishers of the book deserve a word of praise for the nice get-up and neat printing.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

OUTLINES OF JAIN PHILOSOPHY: *By Mohanlal Mehta, M.A. With a foreword by B. P. Wadia. Published by Jain Mission Society, G-146, Chickpet, Bangalore-2. Pp. 168. Price Rs. 5.*

The learned author of the book under review is a double Master of Arts in Philosophy and Psychology and a Research Fellow of the Banaras Hindu University. A glance at this book will at once show that he is a distinguished authority on Jainism and a profound scholar of Jainology. Out of 81 celebrated works quoted in this book 46 are Jain and 35 are non-Jain, and over 20 of them all are Sanskrit. He has made a splendid attempt to present the common features of Jain philosophy on the basis of original Prakrit and Sanskrit texts in such a manner as to make the exposition an intelligent guide and comprehensive introduction to the general readers as well as to advanced students. Sri B. P. Wadia, the Founder-President of the Indian Institute of Culture in Bangalore, in an appreciative foreword to this book rightly observes that it is not only informative for the general reader but it will prove valuable to the students of different religions and philosophies. The erudite author makes a profound study of Jainism in comparison, not only with different systems of Indian philosophy but also with leading systems of Western thought. A bibliography of works with authors quoted as well as an index of general subjects and Sanskrit terms are duly appended. Printed correctly and nicely got-up, the book may be regarded an abiding contribution to the philosophical literature of the academic world.

This treatise on Syadvada, by which name Jainism is philosophically known, is divided into six well-written chapters. The first of them is devoted to a brief survey of the conception of Reality from the standpoint of realism, idealism and Jainism. The Jain idea of soul has been thoroughly and critically examined in the second chapter. In the third, Jain conception of matter is described. The canonical and logical theory of knowledge is discussed in the fourth chapter. The fifth one deals with the relativity of judgement and theory of Naya. The important doctrines of *karma* and *gunasthana* are precisely presented in the last chapter. Sri B. P. Wadia quotes the significant couplet of *Samadhi Sataka*, a popular Jain work as follows: "One who has identified his own self with the body in which it is encased is extremely afraid of death seeing therein his own destruction and separation from friends." From this we can clearly understand that the descriptions of liberated and enlightened states given in Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism are almost identical. A synthetic vision pointing out the salient similarities with the sister-religions would have made the book more accessible to the votaries of other religions also. How is it that no reference is made to the *Samadhi Sataka* in this outstanding work? In spite of all these negligible limitations this scholastic essay deserves to be a doctorate thesis.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL LABOUR: *By T. N. Rastogi. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 236. Price Rs. 7-8.*

This is a timely publication on Labour in which not only students of Economics but people interested in the industrial development also will find useful. The subject has been discussed with special reference to textile labour. Being a Labour Officer himself, the author's outlook is realistic and he never tries to press his views on the reader. He records his personal experience, discusses the subject and leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions.

The book is divided into twelve chapters, subjects discussed being—Labour and Industrial Relations, Labour Welfare, Labour Administration, Employer-Employee Relations, Industrial Housing, Social Insurance, Labour Legislation, Industrial Peace, Trade Unionism, Personnel Department, and Profit Sharing. Thus various aspects of the present-day labour problem have been discussed. Old relations between Capital and Labour, Employer and Employee have ceased to exist. Labour is no longer a means to an end but an end in itself. Human element has come to the forefront for consideration and as a result Labour's voice has become a determining force in industry and ultimately in the matter of production and efficiency. Under the circumstances Labour must be satisfied in regard to its position as a partner in production. So the importance of the Personnel Department in modern industrial establishments cannot be overemphasised. As a matter of fact, Labour Officer's duties to keep a close and cordial relation between the employer and employee work is a pivot on which the entire industrial and social efficiency turns. Since the establishment of International Labour Office by the League of Nations at Geneva, various conventions have been adopted by the International Labour Conferences many of which have since been ratified by the National Par-

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liaments. In compliance with these conventions various legislations regarding labour welfare have been passed by the Indian Legislature from time to time. And since the transfer of power to Indian hands the progress has been very rapid and if these laws are properly applied in letter and spirit, not only the labour but all classes of society win benefit as a result and increase the National Dividend due to increased national efficiency.

The book contains six Appendices and a Bibliography which the reader will find valuable and illuminating. We have no hesitation in recommending this volume to employers and officers who have to deal with labour and also to students who are interested in the subjects of Labour Welfare or who desire to take up duties in the Personnel Department of Industrial establishments.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

KIRANAVALI OF UDAYANACHARYA: *Translation and critical exposition in Bengali by Dr. Gaurinath Sastri, M.A., P.R.S., D.Litt. Distributed by U. N. Dhar & Sons, Ltd., 15, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 10.*

The book under review is the outcome of erudition, precision and a close acquaintance with the different systems of Indian philosophy. The philosophers of the Nyaya-Vaisesika systems of thought have made invaluable contribution to the stock of critical and scientific investigation. Unqualified acceptance of the Nyaya methodology by different schools of Indian philosophy bears ample testimony to this truth. While the Nyaya is engaged in epistemology the Vaisesika concentrates on metaphysics. The Vaisesika starts with the sense-data and seeks to interpret the world of experience. Reality, according to him, is not merely a substance or a quality but a net-work of different categories which are mutually related with one another. This harmonisation in the world of experience is unique and scientific. The Nyaya-Vaisesika philosophy grew in its strength and volume as a result of the impact with the Buddhists. The more significant contribution to this field was made by the neo-logicians of Mithila and Bengal. Udayana was the pioneer of this school which found its consummation in the works of Gangesa. Without a first-hand knowledge of the process of reasoning knowledge of other systems cannot be complete. But the stumbling block lies at the gateway in the form of its hair-splitting dialectic and technicalities. Udayana is a prolific writer of this school but the general students of Indian philosophy find it difficult to study and appreciate his works. This apathy led a reputed scholar of the day to remark that there is not a single scholar living who can teach Kiranavali with acuteness and explain its verbal intricacies. This remark served as a stimulus to our present editor in interpreting the categories of the Vaisesika in a lucid manner and thus bringing out the futility of the unwarranted assumption of the scholar. Dr. Sastri's work serves as an instance to the truth that no serious student of the Nyaya-Vaisesika can afford to avoid a most thorough and rigorous study of Udayana's dialectic.

Padarthadharmasangraha of Prasastapada was commented upon by Vyomasiva, Udayana, and Sridhara. Udayana's credit lies in the fact that he, for the first time, realised the inaccuracies in both the systems, *viz.*, Nyaya-Vaisesika and cemented them together into a single system of thought. This undertaking made his work pregnant with abstruseness of thought and terseness of language. Kiranavali is an instance on the point. That is why the book has been commented upon from time to time by such eminent logicians as Vardhamana, Pragalbhacharya, Jayadeva Misra, Raghunatha Siromani and others. The present editor has exhibited his erudition in delineating the formidable logical subtleties in a lucid manner. Dr. Sastri has utilised in particular the commentary of Vardhamana and the super-commentary of Ruchidatta and also of Mathuranatha in unfolding the deeper subtleties of Udayana's standpoint. But it is most encouraging to find that in course of his elucidation he has always been extremely careful in examining the position of the commentators and super-commentators and in a quite good number of places he has unhesitatingly challenged the orthodox interpretation and put forward his original contribution and in this he has exhibited the same type of sharp critical acumen which characterised the genius of different ages. Dissertations on salvation and darkness are really illuminating and the entire approach is challenging. These two sections reveal the author's acquaintance with all branches of Indian philosophy. The topic of Janakarma-samucchaya-vada is really noteworthy and reveals an independent and effective thinking. The book, as a whole, compresses within its limited compass a varied source of learning and logical subtleties. A careful study of it will stimulate the capacity for reasoning. The reviewer feels no hesitation in asserting that the present book should be read by all students of Indian philosophy and will be welcomed by all lovers of Sanskrit learning. The book is enriched by an introduction which contains in a most compact form a systematic growth and development of the Vaisesika school an account of which is not available in any single work on the subject.

GOPIKAMOHAN BHATTACHARYA

BENGALI

SLOKA SAMGRAHA: *Navavidhan Publication Committee, 95, Keshab Chandra Sen Street, Calcutta-9. Eighth edition. Price not mentioned.*

The 19th century renaissance in Bengal was a forceful liberalising process and great minds worked behind it. Rammohun's vision of a comprehensive religion profoundly impressed his contemporary thinkers as well as the social and religious leaders who followed him. Keshub Chunder Sen, founder of the Navavidhan Brahmo Samaj, one of the most powerful thought-leaders of his time, culled with great care the gems of all the scriptures of the world and the book under review is the outcome of his labour. *Sloka Samgraha* or the Collection of Hymns contains valuable extracts from the Hindu, Buddhist, Jaina, Sikh, Jewish, Christian, Mahommedan, Parsee and Chinese scriptures and represents the heights of realisation attained by the sages of all countries. The Bengali and English renderings of the passages included will be found particularly helpful. The volume now in its eighth edition has evidently evoked considerable interest.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

GO-SEVA: *By Gandhiji. Translated by Sree Ram Narayan Chowdhury. Navajiban Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1955. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is the third revised and enlarged edition of the book, for the benefit of the Hindi-reading public.

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It is a positive approach to the problem of the cow, a matter of vital importance for the prosperity of India, in sharp contrast to the agitational approach favoured by a section of conservative opinion, insistent on prohibitive legislation against cow-killing. The Preface is a dialogue in which Gandhiji, in 1933, had discussed some problems, or rather answered some enquiries put forward by a delegation. The book itself consists of two parts: the first in 34 sections is made up of Gandhiji's own writings, the second is made up of 12 articles contributed by various writers—his associates like Mahadev Desai, Kakasaheb Kalelkar and Vinobaji. These discussions, it needs no emphasis, are very valuable. Of the appendices, one is an extract from a letter of Gandhiji to Jivanji Desai; another, the constitution of the Go-Seva Sangh; a third, the constitution of All-India Go-raksha Mandal. In addition, there are eleven supplements from such writers as Gandhiji, Mashruwalla, T. Vijayaraghavachariar.

It is a very handy volume, practical and at the same time a resume of the principles of the subject enunciated by thoughtful leaders of our society. The name is too modest for the richness of the contents. An index of subjects at the end for easy reference adds to the value of the book.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

YOGANISHTA ACHARYA SHRIMAD BUDDHISAGAR SURESHWARJI: *By Jaya Bhikkhu and Padrakar. Printed at the Ashok Printing, Ahmedabad. 1950. Illustrated jacket. Cloth bound. Illustrated. Pp. 336+152+16. Price Rs.11.*

To celebrate the twenty-fifth year of his death, the followers of the late Sureshwarji have prepared this handsome volume, which sets out in detail, the progress in life, material and religious, made by an unlettered peasant boy, culminating in his reaching the highest stage which is possible for a Jaina Sadhu to reach. Both as a biography and as a dissertation on the highly technical philosophy propounded by the subject-matter of this biography, it is a unique performance. The writers have had a strenuous time of it, but they have done their work thoroughly. The illustrations, numerous in number, have made the treatise attractive.

JNANPRAHARI: *By Vidyutrai Y. Desai. Bhavnagar. Printed at the Bhavnagar Samachar Press, Bhavnagar. 1952. Thick card-board. Illustrated. Pp. 126+5. Price not mentioned.*

How Bharati, the talented wife of Mandanmishra of Mahishmati, encountered Shankaracharya and defeated him in their discussions on *Jhan* and its *Prahari*, is a subject known to every student of Bharat's old philosophical literature. The incident is set out in this drama with considerable intelligence and insight, and though the subject is technical and above the head of the common reader, Mr. Desai has endeavoured to make it easy and popular.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Interpreting India: Vivekananda

T. M. P. Mahadevan writes in the *Vedanta Kesari*:

It is not easy to interpret India with her ancient culture, age-long traditions, and complex texture of thought and life. Not only those who come from outside, but also many of those—especially the educated ones—who are born and brought up in this country find it difficult to understand what India stands for. The essentials of Indian culture are often missed in a maze of non-essentials. Certain facets are over-emphasized with the result that one gets a distorted picture of India's soul. For many a century of India's history, great sons and daughters of India did perform the task of interpreting India both to their own people and to the rest of the then known world. But after India became a subject-country, this task could not be performed effectively for reasons which are obvious. The contact with the West brought, no doubt, new knowledge to our shores. But in the glare of this knowledge, our leaders became blind to the excellence of our own culture, and turned out to be bad imitators of strange fashions and unsuitable modes of life. India's cause suffered by default. Her spirit was being stifled. This process of strangulation reached its climax in the nineteenth century; and its intensity was the greatest in Calcutta which was then the Capital of the British Empire in India.

It was at such a critical time in India's history, and in Calcutta, that a kindly Fate made a great soul appear, who could retrieve the situation and enable India to resume her march to her grand destiny. The progress that India has made in the present century, her successful struggle for Independence through non-violent means, and the stability and self-respect she has regained would have been impossible but for the pioneering work of this great soul—Swami Vivekananda.

Narendranath, as he was known before he became a monk, belonged to an aristocratic family of Calcutta, and had the best of modern education. He was outstanding in his class at college, imbibed a rationalistic—and even a sceptical—outlook, and mastered with equal zest the humanities and the sciences. If this was all that was his share, he would have ended probably as a brilliant college professor or an eminent lawyer. But, there was another mission set for him—the mission of re-discovering India for the benefit both of Indians and of others. The Master that made him recognize this mission and equipped him for this journey was Sri Ramakrishna. The sage did not have any formal education. He had dedicated his life to intense spirituality. True to India's tradition of hospitality, Sri Ramakrishna experimented with God in a variety of ways, including the so-called alien paths, and found that all religions led to the same goal. Paying his tribute to the sage, Mahatma Gandhi says:

"The story of Ramakrishna Paramahamsa's life is a story of religion in practice. His life enables us to see God face to face. No one can read the story of his life without being convinced that God alone is real and that all else is an illusion. Ramakrishna was a living embodiment of godliness."

Romain Rolland, one of Sri Ramakrishna's biographers, describes him as 'the consummation of two thousand years of the spiritual life of three hundred million people.' It was to this great spiritual genius that Narendranath came. Their first meeting was what we would call an accident; but it had a deeper design. The Calcutta college lad did not know it at first. But the sage, Ramakrishna, knew it from the beginning. In fact, he had been waiting for Narendranath's coming. He told him:

"Ah! you have come so late. Why have you been so unkind as to make me wait so long? My ears are tired of hearing the futile words of other men. Oh, how I have longed to pour out my spirit into the breast of somebody fitted to receive my inner experiences!"

The Disciple accepted the Master none too soon. He did not want to believe until he was convinced. Slowly but surely Narendra was converted; and he became the most beloved disciple, commissioned to fulfil the Master's mission. At one stage in his spiritual practice, Narendra wanted to get lost in the exaltation of spirit. Sri Ramakrishna chided him for this wish, and said:

"You will do great things in the world; you will bring spiritual consciousness to men, and assuage the misery of the humble and the poor."

And, just before his death, he called Narendra and told him:

"Today I have given you my all and am now only a poor *fakir*, possessing nothing. By this power you will do immense good in the world and not until it is accomplished will you return."

Narendra, who became Swami Vivekananda, realized only too well that the power he wielded had its source in Sri Ramakrishna. He knew that 'all he was himself came from that single source . . . that he had not one infinitesimal thought of his own to unfold.' And he proclaimed Sri Ramakrishna as 'the spring of this phase of the earth's religious life.' . . .

At the passing away of the Master, Vivekananda and his brother-disciples were disconsolate. Their first impulse was to withdraw themselves completely from the world and spend the rest of their lives in seclusion. Vivekananda himself left Calcutta several times, seeking solace in the Himalayas. But the call of his Master to serve India and humanity prevailed at last, and as a preparation to this mission of service he undertook to go about this country seeing things for himself. Unknown and unannounced, he visited the palaces and the slums, and his heart bled at the sight of the extreme poverty of the masses. He had himself experienced earlier something of the pain of poverty, for his father through carelessness and generosity had left the family in poverty and want. But

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he had not realized how pervasive poverty was in this country. Throughout his wanderings for nearly two years it was the misery that he saw that filled his mind to the exclusion of every other thought. The Master had foreseen this, for he had declared:

"The day when Naren comes in contact with suffering and misery, the pride of his character will melt into a mood of infinite compassion. His strong faith in himself will be an instrument to re-establish in discouraged souls the confidence and faith they have lost."

Coming face to face with the misery of the Indian masses, Vivekananda recalled his Master's words, 'Religion is not for empty bellies', and dedicated himself to the task of rousing the world's conscience so that India could be saved from her plight.

"May I be born and reborn again and suffer a thousand miseries," he was later to say, "if only I am able to worship the only God in whom I believe, the sum-total of all souls, and above all, my God the wicked, my God the afflicted, my God the poor of all the races."

An opportunity to start his work of service presented itself when he was persuaded by certain friends and admirers, especially of Madras, to go to America and represent Hinduism at the Parliament of Religions which was to be held at Chicago in 1893. He went to America without counting the costs. He did not have sufficient money; nor did he have the credentials that would entitle him to speak at the Parliament. But the Spirit does not depend on empty formalities. The unseen hands that had guided Vivekananda to the New World would not leave him in the lurch. Providence straightened everything, and the Swami gained admittance into the Parliament. On the opening day when his turn to speak came, he rose and greeted the assembled gathering as 'Sisters and Brothers of America!' This mode of address was in such refreshing contrast to the conventional salutation adopted by his predecessors that the entire audience was thrilled and it applauded most lustily. Thereafter the Swami was in great demand, and was hailed as the hero of the Parliament. The *Boston Evening Post* praised him as 'the great favourite of the Parliament.' The *New York Herald* said, 'He is undoubtedly the greatest figure in the Parliament of Religions.' He was asked to speak many times during the Parliament session; and the one theme of all his addresses was the unity of religions which was the message of his Master and the message of India as well. His final words to the Parliament were these:

"Upon the banner of every religion will soon be written in spite of resistance: 'Help and not Fight,' 'Assimilation and not Destruction,' 'Harmony and Peace and not Dissension'."

Swami Vivekananda went to America primarily to procure the means to ameliorate the material condition of India. In all his ministrations in the New World and in Europe, never for a moment did he forget this aim. But on seeing the West, he realized that a nation has to rise by its own effort. He, however, did a great service to India, while he was abroad, by exhibiting the true nature of India's cultdre. On his return to the homeland, he explained to his people his plan for the regeneration of India. He established an Order of Monks and Laity in the name of his Master as a vehicle for the continued service of humanity.

Swami Vivekananda was the first interpreter of India to the West that laid the proper emphasis on the spirit of religion as the basis of India's culture—religion not in any narrow sense of a creed or cult, but in its deepest and widest significance. In a lecture entitled 'My Plan of Campaign' that he delivered in Madras on his triumphal return from the West, the Swami says:

"Each nation, like each individual, has one theme in this life, which is its centre, the principal note round which every other note comes to form the harmony . . . If any one nation attempts to throw off its national vitality, the direction which has become its own through the transmission of centuries, that nation dies . . . In one nation political power is its vitality, as in England. Artistic life in another and so on. In India, religious life forms the centre, the keynote of the whole music of national life. . . And, therefore, if you succeed in the attempt to throw off your religion and take up either politics or society . . . the result will be that you will become extinct . . . Social reform . . . and politics have to be preached . . . through that vitality of your religion . . . Every man has to make his own choice; so has every nation. We made our choice ages ago . . . And it is the faith in an Immortal Soul . . . I challenge anyone to give it up . . . How can you change your nature?"

As the deepest and purest expression of the spirit of India, Advaita appealed to Swami Vivekananda. In the Advaita-experience which he inherited from his own Master, he found a state that is free from all narrowness. There could be no opposition between this experience and the various systems of thought and pathways to God. Moreover, the Swami was convinced that India needed a philosophy of robust strength. In one of his speeches he said:

"I heard once the complaint made that I was preaching too much of Advaita and too little of Dualism. Aye, I know what grandeur, what oceans of love, what infinite ecstatic blessings and joy there are in the dualistic religion. I know it all. But this is not the time with us to weep, even in joy; we have had weeping enough; no more is this the time for us to become soft. This softness has been with us till we have become like masses of cotton . . . What our country now wants are muscles of iron and nerves of steel, gigantic wills, which nothing can resist, which will accomplish their purpose in any fashion, even if it meant going down to the bottom of the ocean and meeting death face to face. That is what we want, and that can only be created, established, and strengthened by understanding and realizing the ideal of the Advaita, that ideal of the oneness of all."

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While Swami Vivekananda had the highest praise for our philosophico-religious culture, he was unsparing in his criticism of the mal-practices that had crept into Hinduism. It is well to remind ourselves that he was one of the very first, in modern times, to raise his voice of protest against casteism and don't-touch-ism. Modern caste distinction, he declared, is a barrier to India's progress; it narrows, restricts, separates; it will crumble before the advance of ideas. He worked for strengthening India's homogeneity and her acquiring democratic ideas. He insisted that intelligence should not remain the monopoly of the privileged few. He foresaw that education was coming, and that compulsory education would follow. As regards the practice of untouchability, the Swami had very hard things to say. He was convinced that it was against the very spirit of Indian thought and culture. 'India's doom was sealed,' he declared, 'the very day the world *mlechcha* was invented.' He exhorted the children of India to save India from this doom.

How greatly the passion for India burned within his heart, how ardently he wished that the true spirit of India should prevail, how keenly he felt the need for cutting away all dead accretions, may be learnt from the following words addressed by him to his countrymen:

"Feel, therefore, my would-be reformers, my would-be patriots! Do you feel? Do you feel that millions and millions of the descendants of gods and of sages have become next-door neighbours to brutes? Do you feel that millions are starving today, and millions have been starving for ages? Do you feel that ignorance has come over the land as a dark cloud? Does it make you restless? Does it make you sleepless? . . . Has it made you almost mad? Are you seized with that one idea of the misery of ruin, and have you forgotten all about your name, your fame, your wives, your children, your property, even your own bodies . . . That is the first step to become a patriot! . . . For centuries people have been taught theories of degradation. They have been told that they are nothing . . . Let them hear of the Atman—that even the lowest of the low have the Atman within, which never dies and never is born—him whom the sword cannot pierce, nor the fire burn, nor the air dry, immortal, without beginning or end, the all pure, omnipotent and omnipresent Atman!"

What better interpreter of India there could be than the Swami who uttered these words both as a warning and as a hope, who in his short life of less than forty years awakened a sceptical world, and what was more, awakened an India that had been slumbering for long!

—

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G.B.S.: Defender of Animal Outsiders

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Parnell Bradbury pays tribute to Bernard Shaw. It gives due credit to Shaw's active opposition to vivisection. It would have been sad if Shaw's centenary year had passed without mention of this facet of his reformatory zeal:

Bernard Shaw, who was born in Dublin a hundred years ago, has been called many things, but even among his admirers, many of whom are now busily engaged in his centenary celebrations, few have acknowledged him as a champion of animal welfare.

As for the distinguished people who acclaim him a literary giant and a great dramatist, I have searched their remarks in vain for some acknowledgment of G.B.S. as a social reformer; as a defender of minorities (animal and human); as the champion of the outsider. Can it be that the truths which Shaw expounded concerning the futility no less than the barbarity of experiments on animals twenty, thirty or even forty years ago are still unpalatable even to those who accept him as a thinker? Can it be that those truths are so disturbing that most people (even those who feel they are on safe ground when praising the dramatist) would run a mile rather than face them? It looks like it.

In the *Sunday Times* of July 22nd, Mr. Colin Wilson describes Shaw as a psychologist and a mystic. Well, that is something. But no one has dared to see him as what he was, according to his own statements—a professional debunker of the value of animal experimentation; as a man who was moved to both fury and compassion by the idiotic reports that are issued by medical research councils from time to time, and that are, six years after his death, no less idiotic. The implications of this are serious. It looks as though there is a conspiracy of silence against G.B.S. as the thinker who, forty years ago, warned us that cancer would increase if we gave over the study of it to scoundrels who were too lazy or too stupid to search for causative factors beyond the vivisection table—and paid them fantastic sums for being so.

One newspaper which ought to have had more imagination actually printed two of these annual reports side by side with the B.B.C. plans for the Shaw centenary!

It is interesting to compare these reports with the opinions G.B.S. expressed in *Doctors' Delusions* (published in 1931). Obviously, medical science (so-called) has, as far as finding the cause and cure of cancer is concerned, progressed very little. How many animals have been tortured in vain? Money on medical research, we are told, has been well spent—£400,000 by the Cancer Campaign alone. How has it been spent? Several attempts were made to produce cancer in the lungs and skin of rats, mice and hamsters, by treating them with tobacco tars. None of these attempts has so far been successful. What a relief to all those patients who have cancer of the skin or lungs? The vermin and the hamsters are safe! But, perhaps, G.B.S. would not quite agree, for in a letter to *The Nation* he wrote:

"Those of us who have had cherished friends and relatives attacked by the diseases which the vivisectors claim to be able to cure, know best what value we have had for the guineas their announcements have drawn from our pockets into theirs. Those who are more fortunate have only to look at the Registrar-General's returns to see the rate at which we are still dying of the cures. If the men who have been stultifying themselves over vivisection for the last thirty years had been working in the paths of honour and mercy, and using their brains instead of carving living animals and calling it 'Research' who shall say what they might not have discovered?"

(That was on May 24th, 1913).

The Report goes on to discuss the most suitable poliomyelitis vaccine for this country:

"There is no proof, so far, of what value a Salk-type vaccine may have in protecting children under six years of age. Besides, the vaccine contains a strain of the poliomyelitis virus, whose effectiveness, in humans, is quite unproven, although it is safe and effective in animals. (Animal lovers please note.)"

If the Rtports referred to the behaviour of lunatics in a mental institution, they could be studied with less concern. As it is, we may tremble for the future health of mankind. And again:

"When one thinks of the Rockefeller funds, the Cancer Research funds, and the rest of the money that has gone down the vivisectors' sinks during the past quarter century, and compares its worse than negative results with the amazing series of discoveries made during that period by physicists doing sheer brain work within the strictest limits of honour, it is difficult to resist the conclusion (not that any normal person wants to resist it) that only imbeciles can be induced to practise vivisection, and glory in it. We give them huge sums to discover why we are dying of cancer at such an alarming rate, and how we can avoid it. They seize the money and buy innumerable mice with it to play with in their laboratories. After years of developing in themselves the mouse mind, they tell us that they have found out how to give a mouse cancer, and that they have found a microbe which is quite harmless, but which, when associated with other conditions which they cannot define, seems to pe characteristic of cancer. Who would pull the whiskers of a single mouse for the sake of so pitiful a result?"

Shaw asked that question in the *Sunday Express*, on August 7th, 1927—nearly thirty years ago. If he were here, after reading these reports, he might be moved to ask it again. But, perhaps, his sojourn among the Immortals would have inclined him to have no more to do with us since it is obvious that even after many decades of his vigorous teaching we have learned almost nothing.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Arabian Days of Faith and Science

A member of the *Unesco* Secretariat, Dr. Khaldoun Kinany of Syria graduated from the University of Paris and London. He was professor at the University of Damascus from 1948 to 1951. Writes he as follows:

The ordinary reader has usually derived his knowledge of the Islamic world from renderings of *The Arabian Nights*, which may or may not impart some of the flavour of Arab tastes, but are, in any case, racy, highly coloured stories, mingling wild flights of imagination with sordid details, and conceived originally as light entertainmtnt for the masses.

Other sources of knowledge are the many travel books written by Westerners. Some are very well written, but unavoidably biased, and the most popular and widely circulated are usually those which content themselves with fascinating details and romantic descriptions. However, there is an increased demand for more exact and serious literature on Eastern cultures, as the numbers of internationally-minded readers in Europe and America are growing. These readers, representing the new spirit of the century, seek to know, through their national institutions or through international organizations promoting international understanding, such as, Unesco, more about the East—to understand better than tourists walking in narrow streets whose high walls hide the life of the people within. They would like to enter oriental houses, to be introddced to Asian life, to learn about its soul and to study its culture from the inside.

"No culture," says T. S. Eliot, "can appear or develop except in relation to a religion." Arabian civilization and Moslem civilization during some periods of Arab history, and sometimes now, are identical. So it will be relevant to begin by looking at Moslem religion, and the ways in which it has deeply influenced the thought and behaviour of the builders of Arabian civilization.

Islam, by the extreme simplicity and clarity of its creed, struck the minds of men who were looking for a God and for a faith. Islam, recommending puritanism and brotherhood, appealed to the masses and to communities which were in need of social reform, moral and spiritual revival, and political security. Conversion to Islam helped nations and individuals to find their souls and ensure their salvation. It made them feel that they belonged only to themselves and to God, and to the large Moslem community based on brotherhood among all believers.

History has known religions which came too early or too late for their times. But Islam is one of the religions which arose at the right moment in time. Its message swept like fire all over the Middle East, and by the Seventh Century A.D., only ninety years after the coming of Mohammed, Moslem culture was established in a vast empire extending from Spain to India.

Why was Islam so phenomenally successful? Springing up as it did at the right moment was fortunate, and the fact that it has always disregarded prejudices based on race, colour, social class and country. It accepted from the very beginning the co-existence of other religions, which were free to develop within the Moslem world. Islam's traditional tolerance is well-known to all readers of the history of the Arabs, and the Arabs were well-rewarded for their religious tolerance. The tremendous wealth of philosophical and scientific knowledge which came to them from Greece, Egypt, Persia, India and other countries during the first centuries of their renaissance was passed on to them faithfully and consciously by Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian hands. Moslem religion, and subsequently Arabian culture, set the search for truth as the highest aim of human life. There is only one truth, all over the world. Islaim never claimed to be a new religion, but the continuation and reformation of Judaism, Christianity and the Hanif religion. Similarly, Moslem thinkers and scientists never believed the truth could be found in only one people and one country. Their endless journeyings all over the Moslem and non-Moslem world during the Middle Ages in search of true knowledge was almost certainly unprecedented in the past.

One last characteristic of Islam is its conception of Evil. Although Islam may be classed with those

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religions which conceived the creation and evolution of the universe to be the result of a perennial dualistic struggle between light and darkness, in Moslem religion evil is not as powerful as good. The Devil's power is smashed by the omnipotent God and reduced to the level of power that any single human being could possess. At any rate, if the evil power could sometimes overwhelm individuals i could not prevail against communities or nations. The prophets who were sent by God to help nations and races in their fight against evil are no longer needed since the coming of Mohammed, the very last prophet of God.

Islam takes a firm stand on this point. The belief that evil has little power against group thinking probably explains the Moslem's close attachment in thinking and behaviour to their groups, and may be one of the reasons why the Moslem brotherhood is so strong all over the world.

What bearing has the foregoing on Arabic culture? In the field of literature and the fine arts, Arabian culture suffered heavily from the absence in its universe of little gods and powerful spirits fighting with each other for the possession of this world, and the domination of the destiny of mankind. During its long centuries of development, Islam gave birth to no myths, metaphysical legends, folklore, carnivals, dances or religious theatre. However, it showed fertility in other fields of art and literature, which expressed confidence in life, trust in human destiny, and self-assurance in the artist's mind and soul. Arabic architecture, arabesque ornaments on mosques, palaces, carpets and luxurious furniture are well known to the Western world. However, the influence of Arabic poetry of troubadours and courtly love in Europe, and the role of Arabic music and prosody in the creation of the European sonnet, ode and ballad, although

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accepted by some orientalists, has not yet been seriously stddied.

The freedom from fear of harmful and mysterious powers encouraged the Arabs to adopt a daring attitude towards the universe, and they set out to study its phenomena, to disclose its mysteries and discover its governing laws.

According to the Koran, true believers should reflect on the creation of heaven and earth. Those who succeed in melting and using iron or in benefiting from wind power, for example, and all who succeed in making life on earth more enjoyable and more comfortable for themselves and for their fellow men are favoured by God. Their deeds and discoveries are considered as an act of worship. So it follows that the Arabs were as attracted by positive sciences as by philosophy and ascetism, and their favourite Greek philosopher was Aristotle, who was mainly concerned with science. The major contribution of the Arabs towards the progress of the culture of mankind, was in the field of science.

During the centuries when Arabs were the torch-bearers of civilization, the Arab scientists strove to replace astrology by astronomy, and alchemy by chemistry. In place of mythology they offered highly developed mathematics, algebra and trigonometry for the better understanding of the cosmos. Sarton, in his encyclopaedial *Introduction to the History of Science*, and E. F. Gautier, in his book *Moeurs et Coutumes des Musulmans*, show, in detail how the Arabs not only preserved Greek science and transmitted it to Renaissance Europe, but how they improved on it immensely, and that in such subjects as mathematics, algebra, trigonometry, astronomy, chemistry, physics, mineralogy, medicine, pharmacy, agriculture, metallurgy, the Arab scholars left their Greek teachers far behind. Gautier believes that it could be claimed that pharmacy was created by the Arabs. He reminds us that the mariner's compass, and the inexpensive writing paper made in those days from cotton wool were also Arabic inventions. The major Arabian contribution to the progress of science did not consist solely in achieving additional knowledge and new discoveries in physics and chemistry and other scientific fields. The Arab contribution was much more important—they introduced an entirely new method, they introduced experimentation in science.

Sarton states that the Arab's great contributions to the advance of science is not generally known to the average scientist. For this lack of information he gives the following explanation: "The majority of the teachers and historians speaking of mediaeval thought have dealt with Western, and specially with Latin, writings. Now, it is true that a number of important works were composed in Latin, but many others, just as worthy of consideration, were written in Greek, Syriac, Persian, Sanskrit, Chinese, and even in Japanese. The most valuable of all, the most original and the most pregnant, were written in Arabic. From the second half of the eighth to the end of the eleventh century, Arabic was the progressive scientific language of mankind.

People often refer to the universal character of the Arabian culture and to its capacity to accommodate itself in any region with any civilization. Nevertheless, the sweeping character of the Arab conquest was in some ways harmful to the development of the Arabian culture. The Arabs became unable to control their vast empire, especially in the cultural field. In some countries, their culture and their religion were not given sufficient time to adjust themselves to new conditions. Fatalism invaded Moslem religion and the Arabian culture which had primarily advocated free will. The productive scholasticism which, on the basis of the Unity of Truth, maintained a wholesome liaison between scholars and scientists, was hastily substituted by an unproductive scholasticism which put scientists at the mercy of religious scholars. Love for perfection and ideals were overshadowed by love for materialistic existence and the acceptance of daily life without glory or noble ambitions. Unfairness and seclusion were sometimes, and in some regions, the reward of Arab women who fought courageously with their men for the victory of Arabian civilization, and who enjoyed, in Arabia during the first century of Islam, rights and privileges which are not obtained even today by women in some civilized countries. The Arabian culture went into a long period of decay, from the thirteenth till the end of the eighteenth century.

The awakening of the Arab world, which began in the last century, is now achieved. The modern Arabs are now fully aware of these two aspects of their culture, the one which built up their glorious past, they they went to keep, and the other which caused their decay, which they are trying to overcome. The Arabian culture has already demonstrated its firm belief in moral values, in universality, the dignity of the human personality, and in the progress of knowledge. It has advocated tolerance and fraternity among nations, races and religions. This culture, in spite of a very long period of decay, has now worn itself out. In fact, it has taken on a new vigour, and has great potentiality. The revival of Arabic culture will surely contribute to international understanding and the advance of mankind towards a better world.
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